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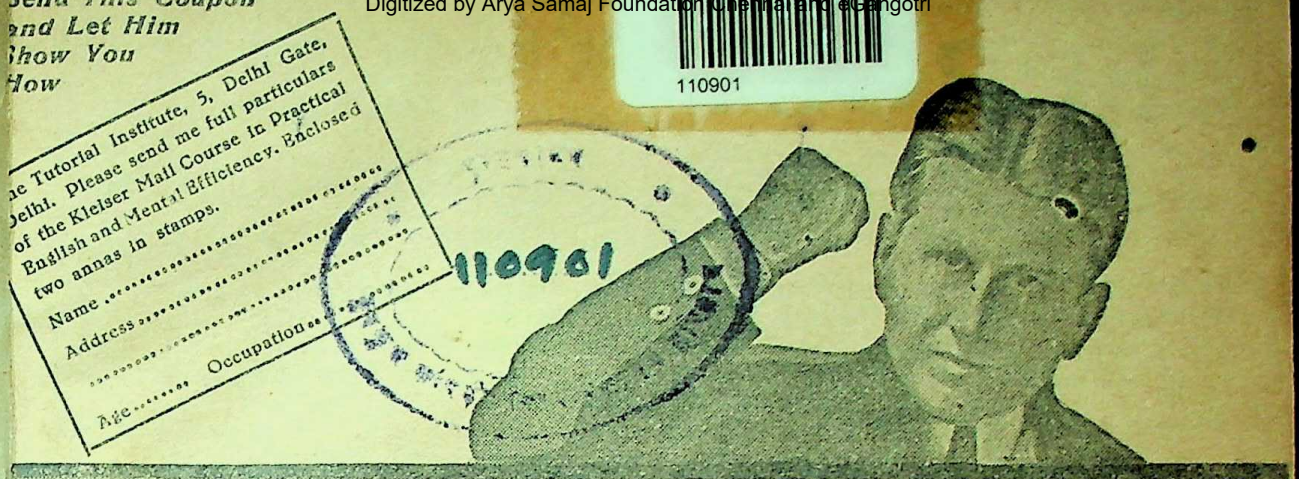

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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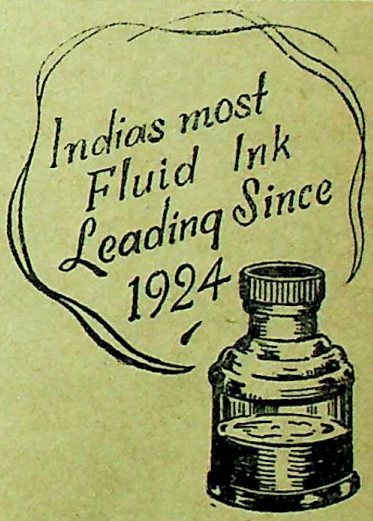

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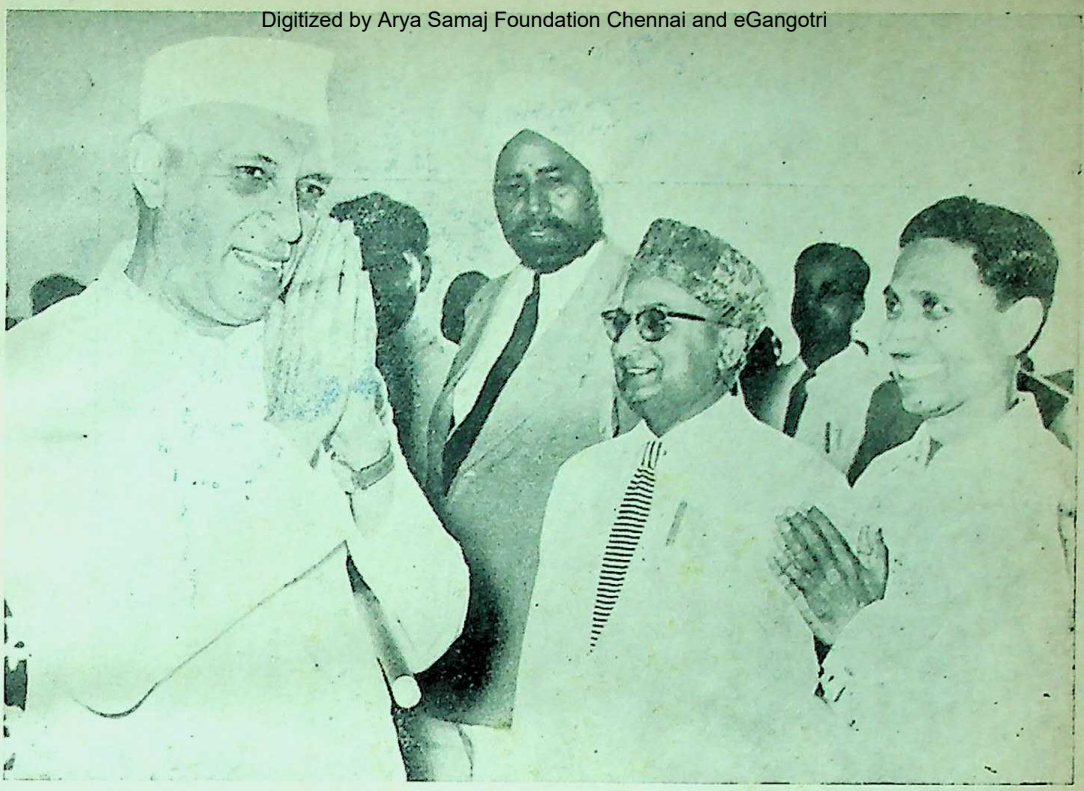
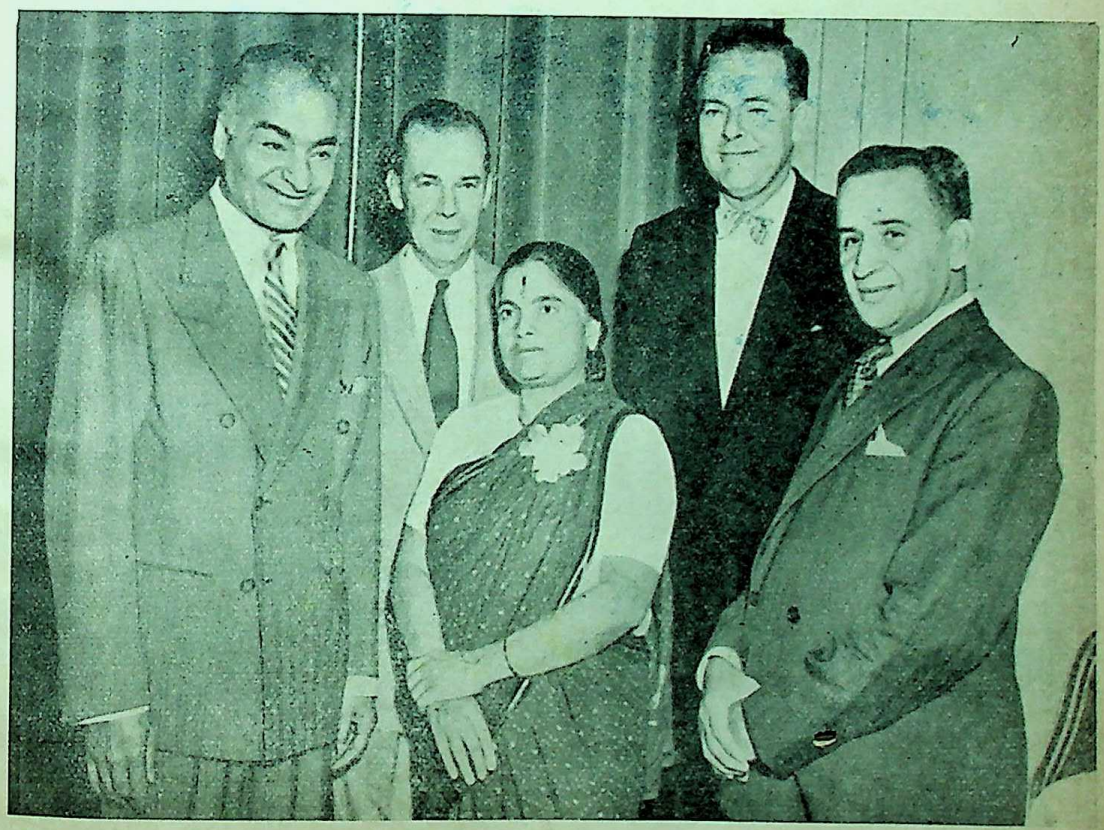


Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Penang Airport, is welcomed by the members of the Reception Committee



C. D. Deshmukh (right), Union Finance Minister, and Mrs. Deshmukh were entertained in the United States by the India League of America at a luncheon at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York

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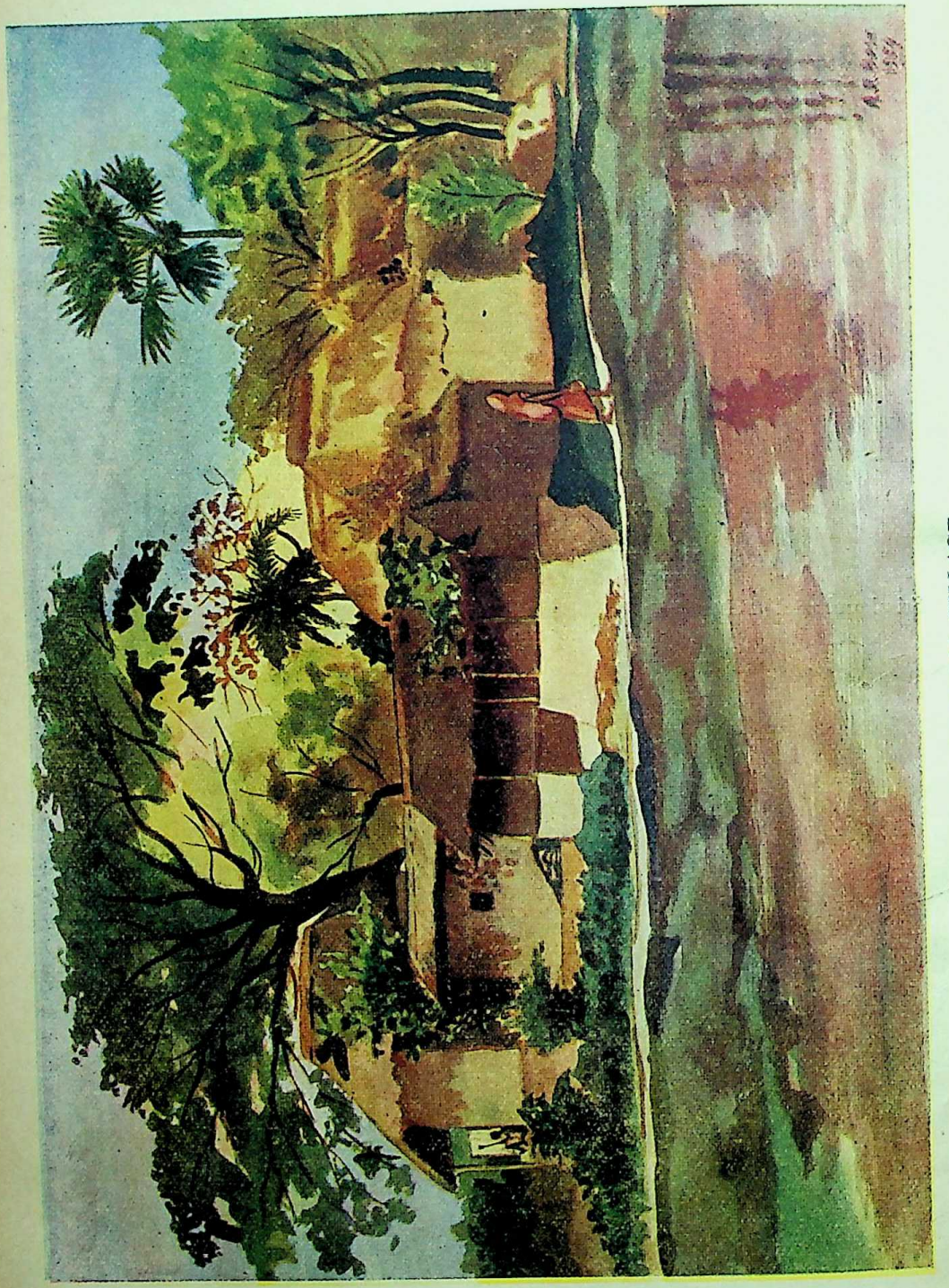

A BENGAL VILLAGE
By Ashit Ranjan Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

FEBRUARY 1955

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NOTES

New Year Honours

The New Year has begun running on its course, and with it came a shower of decorations, reminiscent of the days of the beknighted plutocrats and *jo hukum* "Bahadurs." We hope both the donors and the recipients are well-contented. We have no remarks to make beyond relating two stories, one from the inimitable pen of "Saki" and other from an episode that became a legend about the beginning of this century.

The caption of the story by "Saki" is "Cousin Teresa." It relates the tale of two half-brothers, both sons of an aristocrat, Colonel Harrowcluff.

The elder is shown as a typical specimen of the "gilded popinjay" of the idle-rich, that used to infest the lounges and green-rooms of the theatres and music-halls of London at the turn of the century. He was always busy doing nothing and was subject to sudden enthusiasms about epoch-making vaudeville hits. In one of those impulses he composed a ditty about an imaginary fair cousin and her four favourite hounds. It ran, as far as we remember, thus:

"Cousin Teresa, takes out Cæsar
- Fido, Jock and the big borzoi."

Having composed it, he conceived the idea of developing it into a music-hall turn with the aid of a vaudeville star by the name of Hermanova. And with his usual enthusiasm for such noble causes, he went into action.

About the same time, that is towards the end of the year, the younger half-brother returned after four years of Empire-building—that fruity legend of British fiction. He had achieved a lot and had reported on it to the colonial office. The reactions there were supposed to be favourable and the father, Colonel Harrowcluff, was hopeful about seeing his worthy son's name in the New Year's honours list.

But the unexpected happened. "Cousin Teresa" became a success and was the rage. Nights were made horrible, and days little less so, by all and sundry, ranging from the butcher's boy to the children of belted earls, howling out the refrain of "Cousin Teresa."

Naturally when the honour's list was being drawn up the Prime Minister ordered his private secretary to put down the name of Harrowcluff for a Knighthood. When the secretary enquired as to which of the two brothers was meant, the puzzled Prime Minister asked if there was another brother. On the Empire-builder's name and labours being enumerated the Prime Minister dismissed all that in short order and reiterated that he meant the composer of "Cousin Teresa." He further directed that the letter L within a bracket be appended after the name. The much bemused secretary discovered later on that (L) meant "awarded for literary prowess"

The second story, which is reputably true, is about a famous pundit of Benares, whose profound erudition and austere devotion to learning became far-famed towards the end of the last century. He was likewise the brightest luminary in a famous Benares college of those days.

Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, visited the college sometime in the first few years of this century. The usual formal reception was given to that pomp-loving Viceroy. All the staff and many notabilities were present, but the pundit was busy with his manuscripts and refused to stand in line even after repeated and frantic requests of the Principal and staff of the college.

When the reception was over Lord Curzon asked whether the famous *Shastry*, about whom he had heard so much, was amongst those who were presented. On being told that the pundit was not present he ex-

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pressed a desire to see him. The Principal rushed to Shastriji's room and told him the Viceroy's desire, which amounted to a command.

"I grant him permission to come and see me," was all that the pundit said, without lifting his head from his manuscripts. On this remark being communicated to the Viceroy, he went in person to see the pundit, who in due course blessed him.

In the New Year's honours list, the only name from Benares was that of Gangadhar Shastry, who had been awarded the C.I.E.

The day the list appeared, a learned disciple of the pundit, who was a Judge in the Benares district courts, went to salute and congratulate his preceptor.

On the pandit asking for the reasons for his disciple's elation, the Judge told him about the honour conferred on him.

The Shastry laughed loudly and remarked: "*Arre Srish, hum par shiahi dal thiaa, aur tum ho gaye khush.*" (O Srish, they have poured ink (*shiahi*) on me and you are delighted).

We conclude by congratulating the recipients of the honurs, particularly those of the armed forces who most certainly deserve all the honour that the State can give. We repeat our felicitations to Shrimati Asha Devi Aryanayakam for the reception she gave to the award made to her on a previous occasion.

The 60th Congress Session

This year the annual political bean-feast took place near Madras. A small township was built and named Satyamurthinagar after the redoubtable leader who has departed, and arrangements were made to house and feed a multitude of delegates and to accommodate the vast concourse that came to see, hear, and depart, no wiser and—we hope—no sadder after the audience. The cost was a few million rupees.

We could gather nothing that was of the essence out of the reports that filled the newspapers from the 20th to the 24th of January. But let us hasten to correct ourselves. There was at last a truly selfless Congressman in the presidential seat again. This in itself is an event worthy of record, after the Indian National Congress became a symbol of political power, and ceased to be a force that inspired millions to dedicate themselves for its cause.

We have neither the patience nor the space to discuss in detail the utterances or the resolutions. We have put on record elsewhere such of them as we deem worthy of record with comments where called for.

We would ask those who led the conferences and spoke at the plenary session, all except the president that is, as to whether they themselves believed in all that was uttered. If so then we have no quarrel. For in a free country each man is at liberty to hold his own opinions, however misguided or mistaken they might be.

There is a great deal of talk about "classless society," "Welfare State" and so on and so forth. If by classless society is meant a general lowering of standards, mental, moral and physical, in efficiency, public behaviour and living, then we are well on the way. If by Welfare State is meant a State where the rich would grow richer and the poor poorer, while the educated middle class, which is the salt of the earth, anywhere and everywhere, is being wiped out, then verily ours is a Welfare State!

As for corruption in administration and public life and political oppression in some States, *mum's the word.*

We pride ourselves on benig an world-influence for Peace. Yet not a word about Central America nor anything about the solution of the Chinese impasse. For the information of our readers we give the following extracts from the international edition of the *New York Times* for January 16 and January 23:

The two countries principally involved in the Costa Rican fighting are :

Costa Rica (population 800,000 : area 19,650 square miles) has been regarded as a liberal democracy. Its president, elected in 1953, is Jose Figueres, an American-educated (M. I. T.) engineer and devout apostle of social reform (his plantation is called *La Lucha San Fin*—"The Unending Struggle"). He has put through programs for free education, minimum wages and trade union organization. He has vigorously denounced dictatorial regimes. The army at his command is a 1,500-man civil guard. It has no military planes.

Nicaragua (population 1,000,000; area 148,000 square miles) has been a one-man dictatorship for twenty years. The dictotor is President Anastasio Somoza, the richest man in Nicaragua ("I take care of the business of Government and I take care of my own business"). President Somoza has provided an efficient regime with considerable social services, but he has been slow to grant personal liberties. The Nicaraguan army numbers 7,500 well-trained troops. It was strengthened tremendously last month by the purchase of twenty-five P-51 fighters from Sweden.

The new tensions over the Far East last week raised sharply the fundamental question : Is major war in the Orient nearer ?

In the immediate view the answer hinges largely on Peiping's intentions toward Formosa itself, where the U.S. already is deeply committed. Although the defense pact with Formosa is not yet ratified, there seems little doubt that if the Communists were to attack the big island, the Seventh Fleet would come out shooting. Peiping's naval strength is sparse, and the Formosa Strait is an enormous obstacle. Western observers doubt strongly that the Communists are prepared to make the attempt in view of the disaster and defeat it would bring.

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The Presidential Address

We add our voice to those welcoming Shri Dhebar to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress. A good man, whose life is dedicated to the cause of uplift and regeneration and whose record is unsullied either by official careerism or by the undignified and totally degraded scramble for political power, we wish him godspeed in his mission. May his eyes remain undimmed by the dust which most of his working committee are adepts in throwing.

With regard to his address, we only find the extracts given below as being worthy of record. The rest is in the usual vein. We do not wish to criticise either the portions we reproduce or the rest of the speech. He has as yet to obtain a clear perspective of the situation in which the nation is placed. Further, a guileless man himself, he has yet to learn a lot about the activities of wily experts in political legerdemain who throng the Congress rank and file.

On the subject of unemployment and the role of the cottage industries in solving it, he said:

Capital-intensive schemes, for absorbing millions of unemployed and under-employed, cannot by themselves produce the desired results because of many other factors, including that of our capital resources.

Because of all these and other reasons, it is now accepted on all hands, the Planning Commission not excluded, that what India needs directly is large-scale expansion of cottage and small-scale industries involving comparatively small investment capital per unit. This universal realisation should fortify our original faith in the role of cottage and small-scale industries as a means of solving our economic distress. This must also set at rest, at least for the time being, the difference on the fundamental question of centralisation or decentralization of industries. When I say at least for the time being, I mean, for a space of time, long enough to give this process a full trial.

We should now go ahead and mobilize our strength and our resources to the fullest extent in the channel of development of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Planning Commission is also clear on the need for the following measures in relation to the development of cottage and small-scale industries:

(1) determination of overall condition of supply and demand;

(2) reservation of spheres of production;

(3) non-expansion of the capacity of large-scale industries related to small-scale industries;

(4) imposition of cess on large-scale industries;

(5) arrangement for the supply of raw materials;

(6) co-ordination for research, training, etc.

This also must set at rest any doubt in the minds of any group of people about the role of cottage and small-scale industries in relation to large-scale ones. The employment aspect demands highest priority and, while adjustment can be made in the direction of developing common production programmes for the small-scale and cottage industries, in relation to the large-scale industries, reservation of spheres can only mean absolute priority to the small-scale and cottage industries in these fields. This unambiguous stand on the part of the organisation, I have no doubt in my mind, will clear all misapprehensions in the minds of our colleagues working under the guidance of Shri Vinobaji and other constructive workers. It cannot be anybody's desire to avoid improvement in the techniques of production, including use and application of motive power in the field of small-scale and cottage industries.

On the matter of social democracy, he expounded his own views as follows:

It is generally accepted that political democracy is unthinkable without social democracy, and it is also generally realised that any momentum in our progress is unthinkable, unless an atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice is created. What do we actually mean by social democracy? How do we propose to create that atmosphere of a common undertaking and common sacrifice? For the last 40 years since the entry of Gandhiji in the field of politics in India, the Indian National Congress has been trying to manifest that democracy in practice. Circumstances, then existing, prevented it from carrying it out to its logical conclusion, *viz.*, economic equality and social justice. After independence, not only has the country re-emphasised the need for it in the Constitution but the Central and State Governments have, through legislation and policies of taxation, tried to go further in that direction. Integration of States, abolition of Zamindari, introduction of Estate Duty, adjustments in taxes on income, Federal Financial Integration Agreement with Part B States, amendment of Article 31 (A) of the Constitution—all these have been aimed at securing economic equality. We, in the Congress, must however be clear in our minds that genuine equality is unthinkable unless equal opportunities are made available to every citizen of India. We do not wish to take away the status of those, who are in affluent circumstances or of those who are gifted with intelligence and knowledge. But we want an active acceptance of the same status for the workers in the field, factory or workshop. And so long as equal opportunities are not made available, their status will not change. Can we in the present economic framework really assure equal opportunity to everybody? This aspect has a great bearing on the national progress. Our chief source of development is our man-power. If he is to put in his best, the worker must be assured an equal status and equal opportunity in life. A conviction should grow upon everyone of us that while there will survive for some time some inequality, ultimately in the new social order that we envisage, the difference in advantages between citizen and citizen will have to be kept within bounds and so far as status is concerned, there will be no distinction on

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the ground of one's avocation. If anything, we should accord the highest recognition to the dignity of labour.

He gave his clear-cut opinion on the form and scheme of education he considers best suited to the needs of the country as a whole:

I now come to the question of education. We are all agreed that we must have a system of education that is in keeping with the new society we conceive of, education that eliminates all class distinctions, education that realises dignity of labour, education that helps the process of co-operation, sacrifice and service. We are all agreed that it is now the basic education system which can take the place of the present one. We are also agreed on the urgent need of introducing basic education. I think there is no room now for any discussion on the subject. It is inconceivable that a nation can afford to waste even a small part of her national energy on a system of education, fit only for the social order that she is determined to change. The new social order of our conception must be supplied its base and we must do it forthwith.

The following are his ideas regarding party organisation. It is at least clear that he is aware of opportunism in the Congress ranks. We hope experience will show him how all-pervading that evil has become:

I shall now come to the organisational aspect. India has reached her first milestone in her journey towards her final goal. It is a big distance covered. A new vista has opened out before us. It was bound to produce its reactions on the organisation, as it has on everything vital and of value. With the change in the status of the country, has grown its responsibility and as a pivotal organisation, we can neither ignore the changes nor the new responsibilities.

Following freedom, our first responsibility was to give a stable Government to the people. The Congress could not have but participated in the administration.

This was a colossal task and was bound to react on the organisation. Some reactions have been healthy and have increased our status. Others were of questionable value and, in some cases, deleterious too. While this was but a part of a natural process and therefore inevitable, nevertheless it demands of us that we face it squarely.

The Congress membership in the pre-independence period was open to everyone. But in the circumstances then prevailing a large majority could not take advantage of it. Congress, however, used to draw liberally upon the sympathy and goodwill of these vast masses of people outside its actual fold. It could not very well close its doors to these persons. The Congress ranks naturally began to swell. Most of the newcomers were promoted by enthusiasm; some by considerations of duty, but not a few were prompted by considerations of sheer opportunism.

In the old context, legislative and parliamentary career conferred a special status upon the candidate. Participation in parliamentary activities on the part of the Congress was bound to rear up complexes and generate a spirit of competition, even rivalry.

The Congress was required to form Governments. In a democratic State, there were all kinds of duties to be discharged, which meant all kinds of offices. This was also bound to produce some reactions.

In the context of a Welfare State, most of the social and constructive activities, in which the Congressmen were engaged, have been taken over by the State and others by various bodies, Boards, Congresses and Associations. It appears to some that in course of time the Congress will be reduced to a mere parliamentary party, its chief function being to lay down policies, run elections and lead the Government or the Opposition. It has, therefore, become necessary for me to emphasise some aspects of our organisation rather forcefully.

Lastly, we append his ideals, in consonance with those of the Father of the Nation, regarding the means to the ends desired. He says, quoting Gandhiji:

Eager as he was to serve the humanity as a whole, he was clear about his means: "Only that which was spiritually perfect was practically wise: Pure ends could be secured only by pure means." He would not touch 'Swaraj' if it was gained at the cost of his beloved principles of truth and non-violence. With a clear conception of his role, he guided the organisation from success to success. Sacrifice, austerity, service of the masses—those were the implements by which he forged unity of outlook and established communion between the different tiers of the society. It was the regeneration of the nation that was at work, the Indian National Congress being his willing instrument.

Political power was bound to follow. But our minds were and are clear. Power may come to us as it has come to us now. We shall, therefore, put it to the only use for which it is intended with humility and in a spirit of service. But power or no power, the organisation must continue to play its role outside the framework of administrative responsibility by identifying itself with the masses in a spirit of sacrifice and service.

Elections have to be fought, for they are the outcome of a moral responsibility. But elections are means to an end. Their real purpose is to educate the masses about the functions of democracy, the role they are expected to play in it, and how they can strengthen the fabric of democracy. That healthy atmosphere is possible if we ourselves realise that elections are not the Congress's only concern not even the first. Elections are a part of its bigger responsibility, even though it is a substantial part. In the final analysis, the work of social education and social service must continue unabated so that when elections come, they would also get their proper place in the Congress programme and not assume an exclusive place of honour and prestige.

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Social and Moral Standards

On the 20th of January, the Subjects Committee of the 60th Session of the Congress unanimously passed the Steering Committee's resolution on "purity and the strengthening of the organisation." This resolution, of which the text and Sri Morarji Desai's remarks in moving it are appended below, has caused much ribald laughter all over the country.

It is said that the legendary Robin Hood was most ruthless and dangerous immediately after his routine confessional of sins to a priest. Perhaps, the mirth that has convulsed millions of our nationals at the above routine utterance of *peccavi* originated from some similar thought.

The resolution as drafted by the Steering Committee, among other things, says, "The Congress views with serious concern some of the trends noticeable in the working of the organisation. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp the strength of the organisation, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency.

"It, therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked."

Sri Morarji Desai moving the resolution stressed the need for cultivating personal purity and honesty among Congressmen which, he said, was essential for strengthening organisation.

Congressmen, he said, had exposed themselves to "temptations" of wielding political power after the attainment of independence. "I have no quarrel with people seeking elections to Legislatures, but we must keep ourselves above personal gains and whatever work is entrusted to us should be accomplished sincerely. We must utilise the political power not for personal gains, but for the good of the masses and the country as a whole," he added.

Internal Faction

Referring to internal factions within the Congress, Sri Desai said, that Congressmen had even "aligned themselves with their rivals outside the organisation's folds" to seek personal gains.

"We quarrel among ourselves, malign each other and even go to the extent of forging alliances with people who have not the ideals of the Congress at their heart. How can the party under such circumstances work for the betterment of the people and usher in a people's democracy"? he asked.

The Congress, he said, had been built on the ideals of service to the people. Its methods had always been peaceful and honest. "Unless we create personal integrity we cannot preach those ideals to the people," he said.

"If we want to build a prosperous India, we will have to be clean, honest and sincere to ourselves. I will not mind if people who go against these ideals are not allowed to grow in the organisation," he said.

Sri Desai said that Congressmen had even forgotten the party's great achievement of unifying India and winning the country's political independence.

"With disregard to forging the unity of the country further, feuds not only among States but even on district and village levels are perpetrated. We forget then the basic unity of the country, the ideal of the Congress."

Sri Desai said that it was true that compared to other parties, the Congress was far better organised and disciplined. But, he added, Congressmen should not compare themselves with others, but seek to achieve their own ideals as laid down by Gandhiji.

Resolution on International Affairs

The following resolution on international affairs was moved in the 60th plenary session on January 22, by Shri Morarji Desai:

"The Congress welcomes recent development in world affairs, which have contributed to some lessening of international tensions, and trusts that this process will continue and lead to a further improvement of international relations. The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China not only brought an end to 7-year war but, for the first time in a generation, put an end to fighting in the world as a whole. The Congress earnestly hopes that this will lead to a peaceful settlement in this important area of South-East Asia.

"India, in association with Canada and Poland, had undertaken heavy responsibilities in Indo-China. The Congress is glad to learn of the satisfactory work of the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China and hopes that there will be no outside interference or pressure and that the future of these countries will be decided by the peoples themselves as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

"In Korea, while war is ended, peace is not in sight. The establishment of peace in Korea is vital to Asian and world stability, removing from the international context a source of grave danger which may lead to large-scale conflict. The Congress hopes that further steps will be taken to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

"The establishment of a South-East Asian Defence Organisation by some great Powers of the West and some States in South-East Asia, is regrettable and has added to the insecurity of that region and extended the area of cold war.

"The Congress believes that real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly co-operation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world. The principles which should govern international relations have been set out in the joint statements issued by India, China and Burma and

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more recently by India and Yugoslavia. The Congress warmly welcomes these five principles or Panch Shila. They represent the approach and policy of India in international affairs, and put forward the alternative of collective peace to the preparation for collective war. The Congress is of opinion that these principles must basically govern international relations and establish peaceful co-existence which is imperative in the circumstances of to-day for the survival of civilization.

"The continued exclusion of China from the United Nations is very regrettable and retards the progress of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. This Congress expresses the fervent hope that during the present year, China will take her place in the United Nations.

"The Congress welcomes the proposal, originally initiated by Indonesia at the Colombo Conference last year, to convene a conference of the independent States of Asia and Africa and wishes this conference all success.

"The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Even the experiments of the hydrogen bombs, if continued, threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effect, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional atomic weapons, such as atomic artillery, is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction.

"This Congress earnestly requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The Congress further suggests that the United Nations should take steps to give a scientific appraisal of the consequences of the use of and experiment with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons so that the public of all nations might become fully aware of the grave menace of war to-day.

"This Congress records its appreciation of the policy of the Government of India in the realm of international affairs. It realises that the success of any foreign policy and its capacity to make itself felt, depend, in a large measure, on the strength and internal solidarity of the country as well as true understanding and appreciation of the basic aim and approach towards world peace."

In the discussion that followed, nothing new was said. The fact of the exclusion of Israel from the Afro-Asian Conference, and the non-inclusion of Australia and New Zealand was not even referred to, even in an explanatory fashion. This indicates the extent to which the Congress has been officialised.

Resolution on Economic Policy

Pandit Govind Ballav Pant moved the resolution on economic policy in the January 22nd session.

The following is the text of the resolution :

"The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five-Year Plan which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but also of great achievement.

The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the community projects and the national extension service which already cover over 80,000 villages and 50 million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and co-operation which these schemes have evoked. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for all-round advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five-Year Plan.

The time has now come for a substatial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living, and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

The Second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry including machine-making industry as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions being given, but also on the full co-operation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

In view of the declared objective being a socialistic pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will :

(1) Initiate and operate large-scale schemes providing services such as power, transport, etc.

(2) Have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy.

(3) Check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production.

(4) Plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

The First Five-Year Plan was based on a public

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sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part more particularly in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include co-operatives and small-scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the national plan. The private sector has thus a definite plan in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its path within the broad strategic controls of the plan.

India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitates rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic progresses. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them."

Welfare State

Moving the resoution Pandit Pant expressed the hope that the Second Five-Year Plan would be able to solve the unemployment problem, banish poverty and wipe out superstition.

Pandit Pant said that the Congress had accepted the objective of a socialistic pattern of the country and "we want to base the future of our country on that fabric." In adopting that pattern of society, people would have to remember and bear in mind the ideals of "Sarvodaya" which was first brought by Gandhiji. The resolution, he added, also fulfilled the other objective—the Welfare State. The Welfare State could be of various patterns, but India's pattern was based on socialism.

The "Socialistic Pattern"

Prime Minister Nehru said, in the afternoon session on January 22, if the "economic policy" resolution was implemented "it means bringing of a revolution in this country—an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type."

This resolution, said he, was of the highest importance "because ultimately it is this policy which is going to shape the economic and social picture of India." This resolution pointed to a "certain turn in our thinking and action."

Intervening in the debate on the resolution in the plenary session of Congress Sri Nehru said, "yesterday the Congress adopted the Objective resolution." "In that resolution we elucidate further what we mean by our objective which is laid down in Article 1 of the Congress Constitution. We stated that we wanted this to be clearly understood that we aim at socialistic pattern of society. The present resolution before you deals with the economic policy. We have to give effect, if we may say so, to that resolution because ultimately it is the economic policy that is going to shape the economic and social picture of India, which you may call socialistic pattern or whatever you may like to call it. Therefore, this resolution is of the highest importance."

"Naturally," he continued, "in a resolution of this kind, however long-drawn out it may be, one cannot enter into detailed policy. There is one danger in the resolution and it is that you may use striking phrases and broad words and phrases and imagine that you have given a great lead to the country."

"It is possible but it does not help because we have come up against scientific problems, we have to deal with problems of India, the problem of unemployment, raising that level of the country, problem of industrialisation and so many problems. These problems are not solved by broad generalisation and slogans and I say this without any hesitation. I myself have been a victim of slogans. But time has come when you have to forget phrases and deal with hard realities of the situation. This is necessary for us, more especially for Congress men, because Congress men are more responsible for running the Government and Governmental policies than others. Therefore, for us merely to adopt big resolutions with striking phrases is not good enough. In fact it tends to delude one.

Role of Congress

"In reality the only way that is to be done is to sit down and draw up a plan. That is the function of the Planning Commission and those who are concerned. Obviously the Congress session cannot sit down and draw a Five-Year Plan but in a resolution of this kind you have to indicate the type of things you should have to in drawing up that plan. This resolution which is before you gives reference to the approach. You will see, the resolution says that 'time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of 10 years. The national aim is a Welfare State and a socialistic economy'."

This resolution, said Sri Nehru, was not merely a repettion of what they had said before.

"It is pointing to a certain turn in our thinking and action. Time has now come to do this. In a sense we have been doing this but evidently we have not been doing this adequately or, at any rate, we should do this much better now. Therefore, the resolution says time has come to do this with the specific object of raising production and removing unemployment."

Sri Sehru said, in this resolution they had avoided any "bombastic" words. "We are old and mature organisation with a great deal of experience of all kinds and it is not desirable, therefore, that we should use

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words vaguely and bombastically. Therefore, on the whole we under-estimate what we propose to do. This resolution is a proposal of under-estimation because if you give effect to the resolution it means bringing of an economic revolution in this country of the biggest type. But we don't talk of revolution in this resolution. We talk in a relatively pedestrian manner."

Sri Nehru said mention had been made of measures to putting an end to unemployment. In this country of growing population, it was a terrific problem. In other countries like Yugoslavia and Russia and in America and Western Europe, circumstances were different. India also had a different background. In thinking of solutions to problems, the country's peculiarities had to be borne in mind, but one had also to learn from the experience of others.

Sri Nehru said, mention had been made of measures ning. "Planning is quite essential. Otherwise, it is just anarchy. Three or five years ago, when we talked of planning, some others objected and asked: 'What do you mean by planning?' Planning was not acceptable to many people in high places. Today planning is being understood by the average man apart from those in high places. Now we have got a Five-Year Plan of which three years are more or less over and we are thinking of the Second Five-Year Plan."

Objectives in View

"There is much talk," Sri Nehru added, "of this plan being built from below. This is right. Village panchayats, etc., should be consulted. Every specialised group of persons should be consulted, doctors, engineers, merchants, industrialists and other organisations at Governmental level. Nevertheless, what do you mean by planning? Have you paid much attention to the following paragraph in the resolution? It says: 'The national aim is a Welfare State and socialist economy.' This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in national income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy, must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution. The second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people, which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. Mark the words 'physical needs of the people.' They are important words. They are the governing needs, they ought to be the controlling factor in the drawing up of the Second Five-Year Plan."

Basis of Planning

What was the first Five-Year Plan based on?—Sri Nehru asked. It was based on data, and information then available. Certain projects were already there and work was to start on new schemes and priorities had to be given. The plan was based on "the finance available and on priorities being given to the various schemes that were useful and good and we have had good results but really this is not planning in the real planning. The concept of planning is not to think of money we have got and divide it into schemes and give priorities. But it is based on physical needs. This is to say: What do the people of India need, how many schools, how much cloth, how much housing, how much education, health services, etc.? To begin with we are not thinking of finance but the needs of people to-day."

"We organise how to fulfil those needs. This is not a simple matter because in calculating the needs of the people we have to calculate not only on the basis of the increasing population but on the increasing needs. Finance is important but not so much as people think. What is important is trained personnel. The only thing we have to guard against is inflation. Inflation is avoided if there is production corresponding to the amount of money thrown in. Sometimes there is a gap. This is so in the case of large river valley projects. But in the case of cottage industries there is not this gap. Money is not locked up."

A Complicated Business

Sri Nehru said that this resolution talked of endeavours to put an end to unemployment in ten years. But with the old mehods of planning, this would not be possible. Planning had to be done in a big way. Side by side consumption had to be provided for because mass production inevitably involved mass consumption. It again entailed the question of increasing the purchasing power of the people. Therefore, purchasing power had to be dealt with in planning. Another question to be considered was the rate of investment, and the surplus available every year for investment. All this was a complicated business.

What he had said, he concluded, would help people to understand some issues. "The purely financial way" was certainly not good. It was important. But the approach should be non-financial and finances should be considered at a later stage.

Why Call it Socialism?

The Avadi session of the Indian National Congress has adopted a resolution that the economic goal of India is Socialism. There is nothing surprising in it, particularly as it followed the resolution taken by the House of the People during its last winter session laying down that a socialistic society is the object of India's economic goal. Obviously the resolution was sponsored and carried on with the initiative of the party in power. The definition of socialism naturally involves the question of Marxian Socialism which is an widely accepted concept of the subject. Marxian Socialism means: that there shall be a classless society; that the entire means of production of the country must be owned and controlled by the State; that there shall be a dictatorship of the proletariat; and that a socialistic society shall have to be reached not by peaceful means but by revolution by the proletariat.

In modern times, of course, the concept of socialism has undergone a radical change in its application to practice, particularly in Soviet Russia. The shift

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towards national socialism in Russia during the Stalin regime is a marked deviation from the Marxian concept of world socialism wherein the proletariats have no country. Still, however, socialism means, and this is generally recognised, that it is a state of society wherein the entire means of production is controlled and owned by the State and that it is a classless society. The distinction between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the expoiter and exploited must needs be annihilated. It is still an ideal, as yet achieved nowhere. In Russia, the party consists of mighty "haves" and the rest different categories of "have-nots." In China, as yet there are "National Capitalists."

Now, what type of socialism is envisaged in the Congress resolution? Is it the Marxian type? Obviously not. In moving the resolution on socialism at Avadi, Pandit Nehru is reported to have stated: "This freedom struggle all the time gained in its social content and now the time has come when we should march further in this direction, and declare openly what we have often said that the type of society we are aiming at is a socialist society. What exactly socialist society is in detail, I do not promise to go into and many may argue about it. Many of our academic people and pundits may argue about it. Let us argue if you like. But I want to tell you that whatever it is going to be, it has to be in keeping with India's genius. If it is something superimposed, then it will not go far. I don't mean to say that we cannot learn from others, we must and we will learn. But whatever we learn must also be grafted on to the soil of India and not be something apart from it." Pandit Nehru said that the word socialism had come from the West. In Europe, the word was connected with class war, and many other events, "but it is not necessary we should go through the troubles of Europe to achieve our brand of socialist pattern. Indeed, it would be foolish for us to go through those troubles and copy the methods of others."

Nobody would certainly ask Pandit Nehru to go through a process of class struggle to establish a socialistic pattern of society. Socialism can now be established without the class struggle, that is, by peaceful and democratic means. But socialism must mean one thing fundamentally and it is that the means of production must be owned and controlled by the State. If in socialistic State the means of production is owned partially by the private sector, however limited the sector may be, then it is not pure socialism as defined in the West.

According to Sri Nehru's concept, socialism means two things: it is a casteless and classless society, and that private enterprise must exist in socialism. While speaking on the economic policy in the House of the People on December 21, 1954, Pandit Nehru referred to the suggestion made by some people that the

private sector must be prevented from functioning. He replied by saying that such idea came from confused thinking. He said: "Our policy must be inevitably of raising production, of increasing employment as rapidly as possible. In doing that, it is essential that the public sector should grow as rapidly as possible. I think in the circumstances in India today, it is quite necessary that the private sector should function under certain broad strategic controls. We have to have the public sector and the private sector as a co-ordinating part of the plan. We have to think of the whole business of building India as one large co-operative enterprise in which every group and every part of India shares. I do not wish to limit the public sector at all in any way but our resources are limited. It is no good merely preventing somebody when I cannot do it myself. That is folly." He further contended that it would be absurd to ask the private sector to function, denying them freedom to function, denying them initiative.

Mixed economy is a compromise between socialism and capitalism and it is a type by itself. To identify mixed economy with socialism is to liquidate the latter. Pandit Nehru has suggested that the Indian genius will be able to evolve a type of socialism suited to Indian conditions. When the scope of socialistic structure is circumscribed by the existence of private enterprise, there is little left for further enunciation. It means, plainly speaking, that the seal of socialism has been set on mixed economy and further evolution on the purely Western socialistic basis is prohibited by the nature of the definition. There is no reason, however, for being hidebound by Western concepts.

The champions of socialism in this country need not therefore be much elated, nor the private sector be disappointed at the threat of socialism. Everyone will stand where he is now. It is just a dynamic concept in a static structure, pouring old wine in a new bottle. The hastiness of the Congress Party in branding the mixed economy as socialism is understandable. It will keep the mouth of the agitators shut for some time. Pandit Nehru's visit to China and his entente with Mr. Chou En-lai has taken the wind out of the Communist Party's sails which is now just groping in the darkness. The Praja Socialist is in a process of disintegration and to prevent extinction it has now switched on Bhoodan. By declaring that the goal of Indian economy is socialism, the Congress Party has automatically registered a claim to be acknowledged as the champion of socialistic economy.

It is for the leaders of the opposition parties to dissect and analyse Pandit Nehru's speech. We neither desire nor consider it due to us to do so. But it is about time some light was thrown on this confusion between socialism and the Gandhian prin-

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ciple of Ram Rajya. We would like to see a clear-cut exposition.

Pandit Nehru abhors doctrinaire economics, but unfortunately he himself indulges in doctrinairism without being earnest. The "demos" in India are still ignorant and ill-cared for, and no talk of socialism or Welfare State can bring about any hope for them unless and until their conditions are materially uplifted. It is yet to be seen how in this country there can be a classless society in the midst of private enterprise. A classless society envisages not only economic equality, but also the liquidation of economic exploitation, and in a system of economy where there is private enterprise, it is difficult to bring in economic equality or the complete liquidation of exploitation if the private sector does not adopt a totally new outlook.

We have made the above remarks because we believe that enunciation of nation-building principles should be kept free of electioneering motives.

"Rastrabhasa"

What is 'nationalisation' in Hindi—the national language?

Prime Minister Nehru put this question at the Subjects Committee meeting and left the problem unsolved.

Mr. Nehru, who was moving the economic resolution in Hindi paused to find a suitable expression for 'nationalisation' and asked the delegates nearby what it was.

Several of them shouted "rashtriyakaran."

Mr. Nehru said this word did not express clearly the connotation of the term "nationalisation."

He continued his speech using the English term.

Pandit Nehru was quite right. There are quite a few persons who are following the principle "where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise," in their enthusiastic clamour for the immediate replacement of English by Hindi. Crude and incomplete—not to say incomprehensible—translations of English terms and phrases are making confusion worse confounded as a result.

Avadi Congress Expenses

A reader writes in the *Hindu* with reference to the estimated cost of ten lakhs of rupees for the provision of food for 2¼ million audience in connection with the session of the Avadi Congress: "Such a colossal expenditure must make one pause and seriously think. Is all this necessary, and justifiable? For after all, you are having only the Annual Political Party Picnic at Avadi—nothing else absolutely."

He asks if such an expenditure of ten lakhs of rupees could be justified on Gandhian principles when nothing would come of it to ameliorate the people's distress.

We say "no" with all the emphasis at our command.

The Industrial Credit Corporation

The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation, registered in Bombay on January 6, 1955, under the Indian Companies Act, will aid financially and with technical and other assistance, industrial enterprises in the country. Dr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar has been selected as the first Chairman of the Board of Directors and Mr. Percival Beale, Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, has been appointed as the General Manager of the Corporation.

The authorised capital of the Corporation will be Rs. 25 crores, divided into 500,000 ordinary shares and 2,000,000 unclassified shares of Rs. 100 each. Initially the Corporation will issue the 500,000 ordinary shares. Investors in the United Kingdom will subscribe for 100.000 shares and those in the USA 50,000 shares. The balance of 350,000 shares will be offered for subscription in this country. Of these, 150,000 shares will be offered privately and 200,000 shares will be open for public subscription.

The British investors have taken shares worth Rs. one crore and American investors Rs. fifty lakhs of the initial share capital of the Corporation which is Rs. 5 crores. This amount of Rs. 1.5 crores has been subscribed by institutional investors in the UK and the USA. The British investors consist of eight Eastern Exchange banks, 30 insurance companies, four industrial concerns and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, Ltd. The American investors comprise the Bank of America, the Rockefeller Brothers, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation and the Westinghouse Electric International Corporation. Shares worth Rs. 3.5 crores are being sold in India partly through private placement and partly through public offering.

The Government of India is crediting the Corporation with Rs. 7½ crores free of interest for a period of fifteen years and the Corporation will have to return this amount in equal annual instalments over a period of fifteen years commencing from the end of the first 15-year period. In addition, the International Bank has given a loan of about Rs. 5 crores ($10 million). The loan is for a term of fifteen years and bears interest at 4-5/8 per cent per annum, including the statutory commission of 1 per cent. Amortisation will begin on January 1, 1960. The loan is guaranteed by the Government of India. This is the seventh loan made by the Bank to this country for development projects and the total amount lent to India stands at $ 126.7 million. The proceeds of the $10 million loan will be used for the purchase of imported material, equipment and services required to carry out private industrial projects to be financed by the Corporation.

The primary object of the Corporation will be to assist industrial entrepreneurs within the private sector of industry in India. The purpose generally is to assist the erection, expansion and modernisation of such industrial enterprises, to encourage and promote the

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participation of private capital both internal and external in these enterprises and to encourage and promote private onwership of industrial investments. The Corporation will make long and medium-term loans to industrial enerprises, purchase shares of industrial con cerns, underwrite new issues of securities, guarantee loans from other investment sources, and help industry to obtain managerial, technical and administrative advice and assistance.

The Corporation will be able, by nature of its organisation, to tap funds in India not at present being available to industry, and in due course to increase the inflow of foreign investment in this country. The Corporation will benefit Indian economy not only by direct financing of industry but also in other ways of equal importance. Through its connexions abroad, it will be in a position to meet its needs for technical knowledge and managerial experience. Furthermore, its power to underwrite new issues will fill the gap in the Indian capital market. The nature of the Corporation and its sponsorship by leading financial institutions in India and abroad should enable it to raise funds in this country hitherto lying untapped.

The Corporation will participate in the equity capital of industry and may make funds available for re-investment by revolving investment as rapidly as possible. The funds at the disposal of the Corporation will be Rs. 17½ crores. The Corporation can borrow up to three times the amount of the capital, plus the amount of the interest-free deposit outstanding and any reserves which the Corporation might have built up.

The British and American investment has been invited because the Steering Committee feel that through association with the Corporation, foreign investors will obtain a clear insight into the conditions in which private industry is functioning in India. It would also show that the fears and sometimes alarmist views spread about the future of private industry in India and more so in foreign countries, is unjustified. Another advantage would be the greater participation of foreign capital, not merely through the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation but outside of it, in assisting, under proper conditions laid down by the Government of India, the development of Indian industries. Finally, through such contacts, technical assistance and "know-how" in many new industries will be made easier, and co-operation will be established on a firm basis between those in foreign countries who wish to associate themselves in the development of Indian industries by the private sector and those in India who desire to invest in the private sector.

Persian Oil Agreement

At last, Iranian oil has begun to flow back into the world oil markets. Persia and the Consortium of eight oil companies negotiating in Teheran have finally reached a settlement of the long-standing oil dispute. Both the Majlis and the Senate have ratified the international oil agreement and it has received the assent of the Shah. The agreement is between the Iranian Government, the National Iranian Oil Company (N.I.O.C.) on the one side and the Consortium of eight oil companies on the other. The eight companies are: (1) the Standard Oil Company of California, (2) the Socony-Vacuum Oil Company, Inc., (3) the Texas Company, (4) the Gulf Oil Company, (5) the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles, (6) the Anglo-Iranian, (7) the Royal Dutch Shell and (8) the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey.

The Iranian oil industry was nationalised in March 1951 during Dr. Mossadeq's regime. The nationalisation stopped oil exports from Iran and crude oil production came to a standstill. In 1950, Iran exported 30 million tons of petroleum and the crude oil production stood at 32.3 million tons. Petroleum refining amounted to 24.7 million tons in 1950. The activities of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company ceased from 1950 and they contributed nearly 10 per cent of Iran's national income. Since nationalisation, the revenues of the Iranian Government suffered seriously and the Seven-Year Plan projects became impossible of implementation.

General Zahedi came to power in August 1953 after a successful coup against Dr. Mossadeq and he inherited almost an empty treasury. All attempts to bring about a settlement in oil dispute proved a failure. Finally, Mr. Herbert Hoover, President Eisenhower's special adviser on oil, succeeded in reaching an agreement over oil impasse. Of course, the overthrow of Dr. Mossadeq's regime facilitated in concluding the agreement. The agreement makes a compromise between the Iranian national sentiment and the demand of the Anglo-Iranian Company for economic justice. Under the terms of the agreement, although the effective control of both the Abadan refinery and the main oilfields in Iran passes to the international Consortium, the legal title to ownership is retained by the Persian Government.

As part of the Persian oil agreement, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the former concessionary, will receive net compensation of £25 million (free of interest), and this is payable over 10 years starting from January 1957. Besides, it will receive £32.4 million from other members of the Consortium for the sale of 60 per cent of its interest in the Persian oil industry; it will have only 40 per cent interest in the Consortium. In addition, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company will be paid by the seven other members of the Consortium, 10 cents per US barrel on crude oil and products they export from Iran. This payment will cease when it reaches a total of $510 million. The basis of the agreement is the 50:50 division of the profits of the oil industry between Iran and the Consortium.

Re-development of the Iranian oil enterprise is

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to be undertaken by two companies formed by the Oil Consortium and the National Iranian Oil Company. One will be responsible for exploration and production, and the other for refining. Each company will have seven directors, two nominated by Persia and five by the Oil Consortium. Oil revenue for Persia during the first three full years of operation, after an initial starting period of three months, will amount to £150 million at present prices and costs. Of this amount, Iran will be paid £31 in the first full operating year, increasing to £67 million in the third year. Production of crude oil will rise progressively to a total of 80 million cubic metres (68 million tons or 500 million barrels) for the three-year period. After the first three years, the Consortium will take from Iran quantities of crude oil which will reasonably reflect the supply and demand trend for Middle-East crude oil, assuming favourable operating and economic conditions in Iran.

The rate of production that will be reached at the end of the three-year period will once again establish Abadan refineries output as being the largest in the eastern hemisphere. The Abadan refinery with its potential output of over 500,000 barrels per day is the largest in the world. The only other two refineries on the Persian Gulf—Aramco's at Ras Tanura and Bahrein Petroleum Company's plant at Bahrein—can each put through about 200,000 barrels a day. Other refineries in the Middle-East are small tapping plants only.

Private Demand for Gold, 1931-53

During the years 1944-53, approximately 4.5 billion dollars of gold flowed into private channels throughout the world. Of this net flow, about one-third was accounted for by uses in industry and the arts in the United States, and the balance represented largely additions to private gold holdings in all forms in a few countries of Western Europe. The total amount of gold absorbed by private demand throughout the world (excluding the USSR) in the years 1931-53 represents about one-seventh of gold production which aggregated to nearly 600 million ounces (21 billion dollars, at $35 per ounce). It is estimated that gold production during the past four-and-a-half centuries totalled about 1.6 billion ounces (56 billion dollars), of which more than 1 billion ounces (37 billion dollars) are presently held as official reserves by central banks and governments. Since the discovery of America, the total absorption of gold into private holdings, industrial or artistic uses, and waste and losses is being estimated at about a half billion ounces (19 billion dollars).

The large private demand for gold during the past decade are related to monetary disorders, political fears, and dangers of war. Monetary disorders appear to have been the most pervasive, as countries where there was a high preference for gold were generally among those which suffered from monetary inflation and loss of public confidence in their currencies. On the other hand, traditional, psychological, and institutional factors seemed to have conditioned nations differently; in many cases the reaction to monetary disorders was flight of capital into foreign assets, speculative investments, and consumer goods, rather than into gold.

Growth of private demand for gold during the post-war period, under conditions of restrictions on trade and exchanges, led to the formation in many countries of so-called "free" gold markets, whose operations were circumscribed by Government controls. As gold movements and exchange settlements between such markets in different countries were generally restricted, their activities involved varying degrees of evasion of governmental regulations, particularly with respect to import and export of gold and related foreign exchange operations.

The prevalence until recently of premium prices—that is, prices higher than the official dollar value of gold—was a phenomenon that arose from attempts of governments to insulate their respective gold markets through the imposition of direct controls. Premium prices have resulted mainly from effective depreciatoin of the various currencies involved, but such prices also reflected, in varying degrees, both the risks involved in the illegal nature of many transactions and a speculative preference for gold.

Abatement of private demand and decline in prices for gold in most markets to official valuations during the past year have accompanied achievement of financial stability and relaxation of exchange and trade restrictions in Western Europe and the Sterling Area.

Mineral Production in India in 1953

According to a recent report of the Geological Survey of India, the aggregate pits' mouth value of minerals produced in this country in 1953 was Rs. 112 crores as compared with Rs. 108 crores in 1952 and Rs. 105 crores in 1951. In 1947, the total value of all minerals produced in India was only Rs. 64 crores. The total value of coal produced in 1953 was Rs. 52.7 crores, of manganese ore Rs. 29.4 crores, of gypsum Rs. 28 lakhs, of chromite Rs. 25 lakhs and of bauxite Rs. 7.88 lakhs. With the exception of coal, all these are record figures.

The Railways consumed in 1953, 10.4 million tons of coal representing 29 per cent of the total output. The consumption of coal by other industries was as follows: iron and steel and brass foundries (12.6 per cent); steam electric utilities including gas companies (7.8 per cent); textiles (5.0 per cent); bricks, tiles and ceramics (4.6 per cent). Nearly 2 million tons of coal and coke were exported by India in 1953

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Importers of Indian coal are Pakistan, Japan, Aden, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Korea, Singapore, Tanganyika and the UK.

The USA was the largest importer of Indian manganese in 1953. The value of manganese exported to that country was Rs. 17.3 crores. Other leading importers were: UK (Rs. 2.7 crores); West Germany (Rs. 1.3 crores); and Japan (Rs. 1.3 crores).

The total value of metals produced in India in 1953 was estimated at Rs. 55.2 crores. Steel led with a total of Rs. 41.6 crores. Silver registered the lowest value at Rs. 64,418. The number of persons employed in the production of minerals in 1953 was 592,197. The corresponding figure in 1952 was 583,395.

According to a resurvey of the geological resources of the Jharia coalfields by the Geological Survey of India, the available reserves of all types of coal in the Barakar measures, Jharia, are estimated at 11,679 million tons. According to the estimate made by Sir C. S. Fox in 1926-28, the reserves were placed at 4 537 million tons.

Taccavi Enquiry Committee

The *Hitavada* reports that the Government of Madhya Pradesh announced on January 15 their decision on the Report of Enquiry on Taccavi policy, submitted to them in March, 1954, by the Committee the State Government had appointed. The Enquiry Committee, consisting of 16 members, was headed by the State Minister for Revenue, Sri B. A. Mandloi.

The Taccavi policy so long followed by the State Government was embodied in the executive directions issued under the Agriculturists Loans Act, 1884, and the Land Improvement Act, 1883; and was formulated largely against the background of famine. Consequently the policy did not envisage any regulation of private money-lending in rural areas with its attending evils. Faced with the need for reduction of agricultural indebtedness during the economic crisis of the 'thirties the Government had to modify the policy of *laissez faire* in the field of rural moneylending by usurers; and the Central Provinces and Berar Debt Reconciliation Act (1933) and the Relief of Indebtedness Act (1939) were passed. The shifts since independence, from "protective" to "productive" aspect of taccavi led to a widening of the scope of taccavi and a careful and thorough examination of the existing policy becoming necessary, the above Committee was appointed to review the working of the whole system of taccavi and to make recommendations to the Government as to the policy to be followed in future.

The State Government accepted the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee that except for taccavi required as a measure of relief from distress, the responsibility for which must rest on Government, the co-operative agency should ultimately take over the bulk of agricultural financing for productive purposes. Government also agreed that it was desirable to distinguish between "taccavi advanced for relief from distress and agricultural financing for productive or protective purposes." In view of the weakness of the co-operative movement in the State, Government would, however, as suggested by the Committee, continue to grant both types of taccavi while efforts would be made for strengthening the co-operative movement so that ultimately the whole of the work of agricultural financing might be entrusted to the co-operative societies.

The Government also agreed that creditor-debtor relationship between the State and borrowers were theoretically undesirable but, as the Committee also had said, it was not possible on practical considerations to abolish that relation at once.

The Committee had estimated the total credit requirements for short-term seasonal loans at twenty crores of rupees and for medium-term loans at six crores of rupees. With due regard to the financial position of the State, the Committee had, however, suggested that as an immediate step the total volume of agricultural financing by the State Government be increased progressively by about two crores of rupees every year. The Government agreed to the suggestion with the qualification that subject to their financial ability, Government would try to provide the suggested amount of credit every year provided the borrowers repaid regularly the loans advanced to them.

The State Government also accepted the recommendation that a single agency for advancing loans to agriculturists in one and the same area was preferable to more than one agency; and would henceforth distribute loans through co-operative agencies in areas where such agencies were engaged in financing agriculturists with loans. The suggestion for the grant of temporary accommodation to the State Co-operative Bank against the risk in short recoveries in a year of indifferent harvest was also accepted.

The Committee had suggested the establishment of a fund to be known as the Co-operative Credit Stabilisation Fund by contributing one per cent of the total outstandings of co-operative societies towards this fund out of the Consolidated Fund of the State for the purposes of stabilising the movement in times of unforeseen calamities like general collapse of agricultural prices and enabling Government to draw on that fund for fulfilment of their guarantee in respect of the loans obtained by the State Co-operative Bank. That was also agreed to by the Government.

The Committee had made various recommendations on the procedure of distribution and accounting of taccavi. The more important of them were accepted by the Government. The recommendations dealing repaying capacity, joint responsibility and grant of

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taccavi to persons having no transferable interest in land also were generally accepted.

The Committee had pointed to the importance of prompt repayment of loans by the borrowers in any scheme of rural credit. The figures quoted by the Committee showed that during the period from 1947-48 to 1951-52 collections of arrear loans had generally been unsatisfactory. Except in a few matters of detail, Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee in the matter of recovery of loans.

Dealing with misapplication of taccavi loans, the Committee had observed that the misapplication of taccavi was not as large as was commonly believed. According to the finding of the Committee, "the tendency to misapply a loan obtained from Government is a social evil" and "in some cases, it may have its roots in the economic condition of the borrowers." Government intended to take steps to check the tendency to misapply taccavi loans.

Kashmir's Economic Condition

The *Kashmir Post*, a weekly new magazine published from Jammu, devotes its editorial columns on January 14 to an examination of the present economic situation in Kashmir.

The newspaper notes with approval the remarks of the Chief Minister Bakshi Gholam Mohammad that more had been done during the past twelve months to ameliorate the lot of the people than during the preceding one thousand years. Recounting the achievements made in different fields the newspaper writes: "If today a new kind of life pulsates among the people of the State, if today the masses are permeated with a sense of endeavour and achievement, the reason is that the new leadership which was voted to power after August 1953 (replacing Sheikh Abdullah) made a serious effort at basing its policies entirely in conformity with the people."

Nevertheless, the editorial goes on to point out in a friendly way, the economy of the State could not be regarded in any way as satisfactory from whatever point one might look at it. The purchasing power of the people was shockingly low and unemployment rampant. Agriculture was under heavy pressure and industry undeveloped. The cottage industries also were in an equally sorry state. As a result almost "the entire population of Kashmir is forced into idleness during winter months which by itself provides proof of the fact that little has been done to provide work to the people in their homes."

Advertising to the question of the utilisation of the State's natural resources for increasing its wealth, it is pointed out with reference to the State Plan that except in so far as the plan provided for the setting-up of three power projects there seemed to be little indication that a serious effort was intended to raise the per capita income of the people or to increase the economic potential of the State. While the opening of new roads and building of bridges were in the long run likely to result in improving the economy of the backward areas of the State, the unfortunate fact was that at the moment "the entire State must be regarded to be a backward area on the basis of the overall economic position of the State."

The State Government, which the newspaper is confident was keen on building up the economic prosperity of Kashmir, is asked to reassess the need for developing the economic potential of the State. "Absence of taxation is in no way a happy position for a State desirous of making progress in the modern age. The more willingly people pay taxes, the more easily they can contribute towards the cost of development schemes, and the more there is cause for satisfaction. Looked at from this angle, we do not seem to be doing so well at present," concludes the *Kashmir Post*.

The question of a comprehensive plan for the raising of the economic level of the Kashmir people depends a great deal on the Settlement of the Indo-Pak dispute regarding the future of Kashmir. If it were decided either way then that question could be tackled.

All-India Educational Conference

The All-India Educational Conference met in its twenty-ninth session in Patna during the last week of December and was presided over by Dr. P. R. Paranjpye. The Conference discussed almost every aspect of the country's education and in turn adopted as many as forty-three resolutions. *PTI* reports:

"The Conference viewed with concern the 'crisis' that had confronted education and educators in West Bengal in particular and the whole of the Indian Union in general and was of the opinion that it had arisen owing to the fact that both the Central and State Governments had not given the priority that education deserved in a predominantly undeveloped area of the world, just out of colonial rule.

"It suggested:

"(*a*) Instead of merely co-ordinating and guiding the work of the State Governments, local bodies and private agencies, in the carrying out of educational programmes, the Central Government should assume the overall responsibility for the implementation of national policies in education and help the other three agencies as far as possible.

"(*b*) At least 25 per cent of the total budgeted expenditure of the States and at least 15 per cent of the total expenditure of the Centre should be earmarked for education. Of this at least 50 per cent of the sum allocated in the States and at least 40 per cent of the sum allocated in the Centre should be kept reserved for primary education.

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"(*c*) Teachers in their particular field of education should have the predominating voice in the shaping of the national educational policies through their representative organisations.

"(*d*) Adequate arrangements must be made for ensuring a decent standard of living for teachers and social security comparable to others of the same qualification in the services.

"(*e*) Education cess should be levied on annual incomes of over Rs. 1,500. It should also be levied on foreign industrial firms, Indian monopolies, jute and jute goods, tea, cloth and other items which are for export as well as on racing, intoxicating liquors and luxury articles, cinema, etc.

"(*f*) There should be a thorough reform of the primary educational system. The aim of primary education should be to provide eight years of integrated education. A system of free and compulsory primary education must be provided within the next five years everywhere. Adult education should be democratically organised with the help of primary teachers.

"(*g*) New legislation should be enacted in the light of these basic principles and the existing legislation be modified accordingly.

"The conference urged the Government of India to establish a Central National Research Institute for Education on the lines of the National Laboratories.

"For the security of service of teachers and arbitration of disputes, the Conference recommended the immediate setting-up of an arbitration board in every State, consisting of a judicial officer or a retired officer not below the rank of a district and sessions judge and three assessors representing the directors of education, the management and the teachers' organisation in the State. The Board should be granted the authority by legislation to act as a tribunal on the lines of industrial tribunals having legal competence to summon and examine all witnesses, have access to all relevant materials for disputes and to adjudicate all disputes."

The Conference urged for the extension to primary teachers of certain benefits recommended by the Secondary Education Commission for teachers in Secondary schools. Further, in the best interest of education adequate representation of primary teachers on school managing committees was also urged. The Conference also suggested the institution of a system of gratuities to be paid to the primary school teachers on retirement. The working hours of primary teachers were recommended to be restricted to 30 hours in a week and working days in a year were suggested not to exceed 210. The demand of Bombay primary teachers for full pay while under training was also supported by the Conference.

PTI adds that in regard to primary education "the Conference requested the Government of India immediately to appoint a representative commission (1) to make a comprehensive survey of elementary education in all the States; (2) to enquire into the condition of primary teachers and to prepare uniform scales of pay on a country-wide basis for them; (3) to report on the facts in basic education; (4) to prepare a master plan for primary education for administration, syllabus, teachers' training, etc.; and (5) to suggest ways and means to implement it."

We think most of the suggestions made at the Conference are worthy of consideration. But (*c*) and (*e*) do not seem to be practical at the present juncture. The detachment and the objective capacity of assessment of the essentials in educational procedure can hardly be found in teachers in the everyday sense of the term. As for financial arrangements, they had best be left to specialists.

Lessons of Kumbh Mela Tragedy

The Enquiry Committee under the chairmanship of Sri Kamala Kant Varma listed nine 'predisposing causes' for the tragedy which had occurred at the Kumbh Mela on February 3, 1954, killing between 450 and 500 people.

According to the summary of the report published in the *Statesman* on January 11, those causes were:

"1. Cancellation only a few days prior to February 3, 1954, of compulsory inoculation against cholera was presumably the main cause of the sudden influx into the Kumbh Mela of an unprecedentedly large crowd on the main bathing day. According to the report, Mela officials did not appear to have been prepared for the sudden arrival of such a large crowd.

"2. Only one route for ingress was prescribed for the major portion of the crowd. The result was that the people moving along this route were subjected to irresistible pressure from the rear and were forced to go forward.

"3. The Sangam railway station which the Northern Railway established in the parade area in front of the ill-fated bund occupied a great deal of the available open space. Besides, passengers detraining in close proximity to the bund rushed into the Sangam area immediately with their luggage. When abandoned, this luggage proved a stumbling block to the crowd.

"4. All open spaces outside the compound of the Sangam station, the military depot and the Agriculture Department Farm were occupied by a variety of camps and shops.

"5. All open spaces in the Sangam area, particularly between the Ganga and the bund, were also occupied by numerous camps.

"6. There was rain on February 2 and although clinkers were spread, the surface of Ramp No. 1

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down which the tragedy occurred and of the immediate neighbourhood was still slippery.

"7. There were a number of ditches between Ramps No. 1 and 2. The majority were filled in, but a large ditch, filled with water was overlooked. The surrounding area was full of slush and mud. This ditch played a prominent part in the tragedy.

"8. The routes prescribed for the Akhara processions of the various religious orders and for pedestrians intersected in the Sangam area below Ramp No. 1, creating a dangerous situation.

"9. Policemen posted on this route and other crucial points to control the crowd belonged to the Provincial Armed Constabulary which does not wear turbans. They could not be identified among the crowd and were unable to be of assistance."

The immediate cause of the disaster had been a clash between the Naga processionists and the pilgrims.

The authorities were blamed in the report for their policy of undue appeasement of some "holy men" bent on going in a procession unclad. The committee found that a number of men who did not normally go about unclad had been made to join the procession on payment.

Among the notable suggestions of the committee were the recommendations that the planning of a Mela should be started two years ahead of the event and that there should be no railway station in the Mela area.

Pointing to the lessons to be learnt from the Kumbh Mela disaster, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes in an editorial article on January 15 that the findings and recommendations of the Inquiry Committee were relevant not only to future Kumbh Melas at Allahabad but also to similar gatherings everywhere.

The newspaper touches on a broader aspect of the matter and raises the question about the exact function and duties of a Secular State in relation to religious events—a question that was agitating many minds. While, according to the newspaper, the State should not discourage any type of religious observance and rather "should go further and afford for any religious group, or community which organises any ceremony or gathering, all the facilities possible and necessary"; and even the revival and encouragement of traditional festivals and observances with artistic, cultural or religious significance also might be in order, "the line should be drawn somewhere. Can the State go so far as directly to organise purely religious events," as it had done in the case of the last Kumbh Mela?

The *Bombay Chronicle* thinks that the exact role of the Government in such matters should be clarified by public discussion. In its view it was desirable that the Central and State Governments and even quasi-governmental agencies should restrict themselves to civil duties and leave religious functions to private organisations.

We agree with this view. Further we think that the well-being of the general public and their safety should be prime considerations. Any quasi-religious practice that threatens public safety or peace should be vetoed.

Removal of Untouchability

Sri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai replies to some of the more plausible objections to the removal of untouchability in India. In an article on the matter in the *Harijan* on January 8, he quotes certain reactions to the Government of India's intention to undertake a comprehensive legislation for the abolition of untouchability, to show how conservative certain people were.

Expressing some surprise that efforts should be made in some quarters to bring up the idea of co-existence as a justification for the continuation of the caste system and untouchability, Sri Desai points out that co-existence presupposed equal regard for one another and it was incompatible with any idea that some were higher and others were lower by birth.

It was also surprising that objections should be raised against interdining, Sri Desai continues. One was free to eat whatever or however he liked but "the belief that the presence on one's side of someone belonging to some other particular caste at the time when one is eating constitutes for the latter—although the former should be eating from his own plate—a breach in his practice of religion cannot be accepted."

Sri Desai dismisses as baseless the fear that expressed by some that because of some special facilities they were receiving, the Harijans might like to keep up their separate identity forever. It could not mean "even if there were some truth in it that they should not be given the facilities which they deserve." Moreover, it was "not reasonable to suppose that lured by those facilities they (the Harijans) would like to keep their social status as it has been." It was the normal constitutional responsibility of the State to help the more backward classes educationally and economically.

The more important question, Sri Desai emphasises, was not whether the Harijans were likely to give up their existing social status which they certainly would do, but "whether the non-Harijans will wipe out the sin of untouchability. . . That is what we should be concerned about and attend to with all our energy. If that is done all other things that we want will follow automatically."

Recalling Legislators

Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, said in a recent speech at the

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Harold Laski Institute in Ahmedabad that people should have the right to recall their representatives in the diffrent legislatures in India if those representatives failed to give a good account of themselves. He would like the right of recall of legislators to be first applied in the State Legislatures and then to the Parliament. Sri Ayyangar also referred to the tendency among Parliamentarians to absent themselves from the House for hours together and said, "We have to ring the bell very often to get the quorum. The tendency to remain absent from the House has developed since the salaries of the members have been fixed."

The *Hitavada* in an editorial article on the 14th January wholeheartedly supports the idea of incorporating a provision in the Indian Constitution for recalling absentee and indifferent legislators. Referring to Sri Ayyangar's speech the newspaper writes that there was no reason why the Lok Sabha should be excluded from the proposed rule regarding recall of legislators, especially as the evil of absenteeism was largely prevalent in that House too.

The Constitutions of a number of countries also provided for the recall of legislators who did not take their duties seriously or who ceased to represent the people who had elected them, the newspaper notes. In our Constitution too, it is suggested, there should be a clear legal provision to prevent political apostasy as the "practice is becoming somewhat common for legislators crossing the floor of the House for personal reasons and paying little or no attention to the views of their electorate."

"A sound party system cannot be developed unless the legislators who change their party loyalty are deprived of their seats in the legislatures," the newspaper writes. Mere expulsion from the party was not enough in those cases for curing political opportunism.

Reference is made to the fact that the fixing of monthly salaries for our legislators had been done according to the practice obtaining in the British House of Commons. But there was a lot of difference between the British Parliamentarians and their Indian counterparts. A Member of Parliament in the United Kingdom spent almost the whole of his salary on the duties pertaining to his office. He regularly maintained an office in his constituency and was in constant touch with his electorate.

"But what is the position in our country?" asks the newspaper. "How many legislators can say that they are in constant touch with their masters, the voters?" In fact, after election very few legislators remembered the electorate until the exigencies of a further election reminded them of that. As a result many of them ceased to represent the views of their electors on many public issues.

"This indifference to his masters are bad enough. But if he adds to that the evil of absenteeism in the Legislature, he must be recalled by the people," the *Hitavada* writes.

The arguments supporting a provision for the recalling of laggards and useless legislators is cogent enough. But what should be the procedure for determining the will of the electors? Unless a rigid procedure is laid down, it would mean that the elections would never be conclusive.

Education of Legislators

The All-India Conference of Government Whips of Legislatures which met for two days in Mysore on January 15 and 16, is reported to have recommended the establishment of a Reorientation Institute for Legislators of all parties in the Union Parliament and the State Legislatures, to enable them to understand to a greater degree the problems of the public. The Government of India was urged to provide requisite assistance for the purpose, if necessary, with external aid.

Chou-Hammerskjoeld Talks

The United Nations General Assembly in a resolution adopted on December 10 last condemned the Government of the People's Republic of China for what was stated to be the unjust detention and punishment by China of eleven American airmen. The resolution sponsored by the sixteen Korean War Allies and approved by the General Assembly by 47 votes to 5 with 7 absentions including India, asked the U.N. Secretary-General to negotiate with the Chinese Government for the release of the airmen and to report back on the results by December 31, 1954.

Accordingly, Mr. Dag Hammerskjoeld, the U.N. Secretary-General, offered to go to Peking to hold talks with the Chinese Government on the release of the imprisoned American airmen. The Chinese Government was apparently not very keen to receive the U.N. envoy but eventually agreed to the proposal at the special request of the Government of India.

Mr. Hammersjoeld arrived in Peking on January 5 *via* New Delhi, where he had talks with Premier Nehru. The U.N. Secretary-General was accompanied by Professor A. S. Bokhari of Pakistan who was an Assistant Secretary-General of the U.N.O.

In a joint communique issued on January 10, after the conclusion of the talks, Dr. Hammerskjoeld and Mr. Chou En-lai said that in their meetings they discussed "questions pertinent to the relaxation of world tension" and felt that "these talks have been useful and we hope to be able to conitnue the contact established in these meetings."

There was no mention in the communique of anything about the imprisoned U.S. airmen.

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Mr. Hammerskjoeld said in a Press Conference in New York that his discussions with the Chinese Government "were very thorough and that the visit of Peking has achieved what I was aiming at in this first step;" and that "no deals of any kind" had been suggested by either side. He added that there was no possibility of his going back to Peking.

In his talks later on with the U.S. Secretary of State, Dr. Hammerskjoeld is reported to have said that he was hopeful of the release of the airmen imprisoned in China "given restraint on all sides."

It is generally believed that Dr. Hammerskjoeld's discussion with Mr. Chou En-lai covered a wide field including China's membership of the U.N. The Chinese Government stated to have sent a detailed report on the Peking talks to the Government of India. Though the contents of the report have not been made public, it is believed to indicate China's great reluctance to treat the case of the imprisoned airmen as a major issue of her dispute with Washington, in spite of her knowledge of America's strong feelings in the matter. China, however, reportedly indicated her great willingness to co-operate in measures to remove the tension which gave importance to such incidents.

Commenting on Dr. Hammerskjoeld's report on his talks in Peking, President Eisenhower said on January 14 that Americans were disappointed by it. He said that it would not be easy for Americans "to refrain from giving expression to thoughts of reprisal or retaliation"; but he urged everyone to refrain from such thoughts.

It has since been known that during Mr. Hammerskjoeld's visit to Peking, the Chinese Government had offered to allow the relatives of the imprisoned airmen to go to China to visit them. But the U.S. Government is reported to have decided "not to encourage" families of the airmen to accept the Chinese offer. According to *UPI*, Mr. Hammerskjoeld said that he would hold himself responsible for the security of the American relatives who wanted to go to Peking.

On the occasion of Mr. Hammerskjoeld's China visit certain interested parties found it opportune to indulge in anti-Indian propaganda. It was wildly and widely rumoured that Mr. Hammerskjoeld had been given a cold reception in New Delhi. However, Mr. Hammerskjoeld himself contradicted the story and thus laid bare its hollowness.

Bogor Talks

The Prime Ministers of five Asian countries—India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Burma and Pakistan—had their first meeting in Colombo when they held discussions from April 28 to May, 1954, covering matters of common interest including the ending of war in Indo-China, China's admission in the UN, stopping Hydrogen bomb tests and problems relating to Communism, Colonialism and the Middle East. In that meeting they had also discussed the desirability of holding a conference of African-Asian nations and the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, had been entrusted to explore the possibilities of such a conference.

Accordingly, the Premiers of the above nations met for two days on December 28 and 29 at Bogor, the Indonesian hill resort, 40 miles south of Djakarta, to discuss the agenda and list of invitees for the proposed Afro-Asian Conference which had originally been scheduled to be held in Indonesia in February or March this year, but would now be held in the last week of April (one tentative date was April 18).

The Bogor Conference unanimously approved of the list of nations to be invited. The proposed invitees, which included People's Republic of China, Japan and Turkey but excluded Israel and U.S.S.R., numbered twenty-five. Others were Afghanisthan, Viet Nam, Viet Minh, Laos, Cambodia, Egypt, Sudan, Gold Coast, Liberia, Ethiopia, Iraq, Libya, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Central African Federation, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Nepal. Thailand and the Philippines which had already indicated their unwillingness to attend such a conference were also invited. Israel was not invited. Thus if all the invitations were accepted altogether thirty countries would participate in the proposed African-Asian Conference at Bandung in Indonesia.

The purpose of the proposed African-Asian Conference was described by the Prime Ministers to be:

"(*a*) To promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa; to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;

"(*b*) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;

"(*c*) To consider problems of special interest to the Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism; and

"(*d*) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation."

The twenty-five countries had been invited to the proposed conference on a broad geographical basis and on the agreement of the five Premiers that "all countries in Asia which have independent governments will be invited."

The conference would be on a ministerial level; it was hoped that either the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister of the respective countries would attend the conference, together with other representatives.

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The Prime Ministers pointed out "that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve, or even imply, any other change in view of the status of any other country. It would imply only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the conference." No discussion of the proposed conference would be regarded as binding on any country unless it so desired. The basic purpose of the conference was that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view and "the Prime Ministers hope that this clarification will enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation," says the communique issued at the conclusion of the Bogor talks.

The Prime Ministers welcomed the outcome of the Geneva Conference which contributed to the cease-fire in Indo-China and hoped that the Agreement would be fully implemented. They expressed their continued support to the demands of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination. The four other Premiers supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and expressed the hope that the Netherlands Government would not fail to honour their obligations under their agreement with Indonesia.

The Prime Ministers also reiterated their great concern at the destructive potentialities of the nuclear weapons.

Eighteen countries are reported to have already given their consent to participate in the forthcoming Bandung Conference.

The Bogor Conference of the five Asian Powers found a sympathetic response in the Soviet press though the Soviet Union, which had vast territory in Asia, was excluded from the list of invitees.

In an article in the *Pravda*, official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, N. Pastukhov writes that the importance of the Bogor Conference "lies in the fact that it expresses the desire of the Asian peoples to rule their own destiny. Its decisions also show that the Asian problems cannot be settled without the participation of the great Chinese people. At the same time the Conference has evidenced the constantly growing struggle of the Asian peoples for full national independence, against colonialism, racial discrimination and economic enslavement."

Western Reaction to Bogor Conference

Though London official circles wished "a fair wind" to the Afro-Asian Conference, Whitehall was not altogether enthusiastic about the prospect of a conference of Asian and African countries, such as was envisaged by the Djakarta Powers. "There is, indeed, reason to believe that the resentful comments of the *Daily Telegraph* yesterday (Dec. 30) on the 'Coloured Man's Burden' are not far removed from official reaction here," writes Dr. K. S. Shelvankav in a despatch to the *Hindu* from London.

Britain was resentful at her exclusion from the Bandung invitees as she still regarded herself as an Asian and African Powers. The decision taken at Bogor to invite, among others, Gold Coast, Sudan and the Central African Federation—which had so long been treated as a close British reserve—presented Britain with a problem. It was pointed out in certain quarters that the three African States under reference could not accept the invitation to attend the Bandung Conference without British consent as Whitehall was still responsible for them. Consequently, there appeared some doubts as to the eventful British attitude on the issue of these States' joining the conference. Britain had, however, constantly emphasised the *de facto* independence of some of these countries which had not yet attained full Commonwealth status, and had also been seeking to get them admitted to specialised international bodies like the World Health Organisation, Dr. Shelvankar points out.

PTI sums up the Western reaction in the following words: "Behind the facade of diplomatic phrases, what the Western Powers are really concerned with, according to informed sources here (London), is not so much the forging of a political bloc—which they know to be difficult in view of the ideological conglomeration of the States—but the emergence of a vast economic co-operation agency for Asia and Africa controlling the bulk of the raw materials on which the Western industrial nations now depend."

American coolness to the proposed conference was also not much concealed. Mr. John Foster Dulles, the U.S. Secretary of State, said that the purposes of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference were not clear to him and he described the communique issued after the Bogor Conference "an ambiguous document."

There was much resentment in the Australian press at her exclusion from the Bandung Conference.

Comment was also made in the Western press at the exclusion of New Zealand and the Soviet Union.

Atomic Energy Institute for Pakistan

The Government of Pakistan recently decided on the establishment of an Institute of Atomic Energy in Pakistan. A committee was accordingly appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Nazir Ahmed, who was at present also chairman of the Pakistan Tariff Commission. The committee would devise a programme for atomic energy and prepare a detailed plan for the Institute of Atomic Energy with special reference to location, accommodation, staffing and organization; procurement of machinery and equipment and radioactive and fissionable materials indicating sources of their supply.

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Soviet Offer of Atomic Co-operation

The Soviet Government in an announcement on January 14, signified its willingness to pass on to the U.N. Atomic Energy Committee the scientific and technical experience gained from the operation of the first industrial atomic power plant in the U.S.S.R. which had been in commission since July, 1954. The offer was being made, according to the *Tass* statement, as a recognition by the Soviet Government of the great importance of the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and a contribution in its efforts to promote international co-operation in that field.

Describing the Soviet offer as "of extraordinary interest," the *Hindu* editorially writes on January 16 that though in the Western countries there might be a tendency to search for 'catches' in the Soviet offer, "there is nothing in the Moscow report to indicate that the Soviet Union is making the offer on a conditional basis." While the precise value of the Soviet declaration would doubtless be examined in detail by the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission the anxiety evinced by the Soviet Union—as one of the two Great Powers possessing developed atomic weapons, the other being the U.S.A.—to explore the possibilities of utilising atomic energy for peaceful purposes, what was more, to share the results of their research with other countries must be regarded as very hopeful.

The newspaper refers to the fact that the Soviet offer came more than a year after President Eisenhower had made a proposal in a speech before the U.N. General Assembly in which he had stated that with a view to removing the popular fear of atom, the "governments principally involved, to the extent permitted by elementary prudence," should "begin now and continue to make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic energy agency," which would "devise methods whereby the fissionable material would be allocated to serve the peaceful pursuits of mankind."

The *Hindu* writes: "While Gen. Eisenhower's proposal seemed to limit the functions of the proposed atomic energy agency to sponsoring investigations into the effective peace-time uses of fissionable material, the Soviet Union seems to go one step further and to offer its knowledge and technical 'know-how' for setting up atomic power stations in other countries."

Provided the Soviet offer had been genuinely made the newspaper even envisages a healthy rivalry in the export of atomic power plants between the Soviet Union and United Kingdom, who was also reportedly making good progress in development of atomic energy.

The reason why Gen. Eisenhower's proposal for an international pool of fissionable material had not yet materialized, according to the *Hindu*, "may be that the countries which have fissionable material—among them are Australia, Japan, China, India, South Africa, the Congo, France, Portugal, Brazil and Canada—are not willing to disclose their resources to an international agency of whose immediate serviceability to them they have doubts.

"But their reaction might be very different if a U.N. agency, supported by the U.S., U.K. and the U.S.S.R., comes forward to harness atomic material for peaceful purposes in the countries possessing them.

"It is to be hoped that the U.N. Atomic Energy Commission will seriously go into the Soviet offer and explore the possibilities of East-West co-operation in harnessing the atom for peace," the newspaper concludes.

American People and Russia

Sixty-five per cent of the American people were against any diplomatic break with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a gallup poll showed recently.

A cross section of the American people had been asked: "Do you think it would be a good idea or a poor idea for the United States to break off diplomatic relations with Russia at this time?"

Sixty-five per cent thought it a poor idea, 21 per cent a good idea and 14 per cent were undecided or had no opinion.

According to the survey, there was no basic difference of opinion on the question between Democrats and Republicans.

250-Million-Year-Old Reptile Found

News from Israel reports that recently the petrified skull of a 250-million-year-old reptile has been found, almost completely intact, in the Wadi Ramon in Central Negev, by Dr. F. Brotzen, a Swedish palaeontologist. The skull, together with another find last year of the anterior part of the body armour of such a reptile probably belonging to the same specie, represented an extremely rare and valuable find. An international team of palaeontologists was expected to go there to explore the Wadi Ramon area which was generally believed to conserve valuable fossils, provided that it was possible to solve the problem of financing such a costly undertaking.

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INDIA'S CREATIVE RECREATION

By
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and
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Creative recreation is a most important factor in social regeneration. Recreation implies "creation," but the term, as it is often used today, has lost its original meaning and includes any kind of pastime or relaxation without any idea of renovation or revival of physical strength, mental alertness and moral fervour. Recreation has thus a much larger connotation and includes activities for rebuilding the body, mind and spirit, and generating a healthy and optimistic outlook on life. Recreation has an important part in the life processes of the individual, the group and society, and all human communities, whether savage or civilized, have made ample provisions for all kinds of recreation.

Indo-Aryans began life by worshipping nature and they made provision for all kinds of festivities and rituals for each season of the year, and also for important occasions. The same provisions were also made by the Dravidians. The Buddhistic and Jain teachings brought in, however, many austere aspects of life, some of which were modified by Hinduism. Hinduism, under the guidance of the priesthood, brought back some of the rituals and ceremonies to satisfy the desires of the people for recreational purposes. Since the beginning of the present century, there has been a revival of them all over the country.

The number of recreative measures is legion. But for practical purposes they may be divided into four groups, such as physical culture, sports and games, revival of folklore and broadcast and cinema. This classification overlaps and is arbitrary, but it is nevertheless useful for all practical purposes.

Physical Culture

Physical culture forms a most important class of recreation. Its main objective is twofold, (1) to strengthen the muscles, and (2) to fortify the lungs, the importance of both has been realized and provision has been made for them by the individual, the group and the government in most of the countries, advanced or backward. In India "gymkhanas," or club houses for physical culture had been in existence from time immemorial and they are now being supplemented by the Government both in urban areas and the country-side.

Creative recreation should begin at the nursery school in which the play impulses of children may be given a creative bias. Such work must be extended to include the children in the junior basic school covering the first five years of compulsory primary education, and also the children in the senior basic school covering the second three years of compulsory primary education. All the children, both boys and girls, should be made to undertake physical exercises as a part of the school curriculum. Moreover, the students in the senior basic school, that is, those between the ages of twelve and fourteen, should be drafted into either the boy scout or the girl guide movements.

Schools, colleges and universities should provide physical exercises for their students, both men and women. Moreover, the Indian educational scheme, or the Sargent Plan, has proposed a National Youth Movement to provide recreative and social activities, especially for those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. The objective of this movement would be to supplement similar work started by the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Ramakrishna Mission. The Government of India appointed a committee to prepare a plan for a central training college of physical education. This proposed college should train physical training teachers, coaches, recreation leaders, and publish literature on physical culture.

Another important problem is the provision for recreational facilities, including physical exercises, in the rural areas, where by far the largest number of the Indian population still live. The establishment of a school in every village or group of villages would naturally provide physical exercises and recreation for the children and they may be supplemented by the establishment of gymkhanas (places of physical exercise) where wrestling, weight lifting, and dumb-bell practices and other exercises might be provided for the adults.

Physical exercise may be organised into a veritable show or exposition by the amateurs, for clubs, schools, colleges, universities and other organizations or by professional enterprises, as in the circus, for public entertainment. When put to rhythm with music, these physical exercises become great sources of inspiration to the young men and women and of pleasure to the public in general. The greatest attempt at nationalizing physical exercises were made by the Czechoslovakians before World War II when thousands of young men and women joined the open-air physical exercises in rhythm with music. They not only presented a magnificent sight but also created a great admiration for youthful participants, bringing into mind the Greek conception of the 'beauty of the human body." The very attire of the young men and women reminded one of another Greek philosophical truth that "the object of dress is not to cover the body but to beautify it."

Sports and Games

Sports and games are instinctive in origin, but take definite shapes from gr[illegible]habits. Unlike rituals and ceremonies they are more easily influenced by those of other countries. India has contributed to the world two very important sports, such as hockey and polo. On the other hand, India has also adopted cricket, football,

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tennis and other games from the West. As far as indoor games are concerned, India has also contributed to the world the very aristocratic game of chess. Dice is also an old game in India and Indian princes have even been known to stake even their kingdoms on this game. In recent years, sports and games, both indigenous and foreign, have become closely integrated into national recreation. They bring enjoyment not only to schools, colleges, univesities and other institutions and organizations which actually participate in them but also to the public in general.

What is more important still is the fact that sports and games have great influence upon building the individual, the group, and society as well as upon national and international relationships. In the first place, constant successes and defeats on the playgrounds create among men and women a spirit of sportsmanship and prepare them to meet the conditions of actual life. It has often been said that Wellington won the battle of Waterloo at Eton, implying his activities on the playing field rather than in the class room. In the second place, success on the playing field often opens the way to permanent relationships in other aspects of life. The defeat of the British Army football team by the Bengali Mohun Bagan team in Calcutta a few years ago raised the morale of the Bengali youth, and the outstanding achievement by Prince Ranajit Singh as cricketer won high appreciation for India all over the world. Finally, sports and games help in building up national and international relationships. Cricket and football matches between schools, colleges, universities and other institutions and organizations all over the world, bring young men and women together. Recently India has also taken an active part in the Olympic Games and established contact with many foreign countries and won laurels on several playing fields.

Both the Government of India and the Indian public have realized the importance of sports and games in national and international relationships and have adopted definite measures :

(1) On November 14, 1948 India started the construction of Nehru Stadium at New Delhi at a cost of Rs. 2.5 million. It consists of an athletic section with cycle and running tracks and a swimming pool, with stands for 20,000 people, a tennis court on the Wimbledon model, grounds for cricket, football, hockey, badminton and an open-air theatre, also a club-house for residental accommodation.

(2) A Patel Stadium has also been built at Bombay at a cost of Rs. 2 million which consists of similar facilities. There is no doubt that these stadiums will be followed by the construction of similar ones in other parts of the country.

(3) What is more significant is the inaguration by the Government of India of the Rational Sports Club of India in New Delhi on March 7, 1953. It is the first of the national chain of clubs to be built gradually in most of the cities of India.

India received Olympic recognition in 1920, when a team of six participated in the Olympiad and since 1928 India has retained the World Hockey Championship. In 1949, eight countries signed the constitution of the Asian Games Federation at a formal meeting in New Delhi under the presidency of the Maharaja of Patiala, the President of the Indian Olympic Association and the doyen of princely sports. The first Asian Games were assigned to India and it took place in New Delhi in 1951.

Of the foreign games, cricket occupies a very honorable place. It was introduced by the British a long time ago, but Bengal took it seriously in 1877 and in 1885, the game of a Bengali team against an Australian team visiting the Calcutta International Exposition was drawn, thus showing the power of the Indian team to stand a professional international team. Early in this century, Prince Ranjit Singh proved to be the world's greatest cricketer, and the title "Ranji" became associated with the cricket game. India honours "Ranji" in the form of the "Ranji Trophy." The recent match between the Prime Minister's XI and the Vice-President's XI has probably become a permanent national feature.

While cricket is largely a game of the middle and educated classes and polo has remained an aristocratic and princely game, the House of Jaipur becoming its well-known champion, football is often called the game of the people or the masses and draws the largest number of spectators. As noted above, it was a football game in Calcutta early in the century where the famous Mohan Bagan team defeated the British and the British, both civilians and army, showed the highest spirit of chivalry when they left the field with hats in their hands instead of on their heads. Football has raised the national stature of India and Mohan Bagan, Mohammedan Sporting and East Bengal Clubs have become famous in the annals of national sports. Games' appeal is both varied and wide in the present-day India, especially since here the achievement of her independence. Both lawn tennis and table tennis are very popular ; boxing is gradually gaining ground ; like ju-jitsu in Japan, wrestling is also a popular sport in India. Among other sports, mention must be made of swimming and aquatics, Kabaddi or Hu-tu-tu, Gilli-danda, golf and badminton, volley-ball, netball and many others in different parts of the country. (Source : *India 1953, Annual Review,* The High Commission of India, London. 157-62).

Revival of Folklore

The revival of folklore, such as folk dance, folk song, folk music (instrumental) is still another method of regenerating social life, especially among the rural population. While sports and games have a better chance of development in urban areas with their comparatively denser population, folk dances, folk songs and folk music can thrive better in rural areas which are the home of their origins and development. Just as in the case of her natural resources and cultural traditions, India is also

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enormously rich in her folklore for several reasons : First, the variety of her ethnic groups, such as Aryans, Dravidians, Mongolians and Aborigines, who have brought with them their own folklore and also developed new ones in their new abode. Second, extreme variations both in physiography and climatology in India which have developed folklore, especially among the aborigines, some of whom, *e.g.*, proto-Australasians, arrived in India even before they developed their final racial characteristics. Third, magic and mysticism together with mythology have also played their part in the development of folklore. The Bhils, the aborigines of Rajasthan, for instance, even to-day resort to dancing, whenever there is a drought, in order to appease the powers for rainfall. Finally, some professional dancers, *e.g.*, Bhawai of Rajasthan, have been created as such by the upper classes for their amusements.

There is thus in India a regular cycle of festivals and fairs almost all the year round. There are special days for celebrating autumn or harvesting, spring, and rainy seasons, new year's day, National Independence Day, the Gandhi day ; principal holidays, whether of Hindu, Moslem, Christian or Sikh origins, are observed as national holidays. The sacred places of India are many, such as Mount Abu for the Jains, Amritsar for the Sikhs ; Gaya and Saranath for the Buddhists ; Nawadwip, Puri, Brindaban, Mathura, Banaras and Rameswar and other places for the Hindus. Recently Qadian, the birthplace of Ahmed, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect, has also become a place of pilgrimage to his followers. For the orthodox Moslem the holy places are Mecca and Medina, which are outside India. But some of the mosques and tombs, such as Jumma Masjid of Delhi, the Tomb of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri and the grand and noble edifice of the Taj Mahal at Agra always inspire admiration and reverence from millions of visitors from all over the country.

Sacred places are permanent and some rituals and ceremonies are performed throughout the year, but on certain occasions they become animated and lively, and congested and overcroweded with devotees and visitors from all parts of the country, and assume the characteristics of veritable fairs, with markets loaded with rare and curious merchandise, and streets filled with amusements including sports and games, folk dances and folk songs and folk music. Like festivals, fairs are commonplace in India, but India's oustanding fair is the Kumbha Mela, which has come down from time immemorial and is held once in every three years in four different places and the final and fullest meeting taking place every twelfth year at Allahabad, where two sacred rivers, Ganga and Jamuna meet, and which draws millions of Hindu brothers from all over the country.

Group dancing is a common thing in India. Both men and women take part in their folklore festivals, but they dance separately. Some time dancing and singing are combined. Among the aborigines men and women often take equal part in most of their festivals. While dancing is rhythmic and is easily understood, singing requires some knowledge of language which differs from State to State. But the soul of music lies in its tune which is more easily understood, without language. Most of the folk songs have come down from olden times. Among the best folk songs must be included the Boul songs of Bengal. But there are also several modern composers of folk songs in different parts of the country. The greatest contributor to modern folk song is, however, Rabindranath Tagore, and a large number of his 3000 songs belong to this category. What is more important is the fact that the All-India Radio spends more than half of its broadcast on popular music for the Indian people. Nor has India made mean contribution to instrumental music. The universal drum appeared in the very early communal life as in many other countries. The Bina or one-string instrument gradually developed into the guitar and the universal flute also developed into a higher class instrument. What is more significant is the fact that, unlike dance and song, various musical instruments made their way into neighbouring countries, especially in South-East Asia.

An important problem before India today is the utilization of her immense folklore resources for social solidarity and cultural enrichment. After centuries of suppression and indifference under foreign domination, the people of India have achieved national independence and established a democratic Republic and they are bound to revive their old cultural life, of which folklore forms an integral part. It is an opportune moment for the Government of India to utilize the folklore to the best advantage of India by the following methods :

(1) *Allocation and adjustment* of the folklore is the first step in this direction. All the folklore activities should be assigned to particular time and season in each locality, State and the Union. A uniform calendar for the whole country, instead of over a dozen as it is today, will go a long way to the simultaneous demonstration of the folklores all over the country so that they may have a spontaneous feeling of solidarity among all classes of people.

(2) *Co-ordination and Nationalization* is still another process of utilizing the folklore for social progress. All the folklores, whether dances, songs or music should be co-ordinated, rather than integrated, into well-defined groups, so that each unit or group of units may preserve its specific quality and add to cultural richness. Moreover, all the units of the folklore should have national recognition, either directly by the Union Government or indirectly through State or District Government. Nothing could make a group of people, whether backward classes, scheduled castes, or scheduled tribes, feel as a part of the national whole as the acceptance by the national government of their cultural traits as best indicated by their folklore. The first step in the nationalization of the folklore was taken by the Government of India when the Festival of Folk Dances was held in New Delhi during the Republic Week

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festivities in January 1954, and troupes of dancers were invited from all parts of India and all the States sent their representatives. Among the dancing parties mention may be made of Hoer Dance of Bihar, Fadhara Nritya of Saurashtra, Ras Dance of Gujarat, Strya Dance of Assam, and Sema (war) Dance of the Nagas in Assam.

Broadcast and Cinema

Both broadcast and cinema are the most important methods of communication in modern times, especially in a vast country like India, where by far the majority of the people are illiterate and backward. Broadcasting began in India in the twenties. It was started by a private company in 1927 which, however, went into voluntary liquidation soon after. The Government of India soon realized the possibility of a new medium of communication and took over the company and made it a monopoly of the Government, establishing it as the All-India Radio. By 1939, India developed nine operating stations and full-fledged broadcasting services. The first programme for an audience outside of India was a broadcast in Persian in 1939 and, by 1945, the All-India Radio was broadcasting in ten foreign languages and five Indian languages, in addition to an elobarate service in English for audience outside the country. During the war, it was found advantageous to have a single source of news and so a Central News Organization was set up at Delhi. This organization is responsible for all internal and external news even today. After World War II, some reduction was made in the external services and an attempt has been made to improve home services. In six years since 1947, the number of All—India Radio stations has risen to twenty-two.

The role of India's radio is to inform, educate and entertain as well as to develop the intellectual and cultural life of the people and to interpret it at home and abroad. The external service has a twofold objective; (1) to reach the people of Indian origin overseas, and (2) to interest the outside world in general in various aspects of Indian life. The All-India Radio believes that there is a large and interested audience for its external service. As far as home service is concerned, in addition to the supply of general and special information to the Indian public the All-India Radio has a two-fold mission: First, to raise the general standard of musical appreciation throughout the country. It takes pride in being responsible for the recent revival of interest in serious and classical music and also the attempts to create a new tradition of light music and has made the finest collection of the folk music of the country. In fact, music forms roughly half of the total broadcasting times of the All-India Radio. Secondly, perhaps the most important of All-India Radio's home broadcasts are those addressed to the rural population. They are planned and presented with the greatest possible care by the staff who are fully acquainted with rural conditions. The main objective of such broadcasts is to create some idea of the great cultural and historical heritage which is theirs and to give them a feeling of pride in themselves.

Like the radio, the film has been taking its part in the regeneration of the Indian people. "Two million people visit the cinema every day in India and ninety per cent of the films they see are made in their own country."

(1) In the short span of 40 years India has become the second largest film-producing country, employing 90,000 people. (*India 1953—Annual Review*, The High Commission of India, London, p. 139).

The founder of the film industry in India was Dhondiraj Phalke, who, inspired by a film on the life of Christ, produced the first Indian film on "Raja Harischandra" and exhibited it in Bombay in 1913. Before retiring, Phalke produced 125 films. With the advent of the talking films in 1931, India's film industry received a new impetus to revival, and sound films attracted a large section of the community and cinemas were built in towns and cities and more than 2,500 cinemas were in operation.

In 1949, the Government recognized the importance of the film industry, appointed a Film Enquiry Committee to investigate the conditions of the industry and to make a report on the findings. The report was published in 1951 and was very well received by the public as a first comprehensive document on the industry, with valuable suggestions for reorganization. The Committee urged the Government to take active interest in the development of the industry, but without any interference with its independent existence.

An important event in the film industry was the organization of the International Film Festival of India in 1952, sponsored by the Government of India and organized by the Film Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. India acted as host to 23 countries and many international film personalities. Over a million people saw 54 feature films in 13 languages and 104 documentaries, which were selected for exhibition. So India's film festival became the first mobile festival of its kind in the world. Another unusual feature was the establishment of vast open-air theatres at Dehli and Madras capable of seating 7,000 people. These open-air theatres proved so popular that they have now become a permanent feature.

Some of the Indian films have established world-wide reputation. The film *Neecha Nagar* won the Cannes Film Festival's Grand Prize and amongst many other awards *Babla* won the Struggle for Social Progress Prizes at the Czech International Film Festival. The Government's Film Division's documentaries have also received recognition at European, Canadian and British Film Festivals. The Film Division has received a total of 18 certificates between 1946-53 from the Edinburgh Film Festival. To-day the Film Division leads the way in India in the production of documentary films,

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with an average production of 36 films a year and one newsreel a week. To-day documentary films have become an integral part of the Government's information service overseas. Working along with feature films, the Government's documentaries play an important part in the messages of India abroad. (Source : *India 1953—Annual Review.* The High Commission of India, London, pp. 139 and 163. *India—A Reference Manual, 1953,* Government of India).

In summing up, it might be observed that creative recreation, which is being rapidly integrated into Indian national life, will undoubtedly renovate the physical strength, mental alertness, and moral fervour of the people. Physical culture as an integral part of the compulsory education as well as sports and games will help the future generations to begin their life process with greater vigour and the revival of folklore will add to their cultural enrichment. Above all, broadcasts and cinemas as part programme of social education will prove extremely useful to the enlightenment, information, and entertainment of the people and will also keep them abreast with other nations.

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SOCIALISM AND SARVODAYA

By Prof. S. N. AGARWAL

It was, perhaps, for the first time that the economic policy of India was discussed at length in the Parliament. Shri C. D. Deshmukh, who initiated the debate, made it quite clear that "the central objective of our economic policy from now on must be to create full employment conditions, within a reasonable period, say, ten years from now." This is by no means an over-ambitious goal. "In achieving this," said the Finance Minister, "there is ample scope for expansion both in the public and private sector." According to the calculations of Shri Deshmukh, some 24 million jobs would have to be created if our objective were full employment, and the total investment would have to be of the order of Rs. 1,000 crores a year. Considering the numbers involved, while the development of major industries must continue in national interest, the Finance Minister thought that it was necessary "to foster the development of small-scale and village industries with greater opportunities for employment and more and more chances of improving the resouces of the population." Intervening in the debate, the Prime Minister reaffirmed his policy of bringing about a "casteless and classless society" through the "peaceful and co-operative method." It was also made clear that India's approach to Socialism was not a doctrinaire approach but a practical way of achieving the basic objectives of full employment, more production and economic justice. Shri Nehru pointed out that it was, more or less, meaningless to talk about conflict between the public and private sectors. In a socialistic pattern of society, the public sector was bound to be increasingly important. But there would be ample scope for the private sector as well with public control at "strategic points." After all, the biggest private sector in the country was "the private sector of the peasant with his small landholdings."

Both the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister declared that the Industrial Policy of India still continued to be, more or less, on the lines of the announcement of 1948, although there might be "shifts of emphasis from time to time." It should be clearly understood that though there was still enough scope for private enterprise, "the days of *laissez faire* are past."

> "In modern conditions, particularly in a State which, like ours, has set before itself the ideal of a Welfare State, there can be no complete anti-thesis between public and private enterprise, nor any difference of opinion about the needs for the regulatory functions of the State."

What is most important, however, is the problem of increasing the rate of savings and investment. In order to ensure full employment to the people of India, it is estimated that the rate of investment should be 10 per cent of the annual national income. It should be understood, however, that economic planning in under-developed countries cannot depend on monetary resources only. The main problem is to organise and utilise the idle man-power of the nation. It is from this point of view that increasing attention will have to be paid to the development of small-scale and village industries.

The Finance Minister was on uncertain ground when he stated in the Parliament that additional jobs for providing fuller employment "must obviously be created in the non-agricultural sector." If 12 million new jobs are to be found in the country by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, it would be impossible to do so in the urban areas alone. We have no doubt in our minds that additional employment on a large scale will have to be found in the direction of agro-industries like hand-pounding of rice, oil-pressing through village ghanis, hand-spinning and weaving of cotton, silk and wool, leather-making, animal husbandry, manufacture of *gur, khandsari,* etc. There is already enough congestion in our cities and the process of depopulation of our villages is almost continuous. If we attempt to

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provide work to idle people in the urban areas through small-scale industries, there is bound to be greater congestion in the cities and a number of additional problems, social, economic and moral, will crop up. The best solution of the basic problem of fuller employment is, therefore, to provide work to the peasant or the artisan at his very door in the form of village and cottage industries. This plan could be achieved only if the State decides to avoid unhealthy competition between the large-scale and small-scale industries by reserving the fields of production for the small industries. For example, we see no reason why all edible oils should not be reserved for the village *ghani*. Hand-pounding of rice which has been providing gainful employment to several lakhs of our workers could be encouraged by banning the use of rice-hullers more specially in the countryside. In regard to leather manufacture, factories should not be permitted to prepare certain varieties of *deshi footwear* like chappals and sandals. It is only through such reservation or demarcation of spheres that the State could hope to afford greater employment facilities to millions of our people who are either totally unemployed or are partially employed for only a few months in the year. There is no other way out.

In trying to establish a socialistic pattern of economy in India it would be futile to regard Nationalisation of industries as the panacea for all evils. It is, of course, essential that basic or mother industries like iron and steel, coal, power, and heavy machinery ought to be State-owned and State-managed. But no attempt need be made to nationalise other existing industries which manufacture consumer goods like cloth, sugar, oil etc. Instead, all these large-scale consumption goods industries should be progressively decentralised in the form of Co-operatives. In short, the kind of Socialism that we desire to establish in this country would be very different from the Socialism of those countries where population is sparse and capital is plenty. In a country like ours, where population is dense and capital is scare, a socialist economy must be in the nature of a decentralised economy. In India Socialism can only mean *Sarvodaya*.

There is one more point which Mahatma Gandhi used to emphasise repeatedly. Sarvodaya economy should not be based merely on the production and accumulation of more wealth and material articles. We must always bear in mind that man does not live by bread alone. Along with the fulfilment of our material needs, we must try to raise our cultural and moral standards as well. That is why Gandhiji laid stress on the concept of "standard of *Life*" rather than on the "standard of living."

> "I whole-heartedly detest," said Gandhiji, "this mad desire to destroy distance and time to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction."
>
> "By going on increasing the volume or pitch of sound," wrote Gurudev Tagore, "we can get nothing but a shriek."

Kautilya, the distinguished Indian economist and thinker of the fourth century B.C., observed in his *Arthashastra* :

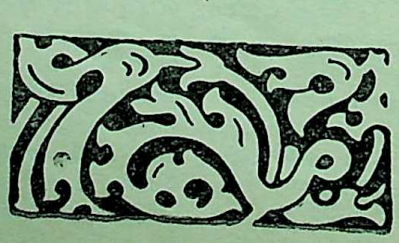
> "Whoever is of reverse character, whoever has not his organs of sense under his control, will soon perish, though possessed of the whole earth bounded by the four quarters."

That is why our Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan, has described the Indian way of life as "Ethical Socialism."

Such a pure type of Socialism can be established in India only through the Gandhian technique of decentralised economy and "composite" democracy in the form of self-dependent and self-governing village communities or Panchayats. A bold decentralisation of political and economic power would go a long way in enabling us to establish a kind of social and economic order which could serve as a model to other countries of the world. A highly centralised State with a centralised economic system tends to become authoritarian or totalitarian with all the resultant evils. India must avoid such a regimented and over-centralised type of economy. Moreover, true Socialism could be established only if there is a visible and real change in the attitude of the individuals who compose the society.

> "Socialism begins," said Gandhiji, "with the first convert." "If there is one such, you can add zeroes to the one and the first zero will account for ten and every addition will account for ten times the previous number. If, however, the beginner is a zero, multiplicity of zeroes will also produce zero value."

When individuals change, the society also changes. In order to bring about a Sarvodaya Society, therefore, all of us must "turn the searchlight inwards" and begin by reforming ourselves. There can be no short-cuts to true Socialism. It is not merely an economic doctrine but also a way of life.



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AGRARIAN REFORMS IN PAKISTAN

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Introduction

With a total area of 361,000 sq. miles, Pakistan has got an estimated population of 74.437 millions.[1] The Western Pakistan, which comprises the Western Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan and the tribal areas and some small States, has an area of 303,548 sq. miles and a population of about 32 millions. The Eastern Pakistan, comprising East Bengal and Sylhet, has an area of 54,100 sq. miles and an approximate population of 42 millions. Between these two regions, there is a wide divergence of topographical and climatic conditions. Eastern Pakistan abounds in perennial rivers and innumerable streams, large and small; there is an abundance of rainfall brought in by the monsoons and the soil is rich and fertile. In Western Pakistan, however, rainfall is inadequate and the soil is less fertile in comparison with Eastern Pakistan. As a result, agriculture is dependent on irrigation canals, and the region includes a fine net-work of irrigation canals. Not a little of the agricultural prosperity of West Pakistan is due to the good canal irrigation system. The density of population per sq. mile too varies greatly from 772 in East Pakistan (the highest density being 789 in East Bengal) to 133 in West Pakistan (the lowest being 9 in Baluchistan).

Land Utilization

Out of an area of 115 million acres in Pakistan, only 54 million acres are cultivated. The following table will show how land is utilized[2]:

Classification of area	*Area in million acres*	
Net sown	43	
Current fallow	11	
Total cultivated		54
Forests ..	5	
Not available for cultivation	30	
Other uncultivated land	26	
Total uncultivated		61
Total land		115
Per capita sown area	0.60	

Land Tenure System

The present land tenure systems in Pakistan are the legacy of the British rule. When on August 14, 1947, the State of Pakistan was carved out from India, among other things, Pakistan inherited the land tenure systems then existing in the regions which were included in Pakistan.

Among the systems of land tenure in existence in various regions of Pakistan, the *zamindari* system with permanent and temporary settlement is the most important and the most widely prevalent system. Permanently settled zamindari system is found in Sylhet and East Bengal over an area of 28.7 million acres; while temporarily settled zamindari and *mahalwari* systems are found in Sylhet, East Bengal, the North-West Frontier Province, West Punjab and Baluchistan, extending over an area of 54.3 million acres. Together, these two systems account for nearly 73 per cent of the total land. *Ryotwari* system is found in Sylhet and in Sind, covering an area of 30.9 million acres and accounting for 27 per cent of the total land. In addition, the State owns a substantial amount of land. In the North-West Frontier Province, a system called *bhaichara,* which resembles a kind of communal land tenure system, is still in existence.[3] Under this system, all the owners of the whole village brotherhood undertake a measure of responsibility for land revenue due from individual holders to the Government. In practice, however, the responsibility for payment of defaulters' revenue is not enforced.

In East Bengal, 76 per cent of the total area are under zamindari permanent settlement, 22 per cent under zamindari temporary settlement and 2 per cent under ryotwari tenure. The following table will show the acreage under different systems of land tenure in Pakistan:[4]

Province	Ryotwari (acres)	Zamindari permanently settled	Zamindari temporarily settled & mahalwari	Total area
Sylhet	755352	2099797	230251	3085400
E. Bengal	....	26683350	8307531	34991081
Sind	30180024	....	....	30180024
N.-W. F. P.	....	....	8577000	8577000
W. Punjab	....	....	37204621	37204621
Baluchistan	....	....	....	336000
Total	30935376	28783347	54319403	114011126
Percentage	27	25	48	100

The evils of the zamindari system of land tenure are many and the Government of Pakistan is aware of them. The Government recognizes that

> "The permanent settlement (of Bengal) brought in its wake several ills. The Government lost all contact not only with the zamindars but also with the lot of the primary producer. The landlord and his underlings could do as they liked so long as the landlord paid revenue—which was grossly inadequate—to the Government on the date due. Sub-infeudation increased, and the tillers of the

1. According to the official figures in 1949.
2. *Economic Consequences of Divided India*: By C. N. Vakil.
3. *Economy of Pakistan*—Office of the Economic Adviser, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan, 1950.
4. Dr. S. M. Akhtar: *Economics of Pakistan.*

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soil became subject to many ill-defined liabilities. Absentee landlordism in West Pakistan similarly gave rise to several anti-social practices, such as *begar* (forced labour) and an unduly high share of the landlord in the produce of the land."[5]

Concentration of Land

The inevitable results of this kind of land tenure system are the concentration of land in the hands of absentee landlords, the increase of the number of tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers, and the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings. Although up-to-date consolidated statistics are not available regarding the distribution of land holdings in several provinces, it is safe to presume that in the absence of radical land reform measures, the concentration of land in the hands of a few absentee landlords has considerably increased as a whole, since the State of Pakistan came into being. In West Punjab, the number of part-tenant farmers with uneconomic holdings increased from 58.7 to 63.7 per cent between 1924 and 1939, while the number of peasant proprietors with economic holdings registered a decline from 32.1 to 29.5 per cent during the same period. In Sind, about 80 per cent of the area is cultivated by tenants called *Haris* who have no rights in land. The land-owners are all absentee landlords. The following table shows the distribution of holdings in Sind:[6]

Acres	Per cent of zamindars owning	Per cent of total land
3	30.2	1.62
10	30.2	5.42
20	14.29	5.18
50	17.96	16.19
300	4.49	23.33
1000 and more	2.86	48.26
	100.00=2,44,891	100.00=52,94,000 acres

Thus about half of the cultivated area is owned by only 3 per cent of the owners who own 1000 acres and more, each. About 72 per cent of the area is owned by 7 per cent of the owners who own 300 acres or more each. At the other end, 60 per cent of owners own only 7 per cent of the total land. The same situation is prevailing in other provinces of the State. In the landlord-ridden North-West Frontier Province, out of the total cultivated area of 25,25,713 acres, about 47 per cent (11,88,560 acres) is cultivated by tenants-at-will, *i.e.*, held by large owners, and about 11 per cent (2,78,650 acres) is held by occupancy tenants. The following table will show the distribution of land holdings in West Punjab:[7]

Distribution of land holdings in West Punjab

	No. of owners (in lakhs)	Acreage (in lakhs)
Up to 5 acres	9.06	18.0
5—10 „	2.27	16.0
10—15 „	0.52	8.0
15—25 „	0.64	13.5
Over 25 „	1.01	90.5
	13.50	146.0

From the above figures, the conclusion becomes inescapable that

"Considerably more than half of the cultivated area is owned by landlords who do not directly till the soil, who live on rent and who cannot, therefore, be called the producers of national wealth."[8]

Conditions of Tenancy

One of the predominant features of Pakistan agriculture is the tenant cultivation. There are two major types of tenants, *viz.*, the occupancy tenant and the tenants-at-will. Occupancy tenants, however, are few and in all hold only 7 per cent of the total cultivated area. The bulk of the tenants are tenants-at-will who cultivate 80 per cent of the total area in Sind, about 50 per cent in West Punjab, 45 per cent in the North-West Frontier Province and about 50 per cent in Bahawalpur State. Besides, in East Bengal, land is frequently sublet to crop-sharers called *bargadars*. *Bargadars* are mostly landless labourers or occupancy tenants with very small holdings. The entire cost of production and risk are borne by the *bargadars* and yet they have to hand over 50 per cent of the gross produce to the ryot. Bargadars are mere tenants-at-will and enjoy absolutely no fixity of tenure. Among these tenants, the occupancy tenants enjoy the right of occupancy. They have got security of tenure. But the tenants-at-will, as the name implies, have absolutely no security. They can be ejected from the land at any moment without any reason whatsoever. They cultivate land only at the will of the landlord. Rents are usually very high—as high as 60 to 70 per cent of the gross produce. But in addition to the legal rents, which are usually very high, landlords exact illegal and unjustified payments from the tenants.

"Apart from the legal dues of the landlord, there are in most cases, particularly in Sind and the landlord dominated districts of Punjab (Pakistan) and Bahawalpur, a variety of legally unjustified dues and services which are sanctioned by custom and enforced by the superior bargaining power of the landlord. These dues and services are extremely oppressive and include *begar*, *kurcha*, *munshiana*, *kamiana*, and *karaya*. In certain parts there are other taxes, which the landlords exact from the tenants; for instance, *jaslana*, *khunga* and a tax per hearth, window or even for

5. United Nations: *Progress in Land Reform.*
6. Nabi Bux Uquali: "Agricultural Finance in Sind," *Pakistan Economic Journal*, October, 1949.
7. *Report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee.*
8. *Ibid.*

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every domestic animal or chicken. Landlords in backward areas are even known to charge a homage on the marriage of their children and even a tax on the marriage of the tenant or his children."[9]

Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee Report

There has been a persistent demand in Pakistan for mitigating the evils of the existing land tenure systems. In East Bengal, the zamindari system had been under fire for a long time, till the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 authorized the compulsory acquisition of big estates by the Government on payment of compensation. Similarly, in West Pakistan, the demand for land reform came from an intelligent section of the public and also from the oppressed peasantry. Ultimately, the need for introducing immediate land reform measures was recognized by the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee which submitted its report in 1949. The report indeed is an important document, inasmuch as it contained several recommendations which were revolutionary in their significance and consequence. The chief recommendations of the Committee may be summarized below. In the first place, the Committee laid down the future principle of landownership in West Pakistan. It rejected landlordism and observed:

> "In our considered opinion a just and balanced agrarian economy can only be based on the unreserved acceptance of the principle that any interest in land can derive its justification solely from the direct contribution it makes to the cultivation of the soil and the production of national wealth. We, therefore, believe that an equitable and prosperous land system for Western Pakistan must be founded on a State-regulated ownership of holdings by self-cultivating peasant farmers, coupled with the economic enlargement of the size of holdings, promotion of scientific methods in intensive farming and co-operation in various aspects of agriculture through the intervention of village communities. This must involve the gradual elimination from our economy of landlordism and all superior but idle interests in land above the actual cultivator."[10]

On the question of the abolition of *jagirs* and *inams*, the Committee observed:

> "We recommend the immediate abolition and cessation of *jagirs* and *inams* without compensation. *Jagirs* were rewards given by British Imperialism for services rendered to it. Services rendered to Imperialism were almost invariably services rendered against the nation. The birth of freedom must abolish this stigma of the past. Moreover, the *jagirdars* and *inamdars* contribute in no wise to the agrarian economy of the country and are a parasitical burden on it. In extension of the above principles, we recommend that after due and detailed investigation the State should resume all grants of land made by the British Government in lieu of services which the present national government regards as anti-national and unpatriotic, irrespective of the distance in time at which such grants were made."

The Committee further recommended that the anomaly of a functionless landlordism in the case of occupancy tenants should be abolished forthwith and legislation should be brought forth to give 'full proprietary rights to occupancy tenants.' Compensation should be paid at the valuation of four times the annual rent. The occupancy tenants might acquire the proprietary right either by lumpsum payment to the landlords directly or by payments to the State in instalments spread over a period of four years.

The Committee was of the opinion that

> "The most urgent social and economic need of the moment is to afford substantial and effective security of tenure to the tenants-at-will who form an overwhelming majority of the tillers of the soil and the producers of agricultural wealth in West Pakistan and whose present status, social position and economic condition is the gravest besetting evil of the existing system of tenure."

Among the measures which the Committee recommended to secure relative security of tenure for the tenants-at-will were Statutory measures to reduce all tenancy contracts in writing and to make it the responsibility of the landlord to draw up the tenancy contracts in writing; in the absence of such written deeds the minimum period of contract would be deemed to be 15 years. All contracts between a landlord and a tenant would be deemed to be for a minimum period of 15 years. The landlord's power to eject a tenant was to be curbed and specific grounds on which the latter could be ejected were laid down. The law was to provide for limited heritability of land and even if a tenant died during the period of the contract, his heirs would have the right to enjoy the benefit of the contract till the date of its expiration. Just as the landlord's right to eject his tenants was curbed, so was the tenant's right to transfer or sublet his tenancy without the permission of the landlord rejected, except under certain circumstances.

The Committee further recommend that the landlord may be permitted to reserve only 25 acres of land for self-cultivation either directly or by agricultural labour. The Committee was emphatic in its opinion that

> "The present share in produce obtained by the tenant in most parts of West Pakistan, even if inequitous and illegal dues and services are totally and effectively abolished, is grossly inadequate and is an insufferable injustice to the labour and industry of the actual toiler."

9. *Ibid, op. cit.*
10. Reported in *Dawn*, July 20, 1949.

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It, therefore, recommended the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind or *batai* which would make the tenant more independent of the landlord and would benefit him economically. Since the substitution of cash rent for rent in kind might take time, the Committee recommended immediate *batai* reforms, fixing the maximum share of the landlord at two-fifth of the gross produce. The Committee suggested that

> "The sliding scale assessment of land revenue should be perfected so as to become closely reflective of the periodic fluctuations in price."

The Committee proposed that a ceiling on landholdings should be fixed at 150 acres of average irrigated land. All lands in the possession of landlords above this ceiling shoud be compulsorily acquired by the State. So far as the question of compensation is concerned, the Committee recognized the moral basis of paying compensation to the landlords. It observed:

> "Landlordism in Pakistan is a historical accident which has already conferred vast advantages and profits on generations of its beneficiaries and it would be illogical to make that a justification for the conferment of further advantages. But we are inclined to the view that to dispossess and turn out of employment a whole class of people suddenly and without preparations, is to create an avoidable friction and maladjustment in our economic life."

The highest rate of compensation should not be more than six times the annual yield, and the final maximum limit of compensation should be fixed at 15 lakh rupees. A part of the compensation (not more than 20 per cent) might be paid in cash, while the rest might be paid in Government 4 per cent interest-bearing bonds.

Tenancy Legislations

The League Agrarian Reforms Committee submitted its report in 1949. It was followed by a series of tenancy legislation in the various provinces in Pakistan. The Punjab (Pakistan) Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950, the N.-W. F. P. Tenancy Act of 1950, and the Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 were passed in quick succession with a view to ameliorating the conditions of tenancy. It will be interesting to compare these Acts with the recommendations of the League Committee later, and see how far these Acts incorporate the recommendations of the League Committee.

The recent tenancy legislation in Pakistan aims at giving some amount of security of tenure to tenants. In West Punjab, tenants-at-will have been given permanent hereditary rights in land. The *Punjab Protection and Restoration of Tenancy Act of 1950,* lays down the conditions under which a tenant can be ejected.

> "A tenant may be ejected only when he fails to pay rent to the landlord or when he cultivates (his land) in a manner which renders the land unfit for cultivation. Moreover, his ejection is justified only in execution of a decree of such ejection passed by a competent revenue authority."

So far as the occupancy tenants in West Punjab are concerned, the *Punjab Tenancy (Amendment) Act of 1952* confers on the occupancy tenant the ownership of the land worked by him provided he pays no rent except government dues. No compensation is to be paid to the landlord by such a tenant. Those who pay cash rent may become owners by paying compensation to the landlord. For this purpose they can borrow money from the government. Those who pay rent in kind will become owners without paying compensation "of that portion of the land which corresponds to their share of produce." But this legislation is expected to affect only 5.5 per cent of the total cultivated area of the Pakistan Punjab. The same Act fixes the tenants' share of the total produce at 60 per cent, but makes it compulsory for the tenant to bear a proportionate share of the tax burden.

The N.-W. F.P. Tenancy Act of 1950 confers full proprietary rights on those occupancy tenants who at the commencement of the Act paid no rent, except government dues, without payment of any compensation to the landlords. Tenants paying rents to the landlord may become owners after paying compensation to the landlords, as fixed by the government (ten times the annual rent) within a specified period. To the tenants-at-will, the Act guarantees three years of security of tenure under certain conditions. The Act also lays down the conditions under which a tenant may be ejected and prevents the landlords from increasing the rent except under certain conditions.

The Sind Tenancy Act of 1950 guarantees security of tenure to the *Haris* or the tenants-at-will only for one year. It lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected before the expiry of the cropping season. But the Haris Enquiry Committee which was appointed by the Government in 1947-48, suggested much more radical measures for the improvement of economic conditions of the *haris* by means of regulation of tenancy agreements, *batai* systems, improved methods of land utilization and the principle of collective farming. The Act, however, seeks to grant permanent tenancy rights under certain conditions, abolishes *abwabs,* provides for the regulation of *batai* system and for the settlement of disputes between *haris* and landlords though not to the extent recommended by the Committee.

But the conditions which must be satisfied before permanent tenancy rights can be granted according to the terms of the Act, are so difficult to be satisfied that the tenants are unlikely to derive any benefit

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at all. Chief among these conditions are the following:

i. A tenant should have cultivated at least four acres of land for the same landlord for a continuous period of not less than four years;

ii. He should have cultivated the land personally;

iii. Such a piece or parcel of land should not exceed the area that can be efficiently cultivated with the help of one pair of bullocks;

iv. In case of shifting cultivation tenancy rights should not exist in respect of any particular piece of land defined by *metes* and bounds.

The Act not only makes the permanent tenancy rights difficult for a tenant to obtain, but also makes it rather easy for the landlord to deprive the tenant of his rights. A tenant can be deprived of his tenancy rights if (*i*) he does not work on the land himself for one year; (*ii*) makes a different use of land without the permission of the landlords; (*iii*) fails to cultivate the land personally; (*iv*) fails to pay the landlord his due share of the produce or (*v*) is convicted by a Court of Law of any offence, such as cattle theft, receiving stolen cattle, theft of crops and even abduction, etc. Moreover, the landlord has the power to terminate the tenancy of a permanent tenant by giving him one year's notice in writing, on the ground that he requires the land for 'bonafide' cultivation or for any non-agricultural purpose.

Similarly, the provisions concerning the sharing of produce with the tenant-at-will, are highly unsatisfactory. The tenant-at-will has to share half the burden of payment made to harvestors, winnowers, etc., and also has to bear the cost of implements, animals, labour, irrigation, etc. Moreover, a tenant is deprived of a substantial part of his share in straw, and some other varieties of grass. Finally, the Act empowers the landlord to deprive the tenant of his share in produce in realization of old debts.

The East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act, 1950

The East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act of 1950 seeks to replace the zamindari system of land tenure by the ryotwari system. In fact, one of the professed planks of the agrarian policy of the Pakistan Government has been to "perpetuate and to introduce in other parts of the country" the system of peasant landowners, or the ryotwari system, since "it formed a self-reliant and self-respecting peasant population which was, moreover, highly amenable to the introduction of improvements in agricultural techniques."[11] The above Act may be said to have been enacted in pursuance of this policy. The Act authorizes the State to acquire all rent-receiving interests in land after payment of adequate compensation. All tenants previously under the zamindari tenure, therefore, will become the tenants of the State. For all practical purposes, they would acquire the rights of ownership with certain limitations. For example, they will have "permanent, heritable and transferable rights in their land and will be in a position to use it like an owner," but they will not have the right to sublet the land.

The Act places a ceiling on land that can be retained by a zamindar for personal cultivation at 100 bighas (or 30 acres) or "20 bighas per head in the family whichever is greater." The land in excess of this limit will be acquired and distributed among the cultivators with uneconomic holdings and landless agricultural labourers. In addition, "each family will be allowed to retain an additional area of land equal to the area covered by the homestead of the family subject to the maximum limit of 10 bighas." A sum of Rs. 620 millions will be required for the acquisition of the estates.

The Act also lays down that a tenant cannot be ejected from his holdings except in execution of a decree of a civil court passed on the ground that he has done any act in contravention of the provisions of the Act. The Act fixes the maximum rent for different types of land. Rent enhanced once cannot be enhanced again within a period of thirty years.

Consolidation of Land

Much importance is given to the problem of consolidation of fragmented holdings in Pakistan. Because of the operation of the Muslim Law of inheritance, which makes it possible for a large number of heirs to share the property, the size of the individual land holdings gradually tends to decrease, and ultimately they become uneconomic. This is one of the main reasons for the preponderance of small uneconomic holdings in Pakistan. The government attaches much importance to the consolidation of holdings; but because of the religious sanction behind the law of inheritance, it is difficult to prevent the fragmentation of land. Long before the partition of India, consolidation work had been started in Punjab; and it had achieved some success. After the partition the work had been taken over by the West Punjab Government and till 1949, an area of 480,765 acres in 466 villages was covered by the consolidation programme. In the North-West Frontier Province, the programme of the consolidation of holdings covers an area of 89,810 acres in 670 villages. Provisions for consolidation of holdings have also been included in the East Bengal State [illegible]sition Act.

Conclusion

It is an historical fact that much of the present ills of the agrarian economy of Pakistan owe their origin to the peculiar land tenure systems evolved and imposed by the Britishers with a view to perpe-

11. Quoted from the speech of Mr. Hadi Hussain, the Pak representative in the Unesco, delivered in the 535th meeting, 13th session of the Unesco and published in Unesco official proceedings.

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tuating their rule. But from this brief review of the recent agrarian legislations in Pakistan, it becomes evident that very little has been done so far to change the situation. If at all, over the last seven years since Pakistan came into being, the conditions of the cultivators and tenants have steadily deteriorated. It is true that the obstacles to land reform are many and the vested interests in land are offering great resistance to any reform measure. The Government of Pakistan has itself acknowledged these obstacles. In its reply to the land reform questionnaire of the U.N.O., the Government stated:

> "One of the many obstacles to the adoption of land reform measures in Pakistan is the lack of sufficient funds. Vested interests are, of course, opposed to any attempt for adjusting the maldistribution of land. Most of the farms (holdings) are too small to pave their way. Credit facilities are inadequate, cultivators are generally speaking, illiterate and their number runs into millions. No satisfactory organization exists to carry technical information to the bulk of our rural population."

These obstacles, are, indeed by themselves, formidable. But the chief reason for the failure of carrying through land reform programme is to be found in the resistance of the vested interests both inside and outside the government, who want to maintain the *status quo* and do not want any radical land reform measures which may injure their interests. Because of the illiteracy and ignorance of the vast masses of the rural population (and illiteracy and ignorance are common enough among peasants all over the world and these have not come in the way of introducing agrarian reforms in other countries) it is all the more necessary to abolish the large estates of jagirs owned by a few people. But these jagirdars and zamindars wield an enormous influence over the political, economic and social structure of the country. The government is unwilling to initiate any reform which may set these influential, though economically parasitical, persons who are the pillars of the Muslim League Party as well as the government, against itself.

The report of the Muslim League Agrarian Reforms Committee contains many proposals which are radical as well as practical. Had they been accepted by the Government, conditions of the peasantry would have considerably improved. For example, the League Committee recommend the immediate abolition of jagirdari tenure without compensation. But only two provinces, *viz.*, the West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, have so far abolished the jagirdari tenure. A promise to do likewise was given by the Sind Government; but no action has so far been taken to fulfil that promise. There are about 103 jagirdars in Sind, whose total area amounts to 1,014,000 acres, the largest of them being 216,156 acres.[12] The League Committee recommended the immediate abolition of landlordism in West Pakistan; but no action has been taken in West Pakistan to abolish landlordism. What more, the tenancy legislation in certain provinces, notably in Sind, is likely to perpetuate and strengthen landlordism in Pakistan.

So far as the question of providing security of tenure to the tenants-at-will is concerned, the recent legislation falls far short of the recommendations of the Muslim League Committee. The only piece of radical land reform legislation worth the name is the East Bengal State Acquisition and Tenancy Act. But here too, the Act has not been implemented fully. What with the deteriorating political situation and the cost involved in the process of land acquisition, the Act has not yet been given full effect to and only six estates out of hundreds, have so far been acquired by the Government. Due to the inaction of the Government, the Acts remain on paper as mere platitudes and Pakistan as a whole, remains a landlord's paradise.

12. *Problems of Economic Reform and Development in Pakistan*—by A. F. A. Hussain, Munzur Ahmed and others—Pakistan Institute of International Affairs.

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UNEMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AREAS

By K. B. DANGAYACH, M.A., B.Com., LL.B.

Introduction

The problem of unemployment, *i.e.*, the condition of involuntary idleness in which persons have to remain without jobs, has been quite serious and has attracted the attention of the public as well as of the Government. It was discussed at two All-India Conferences last year and much is said and written about it almost every day. In the words of Shri Nanda, our Minister of Planning,

> "It is our foremost problem. The biggest task before us in this country is to find gainful, useful, productive work, opportunities for employment for our large and increasing force."[1]

Important business bodies like the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry also passed unanimously resolutions stating:

> "The Federation, therefore, urges upon Government to adopt a suitable economic policy that will enable expansion of fruitful activity both in the public and private sectors, and to that end modify both their plans of development and system of education to the extent that may be necessary."[2]

This is not a new problem, this problem of unemployment is not a problem of today in this country. This is a symptom of the arrested economic growth of this country over a very long period, a long stagnation and neglect. It was, of course, not known to the world till the beginning of the present century. In India, official notice of this was taken in 1935-36 when the U.P. Government set up a committee with the late Shri Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman to enquire into the causes of growing unemployment among educated youths. Two other State Governments, Bengal and Bombay, drew up some schemes for the relief of unemployed youngmen who wanted "white-collar" jobs. The problem went on for sometime but after the outbreak of World War II, it almost vanished as the war threw open many opportunities for employment in specially created War Departments and newly cropped-up Departments created for the administration of various Control orders and also for rationing. With the abolition of these temporary Departments, again the problem is coming into limelight. It has been further aggravated by falling prices and slackness in business up to a certain extent.

Present Position

Our subject here is restricted to the problem of urban unemployment. Millions of our countrymen in rural areas are unemployed or underemployed. Not much reliable data about the greater part of our country are available so far as rural side is concerned. Surveys are now being conducted by some of the States.

Unemployment in urban areas can be classified under three categories:

(1) Educated unemployed;
(2) Workers—skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled;
(3) A third category is of those engaged in business and trade but affected by general fall in prices, free trade and abolition of Controls, etc., etc.

Unfortunately complete data regarding unemployed persons in urban areas also, as found in many other countries are not available. The only data available are from the registrations and placings by the Employment Exchanges. Obviously these figures cannot and do not complete the picture, as registration is voluntary and even those employed register their names to seek better posts. All unemployed persons do not get themselves registered as possibly they think it would not help them much in getting jobs. However, the number on the live registers on 31st August, 1954, is about six lakhs registered with 127 Employment Exchanges. As mentioned before, this number is only a fraction of the total. Out of six lakhs of people on the live register of Employment Exchanges all over India seeking employment as many as 5.4 lakhs are suitable only for unskilled jobs in any industry or service. Next to unskilled workers the applicants' number was the highest in the clerical category. The clerical occupations are the most overcrowded ones. The supply has far outstripped the demand. The worst sufferers due to unemployment are the middle-class people who form one of the most vital elements and the backbone of our country as it is this class which has produced the intelligentsia of the country who have supplied political leadership and the bulk of the capital to public limited companies.

Only a few sample surveys were conducted in the past. In 1938-39, some enquiries were made in West Bengal by Shri Nabagopal Das.[3]

The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics had conducted Urban Socio-Economic Surveys in Poona, Sholapur and Kolhapur. These surveys made it clear that unemployment is a menace to the society.

The Research Programmes Committee appointed by the Government of India on the recommendation of the Planning Commission has now sanctioned a few schemes for certain Universities for studies of unemployment in certain important cities. It is hoped that the results may be out say in about a year's time from now.

1. Shri G. L. Nanda replying in the debate on Unemployment in Lok Sabha on 4th December, 1953.

2. *Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry*, 1952, pp. 149-163.

3. Nabagopal Das : *Unemployment, Full Employment and India*, 1951, P. 51.

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The Directorate General of Resettlement and Employment also conducted an *ad hoc* survey in 1952. The survey showed that the number of technical persons available for the jobs was three times the number of jobs available and for clerical jobs thirty times more persons were there as compared to vacancies. Everyday we read in papers about the number of applicants applying for the scanty jobs, proportion in some cases being as high as 150:1. This shows a very lamentable state of affairs and should be avoided by the "degree-manufacturing factories" (Universities) in the interest of the individuals as well as the nation.

The National Sample Survey Organisation conducted a sample survey based on the 'Live Register' of the Employment Exchange at Delhi to bring out the significance of the Employment Exchange data. They selected 800 registrants out of the total of 20,911 persons. The results are very instructive. Some of them are summarised below:[4]

(i) *Group Categories*: Clerical 44 per cent, unskilled 30 per cent, technical 14 per cent, rest 12 per cent.

(ii) *Educational Qualifications*: 44 per cent were Matriculates, 6 per cent Intermediates and 10 per cent Graduates and Post-Graduates. Among the unemployed, 30 per cent had education up to the Middle Standard or below, 53 per cent were Matriculates and 17 per cent Under-graduates and Graduates.

(iii) *Duration of Unemployment*: 34 per cent of the unemployed were without employment over a year.

(iv) *Employment Sought*: 58 per cent men and 26 per cent women were seeking administrative or clerical jobs.

(v) *Technical Qualification*: 54 per cent of the unemployed had no technical or professional qualification.

(vi) *Income Expected*: 49 per cent of the unemployed were prepared to work on Rs. 100 per month or less.

Reasons of Unemployment

More emphasis is always laid on the question of the educated unemployed. This is because of the vocal character and political possibilities of this class. As we have already seen, there was unemployment in the thirties also but then the number affected was much less. Previously it mostly affected agriculturists, beggars and unskilled workers. These persons being mostly illiterate had no 'voice' to shout their miseries. They did not know about platform speeches, demonstrations before Assemblies, Secretariates, hunger-strikes before Raj-Bhawans and the like.

The problem of educated unemployment which confronts us today is, in a way, a legacy of the system of education which has come down from the past so many decades; it is a "gift" of the British Government, a result of the system of education they introduced.

Our Universities are 'manufacturing' thousands of graduates every year. The number of these persons is increasing every year. There has been an increase in the number of Matriculates by 25 per cent and the number of Graduates by about 75 per cent compared to 47-48. And our economy had during this period not developed on that scale. These graduates cannot, for various reasons, too well-known to be explained, start their own industry or business and thus naturally become "job-hunters." So every year a major portion of the graduates, the "output" of our Universities, come out and glut the market already having more supplies than the demand. That is why more than 18 per cent of the total registrations at Employment Exchanges are for clerical jobs and this percentage is still increasing. Added to this is the abolition of several departments meant for administering Control and Rationing schemes, etc.

The general economic condition and lack of purchasing power in the hands of masses has also affected the petty shop-keepers and also the cottage workers and artisans to a certain extent. There has been a change from a seller's market to a buyer's market and also a downward trend in prices.

Then, our population is increasing every year at a very rapid speed—1¼ per cent every year.[5] The area of land per capita is steadily dropping. It was 111 cents in 1921 and has now come to 84 cents. Means of absorption are not increasing in the same proportions. There has been a wide gap between the industrial development of the country and the rate in the increase of persons seeking for "white collar" jobs. In certain cases, *e.g.*, the textile industry, although the production has increased still the number of persons employed has not only not increased but has decreased.

Steps Taken by the Government

The comprehensive Five-Year Plans aiming all-round development of the country and the most useful work relating to Community Projects and National Extension Services Blocs in the rural areas have thrown open several vistas of employment directly as well as indirectly. Then there are different special schemes for helping the various cottage industries being operated by the All-India Handloom Board, All-India Khadi and Village Industries Boards, etc., throughout the country. A sum of Rs. 15 crores was provided for a programme of cottage and small-scale industries. These would also solve the problem of disguised unemployment commonly known as underemployment to a great extent and would also offer jobs to hundreds. Very roughly about 75 lakhs of people would be employed during the period of completion of the first Five-Year Plan.

4. *The National Sample Survey Report*, Number 5.

5. For detailed information see the writer's paper submitted to the Indian Economic Association for 1954 Session on "Growth of Population in India: Warning for the Future."

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The Planning Commission sanctioned an amount of several crores of rupees for opening one-teacher schools for giving relief to the unemployed. The Government wants to absorb 80,000 additional teachers in the way.

The Government of India is also taking the following steps for removing unemployment:

1. Development of refugee townships with a view to give some relief for displaced persons who have settled there.
2. Other schemes, *e.g.*, office and residential accommodation; some schemes for Health, Ports, Survey of India, National Research, Development Corporation have been taken up in hand.
3. Repair and construction of tanks, roads, etc., in the States particularly in scarcity areas.
4. Additional schemes for small-scale and cottage industries, vocational and technical training, etc., of additional thermal capacity, road development and development of road transport service, etc.

Solution

(i) *Collection of Data*: The first and foremost thing the Government should do is to collect definite and complete data regarding the unemployed. Complete and detailed statistics of unemployment should be collected. There should be more and more studies and sample surveys. These should be repeated from time to time so that data may always remain complete and up-to-date. Without this we may not be able to know the full details and magnitude of the disease we want to cure.

(ii) *Overhauling the System of Education*: Much requires to be done for changing the method of education. The present bookish-knowledge education leaves no alternative for our youngmen and women except to try for jobs the moment they are out from colleges and Universities. Our present-day education is full of several defects and it is isolated from life. When the students come out of schools they feel ill-adjusted and cannot take their place confidently and competently in the community. It is narrow and one-sided and fails to train the whole personality of the student. Only subjects of academic interests are taught ignoring all other considerations. It caters only for a segment of the student's whole personality. The medium of instruction, till very recently, was English on the teaching of which naturally more emphasis was always laid. Other subjects which were psychologically and socially more important were almost ignored. The method of teaching fails to develop independence of thought or initiative in action. Lessons are imparted in a mechanical manner and students memorise the necessary portion of the course useful for their examination. Then there is no personal contact between the teacher and the taught. Above all, the examination system has curbed the teacher's initiative, stereotyped the curriculum and placed stress on wrong facts in education.[6]

Due to all the abovementioned reasons students cannot and do not undertake any independent work of their own. Our emphasis should be, of course, not towards providing college and such higher general education to all and sundry but to increase literacy amongst the masses. University education should be restricted to only very intelligent persons out of the lot.

(iii) *Opening of Technical Institutions*: There should be more technical institutions than ordinary colleges. Due emphasis should be laid on providing technical education even in higher school classes. The recommendations of the Higher Secondary Education Commission should be implemented. Several "multi-purpose" schools should be opened. Vocational subjects should be as important, if not more, as subjects of academic interest. On the one hand there is a growing unemployment and on the other hand there is a great dearth of people for technical jobs. Diversification of education and correlating it with our needs is essential with a view to check mal-adjustments. These revolutionary changes in the system of education are long over-due and the sooner these are implemented the better.

There is a shortage of technical personnel like skilled mechanics and operators, civil engineers, overseas, surveyors, and draftsmen, etc. Adequate facilities should be provided for the technical training of the personnel. This would result in not only solving the unemployment problem to a great extent but also in facilitating the implementation of Development Plans. More and more technical institutes should be opened by the Government and the private philanthropic organisations. The University Education Commission also recommended that occupational institutes should be set up in each district.

These Government-sponsored institutes should provide training and demonstrate the working of the most efficient and the most up-to-date tools and implements of the trade concerned. Small-scale power-driven Japanese machines should also be utilised for the purpose. We should have scores of institutes like Sri Jayachamarajendra Occupational Institute, Bangalore, which imparts training in various modern scientific industries. The Sri Krishnarajendra Silver Jubilee Technological Institute, Bangalore, gives training leading to Diplomas and Degrees in the main branches of textile industry. The number of such technical and technological institutes should be increased considerably. Each major State should have at least one each of these types. A number of smaller industrial schools like Sri Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore, should be opened in each district for imparting training to students in various crafts peculiar to each State. Production-*cum*-training centres should be

6. *Report of the Higher Secondary Education Commission*, G.O.I., 1953.

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started by the Government for specialised crafts in different parts of the country.

(iv) *Establishment of Large-scale Industries*: More large-scale industries should be established wherever scope exists anl wherever the installed production capacity is less than the country's increasing demands, *e.g.*, sugar factories, etc. There is no reason why we should not export certain commodities which we can spare to foreign countries as we have been exporting cotton textile goods, etc. But one important fact that rationalisation may again throw out certain workers out of job should not be ignored. Any way, without going into *pros* and *cons* of rationalisation we may suggest that the new large-scale industries can also be one of the direct sources of employment; the degree and extent is not, of course, as much as the small-scale and cottage industries.

(v) *Development and Encouragement of Small-Scale and Cottage Industries*: The small-scale and cottage industries deserve utmost patronage and help including financial assistance. Help should also be given in their marketing. New entrants in these industries should be welcomed by giving every sort of aid including technical advice and some finance to start with. This will mean not only more employment but also more productivity and thus greater national wealth for our country.

There should be an export drive for cottage industries products outside India. Our trade representatives abroad should find out local tastes of the people concerned and cottage workers should be induced to produce things with adjustments to tastes of foreigners. State Governments should give encouragement to Indian industries in their purchases. Preferences, including certain amount of price preference, should be given to cottage industry products in Store Purchase work by the Central as well as State Governments for meeting their civil and military requirements.

(vi) *Development of Road Transport*: Development of road transport constitutes another important and growing source of employment. Road transportation of goods by private enterprises should be encouraged.

(vii) *One-Teacher Schools*: One-teacher schools should be started for primary as well as adult education. This would, besides giving jobs to the unemployed, also increase literacy which is so very essential for our rural masses.

(viii) *Building Programmes*: Slum clearance schemes and construction of houses for low income groups is another useful avenue which Government should take up.

(ix) *Work and Training Camp*: Work and training camps should be opened at several places. Both the Government and private enterprises should pay attention to this and offer apprenticeship or other training courses to educated youths and pay them something so that they may earn while they learn. This should be done on a sufficiently vast scale to combat the problem in full.

(x) *Family Planning*: Then there should be a "scarcity value" for men. Steps however comprehensive regarding the solution of the unemployment problem may be taken, an incessant increase in our numbers would always make the supply of human beings greater as compared to the demand with the result that men would be "cheap" and sometimes not in demand. To avoid this we should have recourse to family planning. We should have children of choice and not of accident and unwanted.

(xi) *Foreign Training*: Only experienced and settled persons in Government service should be sent for training overseas or for refresher courses in the line in which they are working. On return they should be absorbed in their own line in which they have specialised. Unfortunately, this was not done in the past, some of them are either not employed or many are square pegs in round holes. They are not usefully employed in the lines in which they got training from public funds. This money has not brought, in such cases, to say the least, useful returns to the nation. This should guide us for future.

Conclusion

With these steps it is hoped the problem of at least white-collar unemployment may vanish; the nation may gain by an increase in national wealth and our aggregate income may increase. Some practical steps should at once be taken to remove this curse of modern society. The country has a very high responsibility of providing work to those who can work and who want work. These solutions may cost a lot to the nation, "but no amount of sacrifice will be too much for securing progressive diminution in unemployment and for creating more employment facilities and opportunities." The Government as well as the people have a very important role to play and it is hoped that the best possible thing would be done at the earliest possible moment.

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5. *Planning Commission's Progress Report of the Five-Year Plan*.

7. Shri Nanda's statement in Lok Sabha on 4th December, 1953.

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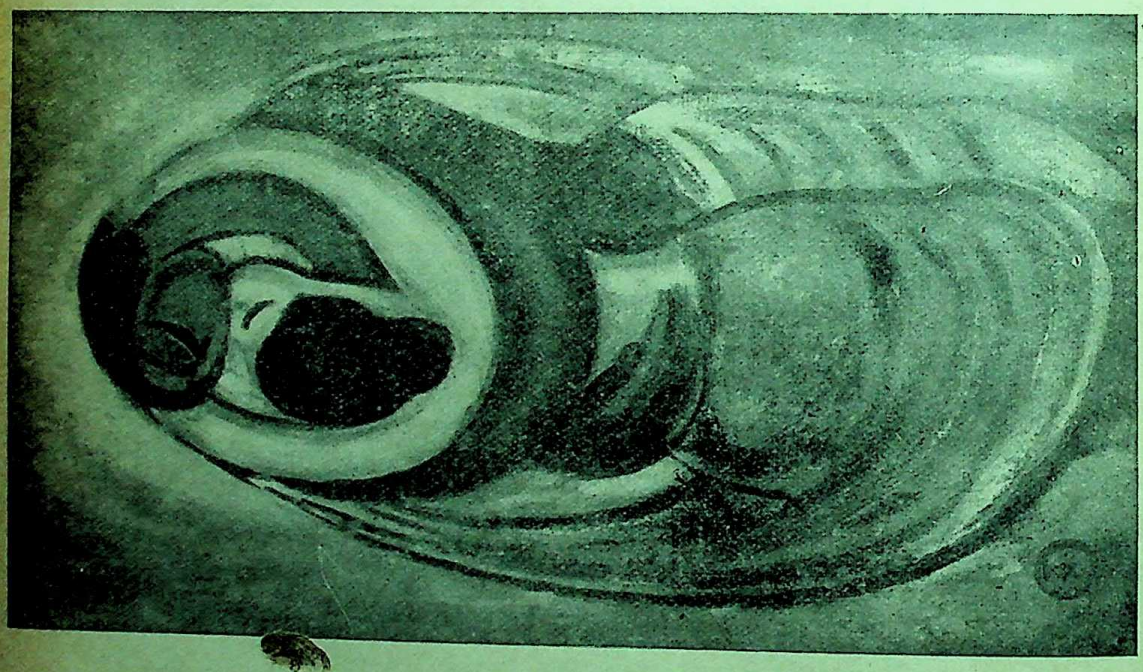

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THE NEED FOR A SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

By SWAMI NIKHILANANDA,
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HUMANITY is suffering today from a spiritual malady. Political friction, economic unrest, and moral confusion are but its outer symptoms. Man is not at peace with himself, with nature, with his fellow-beings, or with his Creator. Agnosticism or atheism is not the real enemy of religion. Their challenge can be met by reason. But the foundation of religion is being undermined by the serene indifference shown towards spiritual values by the sophisticated leaders of society, who deem it unnecessary to believe in God, soul, and the hereafter in order to lead a happy and useful life. When asked by Napoleon about the function of God in His celestial mechanics, La Place is reported to have answered that such a hypothesis was unnecessary. Likewise, many educated people of today naively accept the mechanistic interpretation of life and the universe, emphasised by science and technology.

The universe conceived in terms of matter implies diversity or multiplicity, which, without an underlying oneness, begets friction, hatred, secretiveness, and fear. This is why the world today is in the firm grasp of an aggressive evil, whose challenge can only be met by the power of aggressive good. The physical sciences cannot control greed, lust for power, or sensuality, which are the offspring of aggressive evil. The transformation of man's lower nature is possible only through the knowledge of God, the non-duality of the soul, and the oneness of existence, all of which belong to the realm of religion. Political, economic, or social organization, when inspired by the spirit, can be conducive to our highest good. The transcendental experience of religion alone can breathe new life in the thought and action of a weary and distracted humanity. Therefore, the human situation today calls for an intense spiritual revival, on a broad, humanistic, ethical, and rational basis.

Religion has played a vital part in the life of the individual and of society from the very beginning of creation. Man has been able to transcend the limitations of the body and senses, and attain freedom and bliss through the knowledge of the eternal relationship between his eternal soul and eternal Creator. Through the practice of spiritual disciplines, he has succeeded in suppressing his lower nature and in realizing his heritage of divinity.

In the evolution of both Indian and Western culture the contribution of religion has been invaluable. The great cathedrals of Europe, the painting of Raphael, the sculpture of Michelangelo, the music of Bach and Palestrina, and the writings of Milton, Wordsworth, Browning, Dante, and Goethe have been inspired by religious concepts. Equality and justice, which form the keynote of the American Constitution and Bill of Rights, have received their impetus from the teachings of Christ. The ethics of the Bible, to a large extent, regulate the human relationships of Christians and Jews. The Holy Koran, more than anything else, has moulded the history of the Islamic people.

The part played by religion and philosophy in the creation and preservation of the Hindu race has been recorded in history. The vast bulk of Indian literature, the delicate chiselling in the Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples, the breath-taking beauty of Ellora and Ajanta, the unsurpassed grandeur of the Elephanta caves—all bear the impress of religion. India's national heroes are mystics and saints. The national ideals of India have always been renunciation and service. The picturesque tapestry of Indian culture had been created out of the warp and woof of religion and philosophy.

Religion has given India national unity, which has remained unshaken through many a millennium, in spite of powerful foreign aggression. Many of the foreigners who entered India have been absorbed in the melting pot of Hindu society. Those who have kept their individual characteristics have been influenced by the general flavour of India's spiritual culture, like the fruits and vegetables in a salad bowl. The life and activities of three hundred millions of Hindus from the cradle to the grave, are moulded today by certain eternal principles of the Vedas. The Ganga, on whose banks the Vedic culture developed; the Gita, which contains the essence of Vedic philosophy; and the *gayatri*, which opens the door to the realization of the Vedic wisdom, are held in high respect by the Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India. In ritualistic worship, the recital of the names of certain holy men, women, and rivers, bring before the worshippers' minds the spiritual unity of India. To a Hindu, the mother and mother-country are superior to heaven itself. The Virgin Goddess at Kanyakumari, absorbed in meditation on Siva, holding the bridal wreath in her hand, and Siva, in the Himalayas, absorbed in meditation on the Supreme Spirit, conjure before the minds of the Hindus a fundamental unity, undisturbed by any political or economic turmoil.

It is true that political unity was not achieved in India as in the Western countries. In a sense, this has been a Godsend. It has saved India from national disintegration. The one [redacted] defect of political unity is that when a blow is struck at the centre of the political power, the whole nation perishes. Thus the unity of many European nations could not bear the

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heavy strain created by the disruption of the central political authority. They went to pieces right away. The history of central Europe and the Empire of the Caesars bears testimony to this fact. But the people of India still hold together because of a common spiritual bond, which, though intangible, is much stronger than allegiance to a common political or economic system. India, however, must today evolve a political unity, without which she may not survive in the struggle for existence in a competitive and aggressive world. Our political leaders are conscious of it. The Constitution of Free India is dedicated to this purpose, but our leaders must not ignore the existing spiritual unity of the country. They should use this unity as the foundation on which the superstructure of political and economic unity is to be built. If the spiritual unity of India is rejected or ignored, nothing will be able to hold the Indian people together. The presence of various religious denominations should not be a deterrent to the achievement of India's national unity. Hinduism, which is the major religion of India, is not a communal religion. Based upon universal truths, it has shown tolerance and respect for other faiths. Sri Ramakrishna, by his direct experience, has reestablished the old Vedic truth that all religions are but pathways to the realization of the same Godhead. In order to strengthen the national unity of India, the negative method of non-identification of the Government with any particular faith is not adequate. On the other hand, religion should receive the support of the Government. Religion must be studied in schools and colleges, with respect and warmth of feeling. The Bhagvad Gita says in its last verse that the welfare, success, and good fortune of India depends entirely upon the co-operation of Sri Krishna and Arjuna, who are the symbols of the spiritual and the military power. May our leaders, political, civic, and educational, never forget this point.

Why is religion losing its power over the minds of modern people? The development of physical science is a secondary cause. The contributions of science are twofold: namely, the scientific method of thinking and the growth of technology. The former has created a revolution in the thought world of today by substituting reason and experimentation for blind faith in the ascertaining of truth. Technology, besides adding to the many physical amenities of life, has broken down the barriers between countries and peoples by means of such devices as radio, wireless, steamship and airplane. It has further helped in the spread of education, the increase of human longevity, and the elimination of avoidable diseases. The results of technology are [illegible] and effective.

But when properly understood, science and religion do not show any clash. Science deals with the outer world of matter, and religion with the inner world of man. Both matter and soul are the manifestations of the same reality. The laws of science and religion are the different aspects of the same eternal law. The laws of science are discovered through reason and the laws of religion, through introspection. There need not be any conflict between reason and introspection. Both are tools for the apprehension of reality. The Upanishads repeatedly ask us to cultivate the knowledge of both the world of matter and the world of spirit, without which our doubts cannot be resolved. Religion enables us to discover the jewels of truth, and through science we create the jewel box to preserve them. The Upanishads never repudiated the physical world. The material degradation of India started when the Hindus began to explain it away as *maya*. The universe is certainly real for those who still dwell on the relative plane and regard the individual body and the universe as real. Sri Ramakrishna, through the worship of *Sakti* or the creative energy, gave a spiritual status to creation. Swami Vivekananda went to America to bring to India the knowledge of science and technology in order to improve the material condition of the masses. Through the co-operation of science and religion the world will witness the birth of its unborn soul.

But the primary cause for the decline of religion in modern times is to be sought elsewhere, within religion itself. Every great religion contains two elements: a body of eternal truths and also certain rituals and dogmas. The former is the kernel of religion, and the latter is the protecting husk. Rituals and dogmas are non-essential but necessary parts of religion and they should change with the changing conditions of time; otherwise they act as a dead weight and stifle the inner spirit. Further, dogmas and rituals are means to an end, and not an end in themselves. A religion which clings to the rituals of the past cannot appeal to modern minds. Further, when rituals are emphasized at the cost of truth, religion loses its vitality. We often quarrel over the empty basket while its contents have slipped into the ditch. This is mainly responsible for the decline of spiritual values. For the vindication of the eternal truths of religion, we have a new incarnation in the person of Sri Ramakrishna. While acting as priest in the Kali Temple, he was not satisfied by the mere formalities of worship. The stone image as such, did not appeal to his mind. He wanted to commune directly with the spirit which animated the image. Not satisfied by mere belief in religion, he became eager to realize the spirit of religion and succeeded in seeing God face to face. Through his experience God has become a living reality to us, and religion vivid. He has demonstrated that in this very life a man can be perfect, that is to say, he can completely control his lower nature and manifest his inner divinity. This is, perhaps, the most important contri-

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bution of the new *avatar* for the future revival of religion.

The need of a spiritual revival is imperative today to give back to humanity its lost bearings. The rehabilitation of man after the devastation of two great wars will not be possible by merely giving food to his empty stomach or by filling his mind with wild ideas. Science and technology may endow him with great power, which, if not illumined by deep spiritual truths, will destroy society. What shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his own soul? Power without compassion becomes Moloch which takes delight in human blood. How to utilise the power released by science and technology for the total welfare of man is the problem of today.

The sign of a healthy religion is its flexibility in adapting itself to changing conditions. In this connexion, the following points may be considered:

(1) The revival of religion must be based on the four cardinal Vedantic truths: namely, the divinity of the soul, the oneness of existence, the non-duality of the Godhead, and the harmony of religions. Man is not born in sin and shapen in iniquity. He is created after the image of God, Every soul is potentially divine. Man should not be judged by the colour of his skin or his economic status or his intellectual power. In our human relationships the divinity of the soul should be constantly remembered. This should be the spiritual basis of democracy and freedom. The solidarity and oneness of mankind is the spiritual basis of ethics. The impetus for self-sacrifice and compassion should be derived from the fact that in helping others we only help ourselves. Hatred shown to any human being, however far away he may live, ultimately injures the hater. The religious conflict which has befouled the fair name of religion can be resolved only by accepting the non-duality of the Godhead and the harmony of religions.

(2) Religion is a transcendental experience, revealing the eternal relationship between the eternal soul and its eternal creator. Its ultimate utility cannot be measured by its effect on the five minutes of human life. One should remember in regard to every material achievement the wise saying of Abraham Lincoln: "Even this shall pass away." The instantaneous destruction in modern warfare of a city or a monumental building which required the labour and skill of centuries to construct, proves how right Christ was when he warned his followers against laying up treasure on earth.

(3) Though the final religious experience transcends time and space, yet its application lies in the realm of the temporal: "The earth is His footstool." Even the mystic, coming down from his exalted experience, does not explain away the universe. All that exists is pervaded by the spirit of God. The embodied soul is a mixture of dust and deity. His baser nature cannot be ignored, but is to be transformed into the divine. Man's craving for moral perfection, economic security, and sensual enjoyment are legitimate. Through them he ultimately learns to commune with the infinite. Both meditation and work are effective spiritual disciplines. Through meditation one subdues the restlessness of the mind and gains inner serenity. Without work, contemplation may degenerate into laziness and self-deception. The essence of God is pure spirit, but He unfolds Himself in the world process. One and many are the two manifestations of the Supreme Reality. God can be seen both with closed and open eyes. Intellect, emotion, and meditation, when harmonized, create a balanced life.

(4) Twenty-five hundred years ago Buddha said: "Do not believe in what you have heard; do not believe in traditions because they have been handed down for many generations; do not believe anything because it is rumoured and spoken of by many; do not believe in that as truth to which you have become attached by habit; do not believe in anything on the authority of your teachers and elders. After observation and analysis, when it agrees with reason and is conducive to the good and benefit of all, then accept it and live up to it."

The above is a neat statement revealing the very soul of the scientific method; but it adds something more to the aim of science in that it brings in the factor of human welfare, which some of the scientists, in their zeal for the impersonality of science, are apt to forget. The Yoga system of Hinduism also insists on arriving at truth through experimentation, observation, and verification. A spiritual truth is valid only when it does not contradict universal reason, one's inner experience, and the experience of other seers of truth.

The divorce of science from religion has been the major tragedy of our times. A statement of the Vedas says that he who worships science alone enters into a blind darkness; but into a greater darkness enters he who worships superscience only. The knowledge of science must be combined with the knowledge of superscience. Through the former one overcomes the physical handicaps of disease and suffering, and through the latter one attains to immortality.

God reveals Himself in nature as well as through the inner spirit. Both natural theology and mystical theology bring us the knowledge of God. In future, science will be religious and religion scientific. Which means, religion will not proclaim any truth that will be opposed to reason, and the power released by science will not be exploited for unethical and unspiritual purposes.

Spiritual life must be built on the solid foundation of moral laws. Ethics is not a mere device to remove friction from the apparently incompatible human natures. Its validity does not rest on the

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words of a prophet or a scripture. It must derive its mandate from the universal experience of humanity, irrespective of creed or race or caste. The double standard of ethics often practised in society has been a potent cause of war. The ultimate sanction of ethics lies in such spiritual perceptions as the divinity of the soul and the unity of existence. We must love our neighbour because he is non-different from ourselves. The Bhagavad Gita says that he who sees himself in all and all in himself does not injure others, because by injuring them he only injures himself. The concept of the oneness of existence must be the basis of all human relationships.

A religion is kept alive not by the learned theologians but by the genuine mystics. Religion has never come into existence by the power of intellect but has been founded on the bed-rock of the experience of prophets. A tall edifice, a big congregation, delectable social activities, and material grandeur are but the trimmings of religion and not its soul. Too much emphasis on organization often kills the spirit. In order to corrupt truth, Satan tempts man to organize it. Every man must be born in a church, but no one should die in it.

In the healthy religion of the future there will be no room for bigotry, intolerance, and exclusiveness. There is no such thing as a single scheme of salvation. Salvation is not the monopoly of any church. All paths lead to the hill-top of one and the same God-consciousness. Different religions are suited to different aspirants in their various stages of progress. All religions are but the manifestations in time and space of the Eternal Religion which is a transcendental experience. A man should cherish single-minded devotion to his own faith, and respect for the faith of others. One religion is not the enemy of another. The real enemy of all religions is the rising tide of atheism and cynicism. If religions do not hang together they will hang separately.

Man longs for a Universal Religion which all can subscribe to. Where will one find it? Certainly it cannot be an eclectic faith created by gathering the beautiful features of different faiths. That method has been tried, but has failed. An eclectic faith, created by man's intellect, may look beautiful like a bouquet of flowers, but it soon withers away for want of roots. Religion is based upon the experiences of saints and seers. They preach religious truths by the command of God. Furthermore, a Universal Religion is not created by the sword or money, or political power. The major religions of the world—Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, and Buddhism—by the test of the survival of the fittest, have demonstrated their usefulness for mankind. They have come to stay; one cannot thrive at the expense of the others.

Where is then the Universal Religion? It is not to be created. It exists and needs to be discovered. It forms the core of all religions. One does not find it in religious myths and rituals which can never be universal. It lies in the essence which alone is universal. Rituals and mythologies, which are the concretisation of the transcendental truth, are necessary for the beginners. They cannot be dispensed with. Through these man prepares the mood for the realization of the ultimate truth.

Variety in unity is the pattern of the universe. John is different from James. But from the standpoint of humanity, they are one. A man is different from an animal. But as living beings, animals, birds, and plants are all non-different. As Existence Absolute, all things are one. God is the Absolute Existence. In Him the whole universe discovers its unity. This unity exists; it is only to be found out. Let a Christian follow the precepts of his own faith, let a Hindu and a Jew follow theirs. If they strive long enough, they will all ultimately discover God, who runs like the thread in a necklace. Or to change the illustration: God is the centre and different faiths are the radii which converge in Him. As one moves away from the centre, the distance between one radius and another becomes greater. As one comes closer to the centre, the distance between the radii is gradually reduced. When one reaches the centre, one finds unity with all in God.

Let not a man speak malicious words against another's faith. Let us not destroy or pull down. Iconoclasts never do any good to anybody. Take a man where he stands and from there give him a lift. Deepen by all means his aspiration, but leave him free to follow his path. Ultimately everyone will reach God and attain to perfection.

A healthy religious revival will reinvigorate man's weary body and cheer up his distracted spirit. The immensity of the present difficulties need not frighten us. They are a challenge to bring forth the best in man. Great things have been accomplished at times of stress and strife. Hamlet was not written at a time of peace nor the Cathedral of Chartres built when society was normal. As the towers of the Chartres Cathedral stood above the confusion of the eleventh century, so also may the spirit of man stand triumphant over the turmoil of the present time.*

* Read at the Holy Mother Birth Centenary Women's Cultural Conference.

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HAND-POUNDING OF RICE

By MANKUMAR SEN

THE Rice Milling Committee appointed by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Sri C. P. Karunakar Menon recently visited West Bengal to collect information and listen to representations by experts in the field of paddy-processing or village industries in general. Selection of West Bengal as the first State on the tour programme of the Committee attaches more than ordinary significance in view of the fact that West Bengal consumes per capita the highest quantity of rice and is also 'believed' to be one of the areas most troubled by Rice Mills. We deliberately use the term 'believed', because our State Government does not possess, even in their vast statistical puzzle, dependable data regarding the rapid elimination of *Dhenkis* (country-made wooden process for dehusking), loss of employment and the emergence of the huller type of Rice Mills. According to Sri Menon, "the West Bengal Government had been collecting all relevant figures." Let alone the loud protests from responsible quarters against this pernicious milling of paddy which ought to have induced any responsible authority to probe deep into the problem, the recommendations of the Planning Commission too are now more than two-and-a-half years old. Hence our resentment at the utter unpreparedness of our Government: A large section of the people, however, goes a step further and accuses the government of shielding the Mills to the wanton waste of food and employment opportunities, assured by the weaker wing, *viz*, the 'Dhenkis' or 'Chakkis.'

Reportedly, the Committee is out to enquire, among other things, how best hand-pounding could be encouraged, the effects of husking machines on village economy, the scope and capacity of hand-pounding in meeting the demands of the country, and a general evaluation of the milling industry. So far so good. But one thing passes our ordinary comprehension and logic: After what the Planning Commission emphatically stated in black and white in the First Five-Year Plan why the Government still lacks in a clear-cut policy regarding this industry? Two-and-a-half years are by no means an insufficient time within the planned period of five years? It still remains to be seen whether the Government has accepted or rejected the recommendations so categorically put forward: has not the milling industry in most of the States, continued to expand despite the contrary remarks of the Commission? That a thorough purge of the 'hullers', even if intended, and the resuscitation of Dhenkis cannot be brought about overnight is understandable: but that should be no plea for sitting tight over the *status quo* and thus allow the status of the Planning Commission go down in the estimation of the public. Well, what the Commission says? We reproduce the following remarkable paragraph from their report under the head, 'Village Industries':

> "In the sphere of food-processing industries the stage appears to have been reached when further expansion of large-scale industry should not be permitted, except under certain conditions, such as, for instance, establishment of a Unit by the Government or by a co-operative organization. Rural employment has been affected directly by the growth of privately owned units in this field. For example, in the paddy-growing areas rice-pounding was always a substantial source of employment, both whole-time and part-time, especially for women. The recovery of rice from paddy by hand-processes was also satisfactory. The introduction of rice mills of the huller type greatly diminished this employment and was also wasteful in various ways. It appears to us that in the interest of rural employment and to ensure better nutrition, the Government should now formulate a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mills by organized hand-pounding of rice." (p. 318, First Five-Year Plan).

It is not at all clear from the Rice Mill Committees' terms of reference if the Government has in view, the formulation of 'a programme for replacing the huller type of rice mill.' Then, has this Committee been appointed to re-examine the position? Will it be within the jurisdiction of the Committee if the worst comes out, we mean—the Committee sets at naught the ideas of the Commission, say, by a majority of votes? Is there any guarantee that the Menon Committee shall not fall in line with the inglorious and injudicious way of the Kanungo Textile Enquiry Committee that recommended virtual elimination of the handloom weaving? Would it not be more in accord with the Commission's wishes if the Menon Committee were simply asked, but in unambiguous terms, to devise ways and means,—a programme—'for replacing the rice mills' by hand-processes of husking all over the field?

It goes to the credit and wisdom of the Planning Commission that it made no secret of the baneful effect of the rice mills on the employment, outturn and nutrition. We may briefly substantiate the Commission's observations:

The decentralized hand-pounding industry is by nature employment-intensive, while being laid extensively in Rural India, and offers employment to women, often of the downtrodden sections of the society, and even to little girls and crippled children sometimes. We need only remember on what a terri-

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fic scale unemployment and under-employment have been rising in the rural areas. Artisans' profession has, in the face of gagging competition from the machine-made standardized goods and scarcity or non-regularised supply of raw materials, been fetching hardly one meal a day. Hand-pounding with similar other occupations offers scope for spare-time or part-time earning to the artisans or their family-members. Commercialised method of production through the 'hullers' pitted dead machines against the 'living ones' and the coffers of a few have been filling up at the cost of lakhs in the trade. Some four years back we came across a report which was as revealing as it was shocking: In a rural area of the district of Bhagalpur comprising of nine villages some 4200 'Dhenkis' were working giving employment to 64,000 men and 23,000 women, the daily outturn being 21,000 maunds of rice. The industry plied throughout the year barring the three raining months. The avaricious eyes of the millers soon fell on this fertile area, and hullers, big and small, raised their heads, began to swallow the paddy, and drive the dhenki-working villagers out of employment almost totally. The mills were apparently sermonising on 'refined taste' which polished rice alone could guarantee, though, however, villagers rudely shaken from the source of employment and with empty stomachs, had not much to worry about 'taste'! We would probably risk no contradiction if we state that Bhagalpur is no exception, —this woeful process of unemploying the employed, even on a modest level, has gone on as a general rule in many States of India. Sri N. R. Malkani makes a fair and impressive calculation on the employment aspect of this industry in the *Harijan* Weekly. He says, "At present 60 per cent of the total paddy of India is hand-pounded. On the basis of 20 million tons of paddy being dehusked (production was little less than 24 mil. tons in 1952-53—but we have to make allowances for sowings, wastes, etc.) the hand-pounding industry would account for nearly 12 mil. tons, at the rate of 2 tons of paddy processed per person working for six months in a year, this would provide partial employment to nearly 60 lakhs of persons. If the entire quantity of paddy were hand-pounded, there would be work for another 40 lakhs. So also the wage-bill paid to hand-pounders would rise from, say, Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 80 crores." We need not elaborate this point. Coming to the point of outturn of rice from paddy: According to Sri S. Varma, an adviser in the Ministry of Food, Government of India, the huller type of rice mills gives an outturn of 63 to 66 per cent on raw paddy, whereas [illegible]age paddy grain consists of 23 per cent to 25 per [illegible] husk, 1 or 2 per cent cutile and germ and 74 to 76 per cent kernel, thus the wastage calculating at near about 7 per cent of the paddy processed. Besides, transportation of paddy from the peasant's home to the mill-gate also involves waste, that is to a great extent avoided when the dehusking is done near at hand by Dhenkis.

About the disastrous effects of polishing on rice the less said the better. Expert study reveals that while in the unpolished rice there is no loss of the nutritive element, rice once-polished loses 55.0 per cent of its nutritive value, twice-polished 75 per cent and thrice-polished 82.5 per cent! Then what do we eat, and what we eat for? No fewer than 20,000 mills all over India and nearly 4000 in West Bengal alone have been doing this noble job—before our very eyes and with our patronage! If one shudders to look at the skeleton-like body of his own self, his relations, his sons and daughters, specially in course of the last ten years or so, one has only to thank these 'defooding' machines to a great degree! Gandhiji once painfully observed, "For the villagers to pound their own rice and eat it unpolished whole, means saving at least 30 crores of rupees per year and promoting health." Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee, the eminent thinker and economist, quotes, in his famous work *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, a Census Report of Bihar and Orissa to show that 'beri-beri' (a fell disease) broke out in those sections of the people that were accustomed to polished rice. So, be it from the standpoint of employment, or production or nutrition, Rice Mills have no grounds to stand upon—actually they stand self-condemned. Why, then, the Central Government falters to enforce with courage and determination through the agency of the States Government a uniform law prohibiting their expansion forthwith and replacing them ultimately with hand-processes within a stipulated period? This prohibitive action ought to have been taken long before in view of the clear recommendations of the Planning Commission, and should not be delayed now on the plea that the Rice Millling Committee is engaged in studying the actual state of affairs for an ultimate step on the part of the Government.

In this otherwise disappointing picture we note with much gratification the example that the Bihar Assembly set up in this regard. On July 29, 1953, the Assembly passed a comprehensive resolution banning new mills, limiting the output of existing Rice Mills, levying a cess on them and purchasing all Government supplies from the hand-pounders only. Let the other States emulate it—here and now. With the abolition of control and rationing the system of centralized production and distribution of rice has outlived its utility and with it the milling of rice too. Over and above the restoration of the normal pre-control working, the Government can also profitably organize hand-pounding co-operatives and instil a new sense of optimism and awakening of freedom in the hearts of the millions now sunk in a sub-human level.

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WHITHER NEPALI RUPEE?

By Prof. Y. P. Pant, M.A., Ph.D.,

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During the last few years the Nepali currency has been passing through certain critical period, since it has been experienced that the deteriorating value of the Nepali rupee in relation to the Indian rupee has come to be a serious blow to the entire economic life of the Nepalese people. So far, the remedial measures implemented by the Government from time to time have not met with success. Recently, till Oct. 15 there was a rate fixed by the Government for transactions as 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 149½ Nepali rupees and the rate was in force only for about a month. However it has been the experience of the public that the Government rate was only nominal and that for transaction purposes the people had to take resort to unofficial rate, which was never lower than 165 during the last two months. In spite of this, people had hopes that the Government would do something and even the Prime Minister had blamed the dealers for manipulating the rate and had also promised to the public to take stern action. But with the withdrawal of even that nominal restriction on 15th October last all the aspirations and confidence of the public in general that the Government would do something seem to have been melted into thin air. It is surprising that on the contrary, a communique issued by the Finance Ministry on October 19 reads at one place that the deterioration of the value of the Nepali rupee in terms of the Indian rupee is altogether due to *imaginary* fear. No doubt, this is one of the many factors; but the entire problem cannot be attributed to this. It may be recalled that by the end of 1946 at one time the exchange rate varied between 65 and 70 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, while to-day the rate has shot up to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 170 Nepali rupees. Is this merely psychological or even speculative? In the present article an endeveour has been made toward the solution of the adverse exchange rate of the Nepali Rupee and thereby the entire currency situation (both on the long-term and short-term basis) against the background of the country's backward currency management and circulation.

The Background

Nepal has come to the international picture only some four years ago and to the outside world the basic problems of her economy are not properly known even to-day. So far as the currency situation is concerned, very many pitfalls and limitations still exist. First, the circulation of the Nepali currency, still governed by custom, is confined to the Kathmandu valley and its neighbouring hilly regions while in *tarain* and other parts of the country covering more than half of the total area, only Indian rupees circulate as currency, and it is wonderful that the Government also collects its revenue in these parts only in Indian rupees. This dual system of currency has come to be the real crux of the problem in any attempt to regulate the rate of exchange, which fluctuates so widely in these days.

Second, Nepal does not have so far any system of currency mangement worth the name in the modern sense. True there is the Finance Ministry with a financial code, and that there is a substantial difference between the state funds and the privy purse of the ruling prime minister (this was not so during the Rana Rule), but the system of note issue is neither subject to any limits or reserves nor does the Government possess any authority so far either for controlling and regulating currency or for keeping the exchange rate within limits in even any elastic basis. Therefore a study of the composition of monetary circulation is difficult, if not totally impossible, because there are no reliable statistics of the important items of circulation. Reliance has to be placed on such information as is at hand and on the estimates that have been made by knowledgeable people. It has been estimated that the total of Nepali currency notes in circulation till recently was about four crores while the circulation of Nepali coins is placed around rupees five crores.

A brief reference to the trends of fluctuations of exchange rate is relevant in the proper understanding of the present currency chaos of Nepal to-day. It is said that prior to the 'thirties, the exchange rate used to be fairly stable around 100 Indian rupees for 125 Nepali rupees, as in those days Nepali currency consisted entirely of silver coins of various denominations, and the demand for Indian currency was small, as imports from India were extremely limited and confined to certain essential commodities. Later toward the onset of the Second World War with the increase of imports from India, by 1939 the rate of exchange was 145 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. During the war by 1943-44 with the drop in imports, the value of the Nepali rupee tended to rise, 80 Nepali rupees being exchanged for 100 Indian rupees. Till the culmination of the war, the exchange rate fluctuated between 80 and 85 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees, and the tendency toward the appreciation of the Nepali rupee continued all through. The appreciation continued so much that with a view to arrest further appreciation of the Nepali currency, paper notes were issued for the first time. Later on with the increase of imports and the result of all these measures, however scanty, by the end of 1950 the rate of exchange reached 100 to 112 Nepali rupees for 100 Indian rupees. After the interim set-up (Feb. 1951) the exchange rate began to suffer from violent fluctuations. In September 1952, when the rate reached 145, the Government *fixed* 128 Napali rupees for 100 Indian rupees as the official rate, which became simply official in declaration, as the recent official

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restriction of some three weeks proved to be. Thus the fluctuations in the value of the Nepali rupee not only affect foreign transactions, but they also directly affect internal transactions.

BASIC CAUSES OF FLUCTUATIONS IN EXCHANGE RATES

What are the basic factors working for the fluctuations and more particularly against the value of the Nepali rupee? Firstly, the general trends expressed above, make it abundantly clear that from early times the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports into the Kathmandu Valley and other adjoining regions using Nepali currency. The Tarai region is said to be exporting substantial quantities of foodgrains (chiefly paddy) to India and the impact of this trade is not directly felt on the rate of exchange of the Nepali rupee. In recent times other factors also have begun to operate more violently, though in many cases they are the legacies of the one century rule of the family autocracy. The system of note issue and currency regulation also has its indirect bearing on the situation. Thirdly, speculative dealings and manipulation by private dealers, which had begun a few years earlier, now have become rampant because of the slackening of various restrictions and the growing volume of imports, specially of luxury articles. Another factor is more important. The flight of certain big Ranas along with their movable properties and other landlords (who had large incomes in Indian currencies) to India to settle down permanently has meant not only a fall in foreign receipts but also substantial flight of capital from the country. A fourth factor has been the process of creation of currency for meeting budgetary deficits. This last factor, however, had a markedly adverse effect on the confidence of the people in the Nepali currency. The depreciation of the exchange, therefore, has continued steadily, the exchange dealings being marked by almost daily fluctuations.

LONG-TERM REMEDIAL MEASURES

Then what are the remedies? Such solutions can be considered from two different standpoints—those measures which mature after some years or so and cannot give necessary relief to the present debacle though they can cure the disease permanently and such measures which mature as soon as they are implemented and thus are helpful in bringing to a halt any further depreciation. To consider the long-term measures first: (1) Overall Reform in the present financial position:—It is obvious that in certain respects the existing financial situation is also responsible for the adverse exchange rate. Therefore, what I would suggest is a co-ordinated management of the currency system of the country. Minting arrangements should be modernised and paper currency should be regulated in conformity with such practices of more advanced democratic governments.

(2) Establishment of a Central Bank:—A State Bank with all the central banking functions for regulating exchange rate, issuing notes, and administering all the controls relating to dealings in coin, bullion, securities, etc., should be instituted without any further delay. Such a bank is indispensable for adopting a co-ordinated policy. At one time on the Governmental level the decision of the establishment of such a bank was continuously reiterated, but on the basis of the available information the very idea seems to have been dropped.

(3) Balancing the Budget:—The budgets presented so far show an overall deficit to the tune of more than one crore of rupees annually. How to adjust the exchange rate favourably to the country without balancing the budget? Deficit financing is desirable in a backward country only for financing developmental programmes. But in Nepal there is deficit even for meeting the current expenditure. Therefore, there is an immediate need for stabilising the country's economy on a distinctly lower level of prices than that obtaining to-day by adjusting expenditure to income.

(4) Monetary Regulation:—The dual system of currency is also detrimental to the rate of exchange to the country's balance of payment. In spite of the fact that Nepal's annual exports are estimated at Rs. 27 crores and imports at only Rs. 11 crores, the Nepali rupee is going down and down. This can be explained because the Valley and certain *tarain* regions depend on imports from India which have to be paid for in Indian rupees. Therefore the monetary regulation should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency with the fundamental ends of the economic policy. For the success of this policy, however, the transport system will also have to be properly integrated to connect all the parts of the country.

SEVEN-POINT MEASURES FOR IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION

However, for immediate control of the downfall of the exchange rate, short-term measures are more important, since they are instrumental in stabilising the rate and thus appreciating the value of the Nepali currency as soon as the measures are put into practice on a co-ordinated basis. On the basis of the available fact and information, I consider that a 7-point Programme, if followed by the Government would be really helpful in saving the country from the impending financial crisis.

(1) A Practicable Official Rate:—Mere communiques or even sporadic interferences are impracticable about the fixation of the exchange rate, unless preceded by some fundamental policies. So many times the Government has *fixed* its official rate. But to what effect they have led? Simply the rates without practical value. The recent restriction on the exchange rate by the Government, as experience has shown, simply became a rate without its bearing on transaction purposes. About a month ago, the Prime Minister had promised a deputation of Janadhik Suraksha Samiti that the rate would be brought down to 100 Indian rupees equivalent to 128 Nepali rupees. But the recent withdrawal of the restriction by the Government has totally been against that decision. Therefore the Government should take active steps to control

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fix the rate by offering to exchange Nepali rupees for Indian rupees for approved purposes. Be it noted, that this policy is altogether dependent on the establishment of a government authority for the purpose though in the initial stages the Government may have to encounter some losses.

(2) Clarification of the basic facts of note issue and circulation of coins in the country :—This is important not because it will in itself solve the problem, but because it will revive the confidence of the public, which in ignorance of such information are losing the confidence in the Nepali currency. Definitely, this declining nature of confidence in the national currency has had its repercussion on the exchange rate to a sufficient degree.

(3) Temporary curtailment of Imports :—It is evident that the exchange rate has varied with the volume of imports. Therefore, another immediate solution toward the problem should be altogether a stoppage of imports of certain commodities (like cigarettes, alcohol, and other extra luxurious articles) and restrictions, for certain essential purposes, of imports of certain commodities like clothes, petrol, etc., for some months to come, with a view to curtailing the demand for Indian rupees. Such a policy would have a double-edged effect, since it will not only appreciate the exchange rate but would also encourage the development of indigenous industries connected with them.

(4) Prevention of Speculative Dealings :—It is generally believed that near about 20 per cent of the fluctuation is due to such anti-national practices. Therefore, such practices should be made an offence and drastic steps should be taken to punish persons found guilty along with a country-wide drive to detect hoarders of Indian currency.

(5) Curtailment of the State Expenditure :—Though it is not feasible to take to retrenchment measures all at once, still a concrete announcement by the Government toward that purpose on a planned basis will definitely result in the revival of public confidence in the beginning and later on in bridging the budgetary deficits as and when the policy is implemented.

(6) Setting up of an Exchange Control Board: This board representing the views of various sections of the public and the Government about the market condition will be very useful so long as the Central Bank is not established. The main task of the board should be to keep the Government informed of the factors influencing the exchange rate, and gain a proper perspective of the existing rate in the money market and follow a level-headed policy.

(7) Establishment of an Exchange Equalisation Fund: At the outset such a fund can be established with a reserve of the Indian rupee under the supervision of the Reserve Bank of India with the object of ironing out short period exchange fluctuations, restricting short-term movements of funds and undesirable forward exchange transactions, so that only real causes are left to influence the long-term trend of foreign exchanges. Later on, it is also feasible for Nepal to have trade relations connected with either sterling or dollar areas, so that she may be able to get commodities reasonably at the international prices. It should be borne in mind that this is a thing which can be possibly introduced after a sufficiently long time.

General Outlook

However, it is not certain that the above measures will be quite sufficient to improve the exchange rate in the country, since our knowledge about the basic facts and materials is few and far between. The exchange rate and its fluctuation in Nepal in these days being complicated affairs, it is quite necessary that every step that the Government may consider desirable should be taken after considering it twice or even thrice, and that the method that can be pursued should be of trial and error; the measures put forth above may have to be tried and changed. if necessary, according to results obtained.

There is one section of opinion both inside and outside Nepal that a policy of making Nepali coins circulate throughout the country (my measures also cling toward that objective) is based on mere sentimental nationalism and that such a policy of undue interference of the natural process of gradually expanding the rupee area would mean hardship for the people and heavy burden on the administration. Why not allow the present process to reach its logical consummation? Thus, in other words, they suggest that the Indian rupee should be circulated in the various parts of the country. But while putting forth this solution, they altogether forget that at present the country's economy (its budgetary provisions) is altogether based on the Nepali currency. Again, how to ascertain the national income of a particular country, if its currency is not its own? The very study of the import and export trades will be absolutely difficult. Therefore, I would suggest that the dual currency system being the real crux of the problem in any attempt for regulating the rate of exchange, all possible measures, of course, from a long-period standpoint, should be directed toward the country-wide circulation of the Nepali currency.

Is it not time for taking up a serious and well-founded step to regulate and stabilise the exchange rate of the Nepali currency in terms of the Indian currency? The withdrawal of the restrictions on the exchange rate imposed by the government a short time ago has been really a shock to the country's future economy and it appears to be a pointer that the Government is thinking of doing nothing for improving the situation. If no interference is made with the *natural process*, Nepal's finance in due course may lapse into that kind of paralysis from which no recovery is possible.

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THE ART OF GANDHARA

A General Review

By S. C. CHANDRA

The province of Gandhara situated on the north-western fringes of India naturally became the meeting-ground of at least three civilizations—Indian, Hellenistic and Iranian. The result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found its expression in an eclectic school of art more or less contemporary with the flourishing period of the indigenous school at Mathura. In centuries preceding the Christian era, the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian kings of Gandhara and the Punjab had

An Atlante from Gandhara

already come under the influence of Indian religions. The art that was brought forth to serve the Indian religions however employed a technique unquestionably borrowed from the Hellenistic standards as modified by the different trends (Iranian, Hellenistic, etc.) with which they came into contact in their eastward expansion. "It may be considered from one point of view as representing an eastward expansion of the Hellenistic civilization mixed with Iranian elements; from another as a westward extension of the Indian culture in a Western garb." Dr. Kramrisch rightly observes:

> "If it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India."

The Iranian elements noticed in the sculptures of the Gandhara school have been assumed by some scholars to have found their way into Indian art at the time when the Achaemenian Empire extended over the north-west, the Hellenic elements following later. Marshall however is of the opinion that the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great and that the hybrid art that was evolved was introduced into India either as a result of peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia or as the result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans who must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with the Graeco-Persian culture. Latest discoveries from Begram in Afganisthan however go to show that that Iranian influence also found its way into Indian art on the frontiers of Central Asia between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D. when the Sassanians were ruling over Bactria.

The classical or the Hellenistic elements so characteristic of this art are manifest in a variety of motifs and technical details. The earliest evidences of this influence may be noticed on coins as early as the 2nd or 1st Century B.C. both in weight and fabric and as well as in the treatment of the figures of kings and deities. Neither does this numismatic evidence stand alone. It is corroborated by other antiquities of this region, though such antiquities are not as early as the coins themselves. No evidence of plastic art or arts of architectural forms of this early period showing Hellenistic influence has come to light. The earliest such discovery is perhaps not earlier than the 1st century B.C. when the Scytho-Parthian dynasties had established themselves in Gandhara. A temple with Ionic columns having a front porch, a sanctuary and a back porch and a shrine, with the facade decorated with Corinthian pillasters and pedimental forms had been discovered at Taxila. In later period, especially during the regime of the Kushans, the Corinthian capital becomes a regular feature throughout Gandhara. Another classical motif in architecture may be noticed in the acanthus foliage. It should be remembered with reference to the Gandhara school that though the form is strongly Hellenistic, the subject-matter and content are Indian and consequently we find that many older motifs of the early indigenous school remained practically unchanged. Some are however modified and a few entirely transformed. To the already numerous Indian and Indianised motifs—Atlantes fantastic creatures, griffins, etc.—the new schools brought also the vine, the acanthus, the frieze of garland bearers fabulous creatures, *viz.*, the Triton, the marine horse, etc. all common to different western Asiatic countries. The ceramic wares from the neighbourhood of Peshawar

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exhibit designs singularly Hellenic in sentiment, *e.g.*, the Little Amorini at Play, a child reaching for a bunch of grapes, Haemon supplicating his father for the life of his affianced bride, an ivory pendant adorned with two-bearded heads and the vine-wreathed head of Dionysus in silver repousse from Taxila are not only Hellenistic in design but also in execution. Hellenistic execution is also apparent in the engraved gems that have been found throughout the region. But after a lapse of time Indian forms generally begin to appear and in course of time they predominate to the corresponding elimination of Hellenistic forms and workmanship. Not only in the domain of minor arts but also in that of the plastic, this tendency offers a somewhat approximate basis for chronological sequence of the different specimens of this school.

Dating of the Gandhara Sculptures

The dating of the Gandhara sculptures however is a matter of great uncertainty and still remains a vexing problem owing largely to the absence of any definitely datable monuments.

> "Not one of the thousands of known images bears a date in any known era, nor do considerations of style permit to determine their chronological sequence with any sure approach to accuracy."

It is definite that it was under the Kushana kings that the majority of the works were produced and the most prolific period of activity of this school must be assigned to them. It is also permissible to assume that the school had begun to take shape long before the Kushans came upon the scene. The evolution of the types that we find already standardised with the Kushans presupposes a fairly long period of earlier achievement. Hence all that can be definitely said is that the Gandhara school may date from the 1st century B.C., probably antedates Kanishka and definitely attains its greatest expansion in his reign. It may be taken as a general maxim that the more nearly they approach in style to the Hellenistic standards the earlier they are in date.

It should also be observed that the Gandharan art though Hellenistic in form and execution is certainly Indian in content and subject-matter and hence it follows the Indian tradition both verbal and plastic in every essential of its iconography. The whole conception of the seated *yogi* and teacher is Indian. The *usnisa*, the *mudras*, the *asana*, etc., cannot be anything but Indian. All that is really Hellenistic is the plasticity, so also the treatment of the drapery. In Gandhara, the translation of the Buddhist iconography into foreign patterns is essentially the same process that took place in the formation of the Early Christian Art and as such it is not surprising to find amongst the earliest Gandhara Buddhas, Sakyamuni with the head of a Greek Apollo suggesting the Roman statues of the Augustan period. In exactly the same fashion the earliest representation of Christ shows him with the head of the Greek Sun-God. The foreign craftsmen responsible for this school adopted the Roman iconographical and technical methods to meet the requirements of their Kushan Buddhist employees.

Gandharan Bodhisattva

The Buddha type of Gandhara and that of Mathura are equally based on a common literary and oral tradition. Again, on account of a long practice of this extraneous style to serve the purpose of an Indian religion, the Indian standard of modelling, proportion and poise gradually began to be accepted inconsistently, and therefore lifelessly. A certain amplitude of facial features (play of curves), curving eyebrows, soft modelling of the eyes, drooping eyelids, fuller cheeks, smoother transition from physiognomy to physiognomy, thinning down of the volume of the drapery and demeanour of

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subsequent Gandhara figures are the local symptoms of Indian heritage.

Origin of the Buddha Image

In the early Buddhist art of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya and Amaravati, Buddha is not represented in anthropomorphic form but wherever his presence was needed it was indicated by symbols. This was due to the peculiar bent of the Aryan mind which did not as yet favour the anthropomorphic shape of their gods.

A typical Gandharan Buddha

But there was a strong element of anthropomorphism in the religious beliefs of the non-Aryan and Pre-Aryan population of the country and as a result of the contact with these people, the tendency to image worship was gradually gaining ground. With the emergence of the doctrine of *bhakti* or the devotional cult of a personal God, images began to appear more and more in worship and came to be established in the religious beliefs of the Indian people as a whole. The fusion of the non-Aryan, pre-Aryan and Aryan tendencies brought about a change in the psychology of the Indian mind and the image occupied its place in the art of the country. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. Buddha images appear simultaneously in the Hellenistic art of Gandhara on the one hand and the indigenous schools of Mathura and Amaravati on the other. The Gandharan Buddha image has been taken to be the first in point of date so far as extant remains are concerned and on this account some scholars have sought to deduce a theory of Hellenic origin for the Buddha image. But, as already

Harite and Panchika from Gandhara

observed, the tendency towards image worship was already gaining ground in India even without the Hellenic inspiration and as Dr. Kramrisch says, "Under no circumstances can priority lay a claim for the Gandharan Buddha as the originator of the Buddha image, it may have been due to an accident of preservation. Racially and psychologically the two types of Buddha image one from Mathura and the other from Gandhara have different origins." The Gandharan Buddha may be said to be stylistically Hellenistic and iconographically Indian. "The Gandharan sculptor did not make an Apollo into a Buddha but a Buddha into an Apollo." The Mathura Buddha on the other hand is a direct evolution of the early primitive trend of India, essentially a product of the Indian school; it follows up the ancient tradition of pre-Kushana Yakshas and Yakshis and as such set the standard for all future Buddha images. The Gandharan Buddha, which was an exotic adaptation of Indian notions by the syncretistic craftsmen of Gandhara could not long survive but died a natural death.

The Role of the Hellenistic School in Indian Art

The question of the role played by the Hellenistic school in India has been a much disputed one. Some

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authorities maintain that it was almost a negligible factor, others that it underlay the whole fabric of Indian art. "The Hellenistic art could not and never got a real and lasting hold upon India for the reason that the temperament and mental equipment of the two people are fundamentally dissimilar." Though Hellenistic in form and style, the Gandhara school served an Indian religion and was based on Indian tradition. The Indian and local elements in Gandhara are thus many and varied. "Indian in theme, based on Indian tradition it may even be said to be Indian to all intents and purposes, practically an offshoot of Early Indian school transformed by powerful extraneous influence." In the history of Indian art taken as a whole, the Gandhara school represents nothing more than a mere passing phase. We are hardly justified in placing its products side by side which those of the indigenous schools of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati. etc., which we know supplied the basic foundations on which the future artistic activities of India rested ; nor can they be compared with the products of the Classical period of Indian art as culminating in the Gupta school. It did not leave any permanent result; what it did contribute to the field of Indian art amounts to only a very few motifs which again were speedily transformed. Although the period of efflorescence of the Gandhara school follows after the Early Indian schools of Maurya, Sunga and Andhra dynasties, the artistic activity is in no way a continuation of the indigenous tradition. There was no true fusion of the Indian and Western ideals in Gandhara. The arts of India and Gandhara advanced along separate paths in different directions and the imported style disappears with the development of the true Early Indian ideals of the Gupta period. As Rene Grousset observes, "It is obvious that the Gandhara school with its faces which are often weak and lacking in character, its conventional motifs adopted to order, we may add its commonplaces cannot possibly be compared to the school of Sanchi in sincerity of faith and emotion or spontaneity of inspiration, still less with the later schools of the Gupta and Pallava periods."

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REVIEW OF EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, 1954

By Prof. O. C. GANGOLY

Amidst the series of Music Conferences of this city (Calcutta), the champions of visual arts bravely throw out the challenge that painting and sculpture are no less powerful instruments of human culture than music and deserve the equal attention of the dwellers of this great city.

Of these champions of the visual arts the most important is the Academy of Fine Arts which opened its 19th Exhibition a few days ago maintaining very creditably its claim of presenting the most representative pieces of painting and sculpture produced during the current year. This claim has been steadily maintained with commendable consistency through its career of nineteen years of brilliant and well-planned activity.

A collection of about 650 pieces and 35 well-chosen pieces of sculpture is too formidable an assembly to be fairly reviewed in the course of ten minutes and one can only indicate the highlights and the outstanding pieces, which stick out their heads over the assembled crowds. It can be said without contradiction that the exhibits in their variety of subjects, tempers and temperaments will appeal to all kinds of tastes and all manners of demands from those of the man in the street, the ignorant amateurs of pictures, "who know that they like," to the learned and sophisticated critics and connoisseurs. The Academy divides, as usual, its brave array of exhibits into different sections, of oils, water-colours, the black and whites and the graphic arts, but it happily allocates two separate sections to the National Indian schools and to the Modern and modernistic painters. It is a happy policy to afford a special opportunity to study the progress and the change in the outlook of artists, devoted to the traditional National Art of India which Abanindranath Tagore placed on a sound foundation, a few years ago. The banner he held aloft has not been honourably upheld by his recent followers, who have devoted themselves to the interpretation of the ideals and principles of the national language of pictorial art, having five thousand years of history behind it. In order to provide convenient standards at hand, the Academy has exhibited a few specimens for comparison from the brush of Abanindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose, the latter by three pieces of which the *Dolan-Champa* is the best. The other highlights of the section are represented by three excellent flower-pieces and a superb forest scene by [illegible]ndra Tagore and by two pictures by Dhirendr[illegible]rman and several by Indra Dugar. The former's *Village Maid,* and the latter's *On the Watch* very well maintain the claims of "Indian" painting. Bireswar Sen's study of a nude in his *Who Comes There* is a carefully executed land-

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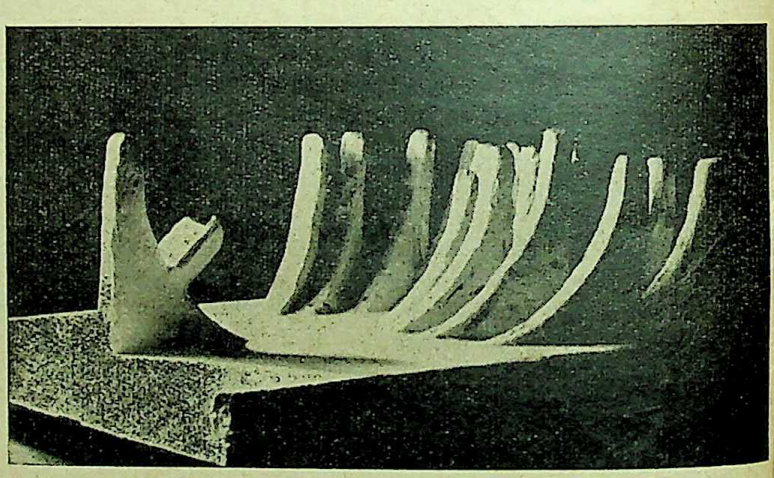
scape, not very well maintaining the best traditions of the school. Other outstanding pieces are Azmales' *Sorrow of Radha*, emphasized by a dancing peacock, and Samar Ghose's *Chaitra Samkranti*, which does not justify the title. Other talented interpretations of

The Window
By Makham Dutta Gupta

Indian painting are represented by Tribhanga Roy's *Tara*, Satyavrata Bhowmik's *Swayam-duta Nayaka*, a successful modern interpretation of a very ancient topic, frequently treated in Rajasthani paintings, and, a tiny little masterpiece, *Silpi* by Gouri Dutt Roy. Gopal Ghose's *Bird-World*, though an excellent piece of superb technique and penetrating vision, is out of place in the section as it cannot claim any feature of the traditions of Indian painting.

The section of oil paintings, rich in subject-matters and in a large variety of techniques, interpreting an extensive range of realistic vision, from the photographic, prosaic, romantic, descriptive, and narrative, to the hazy heights of Impressionism, is the most useful section to teach the novice and the man in the street the A B C. of pictorial art, and indeed the large group of visiting novices, assimilating and discussing their first lessons and experiences of pictorial art, demonstrated that the average citizens, with no pretensions for Art, are being slowly initiated into the mystery of picture-making, who are sure to develop later, into trained observers and lovers of pictures, the much-hoped-for potential patrons. For with the tragic liquidation of the rich aristocracy, the Maharajas and the Princely orders, the duty of patronizing and keeping alive the artists and interpreters of beauty have devolved on the average individual citizens of our "Social democracy" and on the collective patronage of the State.

The oil section is distinctly poor in portraiture, though with some rare exceptions here and there, as in the two pieces contributed by Kisory Roy and Arun Maitra. The light-effects and sentimental study *the Window* by Dutta-Gupta, a tiny little piece, easily beats other ambitious pieces, such as the same artist's study of *A Woman Examining Her Face in a Mirror*. The traditions of portrait-painting are well maintained by several painters, notably by Atul Bose whose specimens in the show, however, do not maintain his high reputation. A large number of our leaders, patriots, and famous men of letters are



Prayer Meeting
By Robin Roy

crying for worthy memorial portraits, but the memorial committees seldom select talented painters to build up our National portrait-gallery.

There are numerous presentations of natural scenes, topographical landscapes and characteristic village scenes and glimpses of rural beauties, but none of them attain a very high level. Special prizes should be awarded to encourage our landscape painters to present the beauty of Bengal villages, now fading

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of existence, due to many tragic causes, which are ruining our village life. Chintamoni Kar's *Peasant Women,* in its rhythmic beauty and superb breadth of vision and impressionistic treatment, has well deserved the Governor's gold medal awarded by the judges.

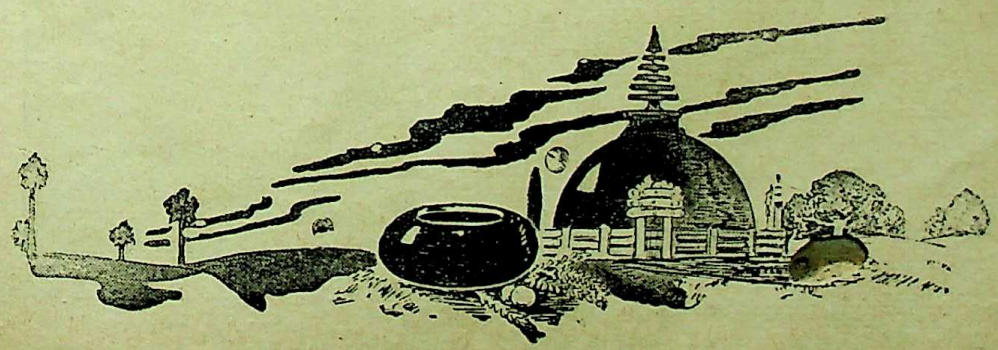
If the oil section is weak in many outstanding highlights, this is more than compensated for by the brilliance and variety of the section devoted to the Moderns and the bold experiments in all varieties of "Isms." Indeed, the Academy's presentation of the Moderns is a very creditable attempt to strengthen a phase of pictorial art, which is gaining in importance, year after year, the lead to the movement, in India, being given by the Modernists of Bombay. But in this show the credit is well shared by two local artists, Rathin Moitra and Desmond Doig. It is said that it is the unsuccessful artist, who invariably develops into a critic. But this adage has been falsified in the case of one of our most brilliant art-critics who has achieved a signal success with brush and colour, which threaten to obscure his adventures with his pen. We have to welcome his *Night Beach* as one of the finest oils in the show, but it is also one of the outstanding and daring pieces in the modernistic manner, deserving the highest praise. His larger canvas, a problem picture, *Then Nothing,* though less successful, contributes to the strength of the section, supported by a few other larger pieces, illustrating Cubist principles. The maxim that "Post-Impressionists do not seek to *imitate* Form, but to *create* Form" is illustrated in several specimens. And the rival claims of imitation and creation are brilliantly interpreted by Rathin Moitra, whose three remarkable pieces constitute the backbone of the section. His blue and reddish grey *Pair of Cats* do not violate the claims of representation, but is a superb example of emphatic and highly original presentation of Form. His *Leader,* representing a horse and its groom, a surprising essay in red and blue, is also an original essay in balance and proportions, inherent in its purposeful deviation from the normal standards of proportion. But his symbolic study of *Union,* a modern interpretation of the traditional *Mithuna,* is an original and daring study of the union of the blue and the yellow. Pannikar's *Green Bull* and *Malayalee Mother* are important supports to the section, which easily hits the eyes of even the colour-blind visitors. Hazarin's *Fishes* have justly won a gold medal, though there are many claimants to this honour in the same section. Sushil Mukherjee's *Christ bearing the Cross,* well deserves honourable mention and appropriately honours the current Christmas celebration as a valuable Hindu tribute to the Message of Christ. Pratap Sen's *Mural Design for a Maternity Home* deserves high praise for its twin quality of symbolism and pattern-making.

Gopal Ghose's *Sonthal Land* not only sustains his own reputation, but also lends substantial support and strength to the section. Blackburn's *Jamai Sasthi* is not only a vigorous piece of brush-work, but a symbolic presentation of a well-known Bengali social ritual, treated with great sympathy and penetrating vision.

The water-colour section does not present many notables, though there are several picturesque and a few profound presentations. Sankar Nandy's *Jagdish Temple* has more than topographical values. But Ranen Ayen Dutt's *Load and Labour* is a really thoughtful piece with high technical quality. The black and white section is illuminated by Mukul Dey's familiar etchings and Haren Das's coloured woodcuts.

In the sculpture section, there are many distinguished pieces, such as Ajit Chakravarty's *Composition A,* Pansare's *Obstinate Bay* and Robin Roy's excellent abstraction, a *Prayer Meeting.**

* By the courtesy of *All-India Radio,* Calcutta.



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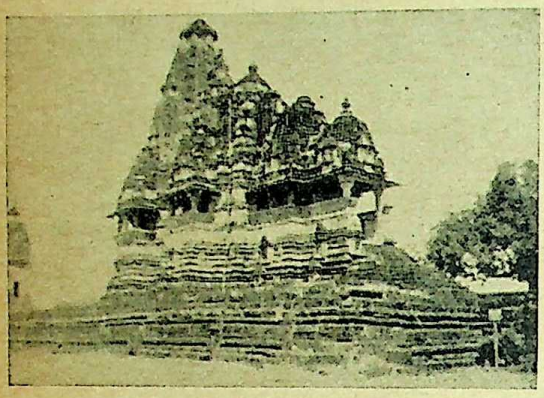
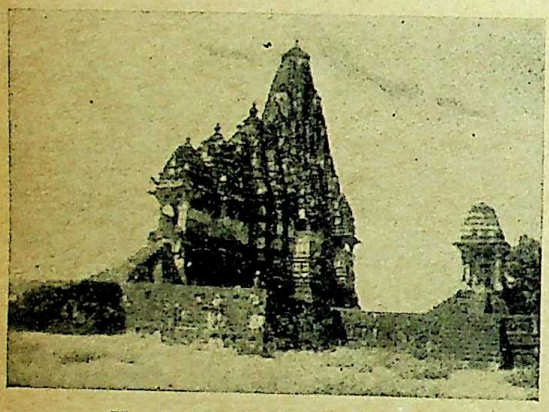
WHERE STONES SPEAK
Khajuraho

By JYOTI P. SAXENA, M.A.

If Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Nalanda depict India at her best, Kutub Minar, Fatehpur Sikri, etc., stand as living monuments to the Muhammedan monarchs, Ajanta and Ellora glorify Indian art, culture and civilization, Vindhya Pradesh, it is about 28 miles from Chhatarpu which itself is 32 miles each from Harpalpur an Mahoba, both Central Railway Stations on the Jhans Manikpur route. Presenting a galaxy of Hindu an



Vishwanath Temple

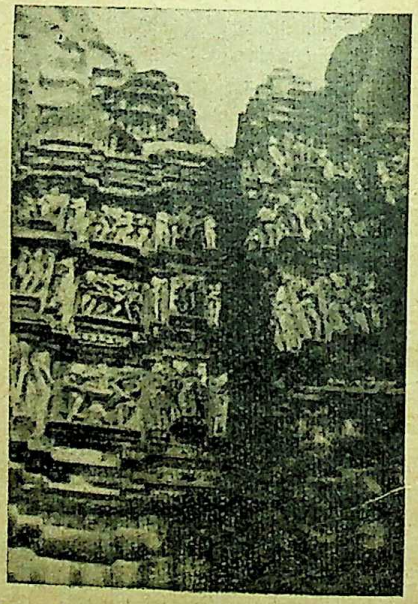


Kandhariya Mahadev Temple

Kandhariya Mahadev and Devi Jagadambi Temples

Colossal image of Nandi in front of Vishwanath Temple

Jain temples, it is a place worth a visit a thousand times and is replete with things which please the eye as well as elevate the soul.



Kandhariya Temple. Details depicting sex carvings

Khajuraho, too, in its right perspective, can be dubbed as 'Pride of India' where the soul of the Vindhyas does rest. A place of pilgrimage situated in the heart of Now reduced to a small hamlet accommodating some five hundred souls, it was in its hey-day a large city

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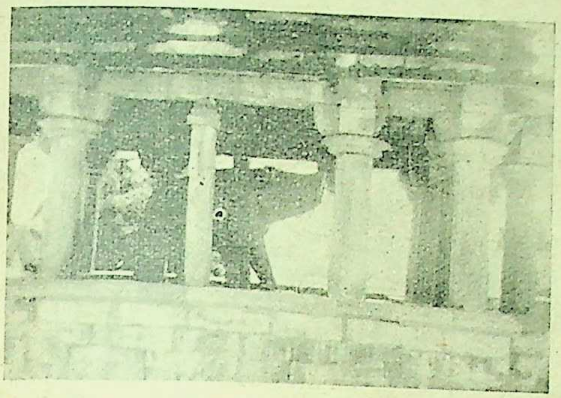
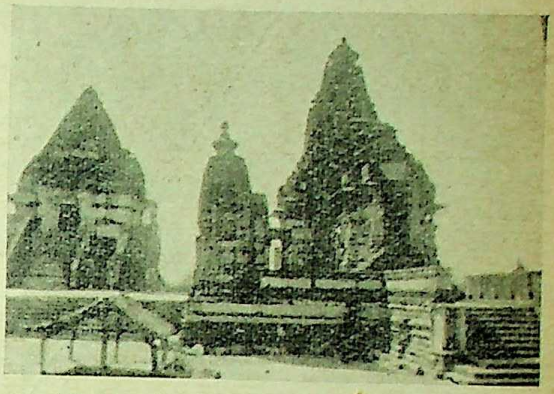
with about one hundred tmples built by the Chandel Kings between A.D. 950 to 1050. But with the passing of time, most of the temples have crumbled and only about twenty-five are intact now which provide us with a huge images of gods and goddesses—all bring forth the splendour of Indian architecture of the perfect Indo-Aryan type. In short, in beauty and grandeur they reign supreme.



Colossal image of Varaha in front of Lakshmanji Temple



Matangeshwar and Lakshmanji Temples

yardstick to measure the greatness and glamorous glory of Khajuraho at her glorious best.

The temples are fine specimens of engineering and artistic skill. Their architectural beauty is superb. The gigantic 'Shikhars' which appear to kiss the blue, the fine sculptures, the intricate geometrical designs, the Khajuraho gives immense pleasure to the lover of art and architecture. It infuses the seeker of religious truths with a spirit of serenity and sacredness. It instils poetry in the heart of the poet. For the historian, it is a treasure-house of material to research upon the glories of India's past. Even to the lay man it has got a message of its own.

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THINGS OF BEAUTY FROM TRAVANCORE-COCHIN

THE beautiful pieces of ivory work that adorn your drawing room have come from Travancore-Cochin. So has the coloured door mat that welcomes your visitors every day.

For centuries Travancore-Cochin has been famous for its exquisite artistic handicrafts, such as ivory, horn and wood carving, brass and metal ware, handloom goods, lace work and embroidery and screwpine mats and bags. Equally important are the products of its Cottage Industries-articles of great utility and value. Coir industry, lemon grass oil industry, marine oil industry and ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries are some of the more important ones. These articles have earned for Travancore-Cochin a reputation in the world market.

The door mats in various colours are products of the coir industry. A worker is clipping off fibre tips to give the mat a uniform shape

The State's Cottage and rural industries provide opportunities to the largest number of persons to earn their livelihood amid natural surroundings. The Central and State Governments have, therefore, given special attention to the development of cottage industries so that they can benefit from modern technological advancement on a planned basis.

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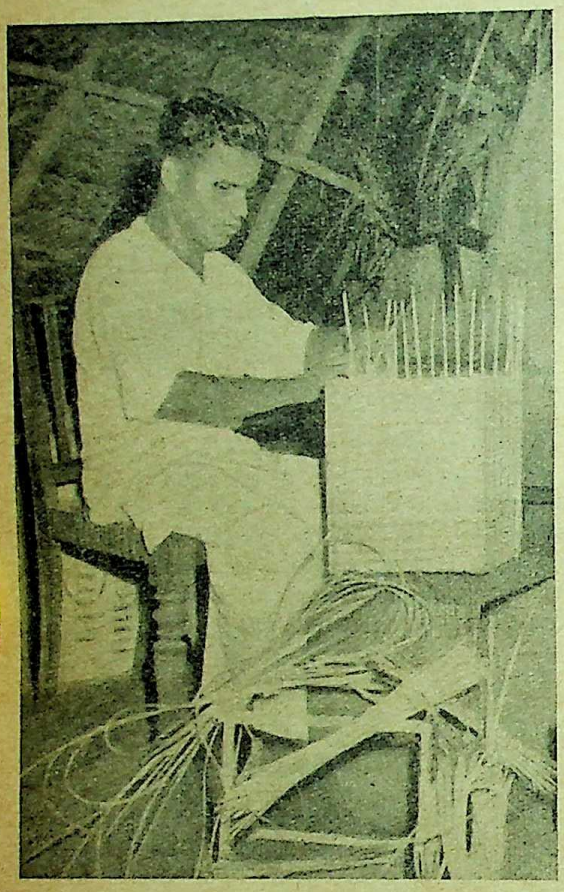
Travancore-Cochin Government Plan

The Travancore-Cochin Government proposes to spend Rs. 64 lakhs during the five years ending 1955-56 for increasing the number of industrial co-operatives to manage the industries.



Apparently blind, the worker's trained hands cannot make a single slip in manufacturing a beautiful basket

The State has already made some progress in regard to a few cottage industries, such as handloom textiles, coir and coir mattings, grass and screwpine mats, ivory, horn and wood products. There are over 80,000 handlooms and 10 powerlooms in the State which has a network of 117 industrial co-operatives to cover all the cottage industries.

The Central Government have launched a sum of Rs. 33.25 lakhs sanctioned during the year 1953-54 for various schemes of State Governments relating to small scale industries, including the Coir industry.

Coir Industry

Coir is used chiefly in the manufacture of mattings.

Coir and coir goods are exported in appreciable quantities.

In 1953-54 India exported coir yarn, coir mattings and coir in other forms to the value of over Rs. 8 crores.

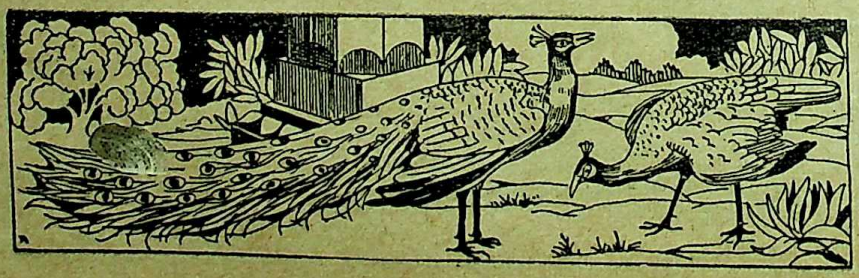
The Art of Carving

Ivory carving is an important handicraft in many States of India, chiefly Travancore-Cochin. Employing only a set of simple tools—a knife, a chisel and a few files—the worker produces exquisite figures of gods and goddesses, statues, animals and birds. Apart from the ornamental value of ivory work, articles of utility, such as necklaces, ear tops, cigar cases, photo frames, penholders, combs and buttons are also produced.

The horn industry is largely found in Travancore-Cochin, Orissa, Bombay, Hyderabad and West Bengal. The raw material used is the horn of the buffalo, the deer and the bison. The horn workers mostly produce articles similar to those prepared by ivory workers. The centre of horn industry in Travancore-Cochin is Trivandrum and the surrounding area.

Wood carving is practised in several parts of the country, chiefly Travancore-Cochin, Mysore and Kashmir. The raw materials used are teak wood, rose wood, sandal wood and walnut.

As a decorative art, carving work has existed in this country from time immemorial. Exquisite pieces of carving have adorned the person as well as the surroundings of the people everywhere through the ages. And in producing things of beauty Travancore-Cochin is among the foremost States in our country.—*PIB.*



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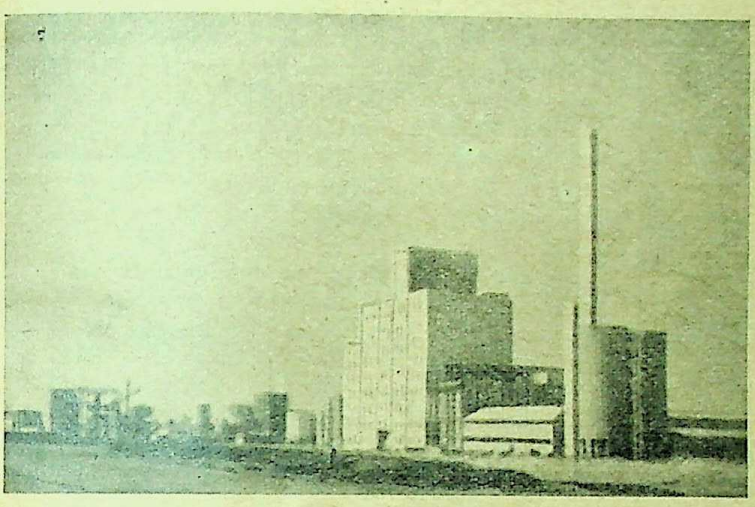
THE ALKALI INDUSTRY OF INDIA

By J. K. NAG

India is not yet self-sufficient in her production of the two important alkalies, Caustic Soda and Soda Ash. Even now more than fifty per cent of the demand of these two basic chemical alkalies is met by imports. No doubt, the manufacture of alkalies is now-a-days a basic operation of the chemical industry and the civilisation of today owes much to its development and expansion. In the inorganic group of heavy chemicals, the stronger alkali, caustic soda, stands almost equal to sulphuric acid. Its consumption may be regarded as an index of the industrial progress of a country.



Tata Chemicals, Mithapur

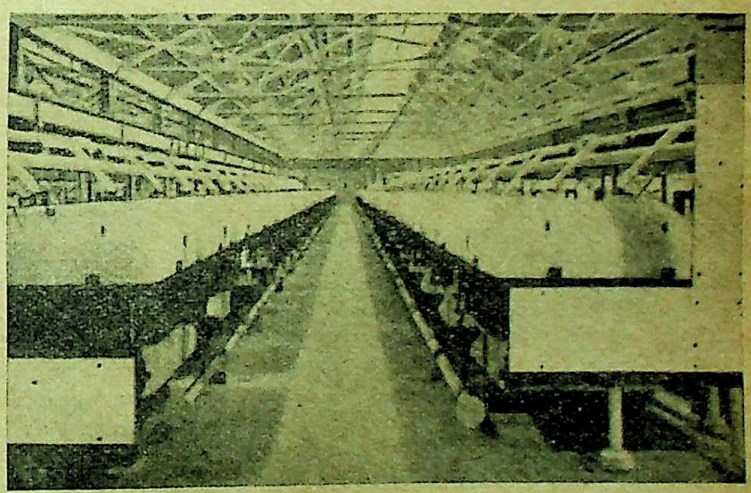
The alkali generally refers to the carbonates and hydroxides of sodium, potassium, lithium, etc. The hydroxides are called basic alkalies and they are stronger than the carbonate alkalies. The principal raw material for both Caustic Soda and Soda Ash is the common salt, sodium chloride, and as now India is more than self-supporting in the output of salt, she should promote her alkali industry, along with establishing an export trade, with the salt left as surplus. Steps should be taken very early to start Caustic Soda and Soda Ash factories in different parts of the country where they are not manufactured and where there are advantages in producing them. Though the Caustic Soda is now being manufactured in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Mysore, Ahmedabad, Mettur (South India) and Travancore, the only two Soda Ash plants of India are working in Western India, in Kathiawad and Dharangadra. The output of the Caustic Soda factories is far from meeting the requirement of the country.

Caustic Soda and Soda Ash are used in the manufacture of soap, cellulose film, paper, glass, lye, rayon, dyes, textiles and nitrate fertilisers, etc. The electrolytic Caustic Soda plants producing Chlorine and Hydrogen as co-products have become essential for sanitation purposes and hydrogenation of vegetable oils. A major percentage of Caustic Soda produced now-a-days is manufactured by the electrolytic process, as a co-product of chlorine.

The consumption of Chlorine in this country is however still very low and as the Planning Commission has suggested, the proper utilisation of Chlorine should be effected by installing D.D.T. and bleaching powder plants.

Caustic Soda

I remember when about 9 years ago I first visited the Caustic Soda factory of the Alkali Chemical Corporation (I. C. I.) at Rishra (District Hooghly), I wondered why so little interest was being taken by our industrialists to take up alkali manufacture on a big scale. The said plant though, a small one, was installed in 1940 by the Imperial Chemical Industries, only to make up the gap of the import from their parent factory in England. Now, of course, they have taken



Batteries of cells for electrolysing salt solution

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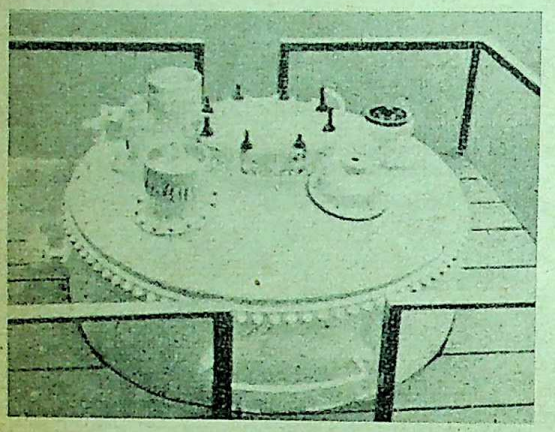
steps to enlarge this factory, so as to meet the demand of the country by local manufacture as far as possible. This I. C. I. plant is the second one in Bengal, the first plant, also a small one, is the one that was set up by Titaghur Paper Mills long before. The third plant is that lately installed by the Hindusthan Development Corporation at Barrackpore. The rated capacity of the Hindusthan Development Corporation is now only 2,000 tons per year. So even after I.C.I. (India) has expanded their plant at Rishra, there will be ample scope for setting up more Caustic Soda factories to meet the local demand.



Caustic pots for transport

The Caustic Soda* industry of India is on the whole towards expansion with the installation of two twenty ton/day plants at Delhi by the Delhi Cloth Mill, Chemical Division and at Alwaye, Travancore-Cochin by Shehashayee Bros., for pure grade Caustic Soda to be used in rayon mills. The writer had also the opportunity of seeing the caustic soda factories in Mithapur (of Tata Chemicals) and at Dehri-on-Sone in Bihar of the Rohtas Industries. The Tatas have both electrolytic and causticizing plants for manufacture of caustic soda in Mithapur (Saurastra), where they have also a big salt factory and a big Soda Ash plant. The following are the present producers of Caustic Soda in India :

	Rated capacity in tons per year.	
Alkali Chemical Corporation	2,000	(now expanded)
Hindusthan Heavy Chemicals	2,000	
Rohtas Industries	2,450	
Calico Mills, Ahmedabad	2,275	
Delhi Colth Mills	6,600	
Mettur Chemical Corporation (Madras)	3,700	
Tata Chemicals Ltd.	8,400	(6,000 by chemical process)
Travancore-Cochin Chemicals	6,600	
	34,025	

* NaOH, Caustic Soda, one of the strongest alkalics, stands second only in tonnage rank to Soda Ash as an industrial alkali.

The following paper mills have also Caustic Soda plants for their own use :

Titaghur Paper Mills (West Bengal)	2,422	tons per year
Sri Gopal Paper Mills (Ambala, Punjab)	475	„ „ „
Deccan Paper Mills (Poona)	300	„ „ „
Sirpur Paper Mills (Hyderabad)	292	„ „ „
Star Paper Mills (Shaharanpore)		

The paper mills altogether produce about 4,000 tons which they require for their own use besides purchase from the market. The produce of the Rhotas Industries is mostly consumed in their paper-board mills.

The annual requirement of India exclusive of the use of the paper mills, ranges from 60,000 to 70,000 tons and this is sure to increase with the expansion of the industries in soap, textiles and rayon, etc. The Planning Commission estimated the country's demand of caustic soda at 87,000 tons in 1955/56 and said that even after the expansion of the existing plants there would be a gap of 30,000 tons. But looking at the import figures below, this estimate should be considered as very moderate:

Sea-borne Trade Account of India—Import of Caustic Soda

Year	*In tons*	*In value thousand Rs.*
1947-48	21,231	11,184
1948-49	90,616	76,172
1949-50	12,989	5,944
1950-51	22,000	
1951-52	61,894	

Average—41,737 (Say, 42,000 tons)

So, as I have said before, there will be much scope of installing more electrolytic caustic soda plants in different parts of India where power will be obtainable at economic prices. During 1945, the Panel for the Heavy Chemicals, Government of India, thought it essential that caustic soda production should be stepped up early. On the question of competition with the imported caustic soda, it may be known that the import is restricted being subject to duty as well as the issue of licenses. Adequate tariff protection was and is being still rendered to the country's growing industry in caustic soda.

Till 1947, the bulk of import was from U.K. but later on, large proportions came from U.S.A., Germany and other foreign countries. In that year Bengal's share was about 70 per cent. During the year the import became subject to monetary ceiling. In 1948 the import was allowed from all sources but subsequently it came to be restricted subject to essentiality. The soft currency areas were given preference and the concessional rate of import duty was given only to U.K.

As given in the Tariff Board's reports the shares of the industries for caustic soda were as follows:

	Per cent.
Soap	40
Textiles and rayon	25
Paper	15
Hydrogenated oil	4
Miscellaneous	16

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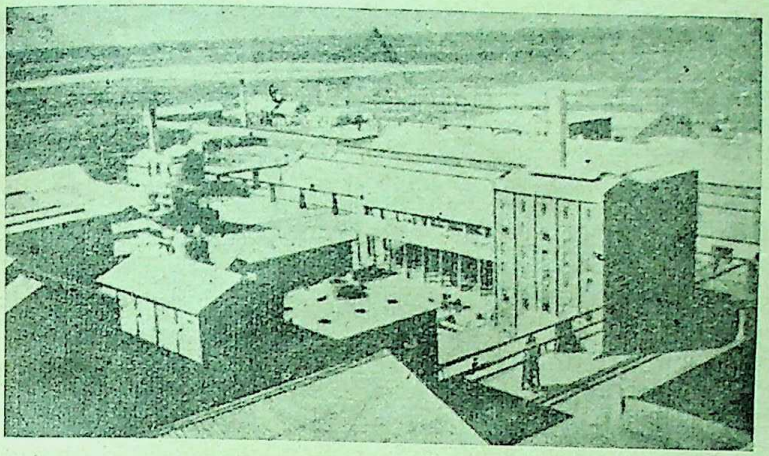
The item 'Miscellenous' includes boiler compounds, cellulose film, ceramics, detergents, dyes, electroplating. explosives, lyes, water softening, cleansing and chemicals, etc.

The main problem of the caustic soda industry is the high cost of domestic production due to two main factors: (*a*) Smallness in size of plants, and (*b*) High cost of electricity.



A view of the Heavy Chemical Section, Mithapur

Most of the plants in India are even less than 10 ton/day, so the margin of profit is very low on the cost of production. As regards power, all of them, except two or three having advantage of hydro-electricity, have either to secure or generate power at cost not so economical. It is estimated that about 3280 K.W.H. power is necessary to produce one ton of caustic soda.

The chemical process of causticising soda ash to obtain caustic soda is also not less costly in the present state of circumstances as it would be depending upon soda ash which is not manufactured in any part of Eastern India or Southern India. If it be produced there at a low cost, this process might prove economical.

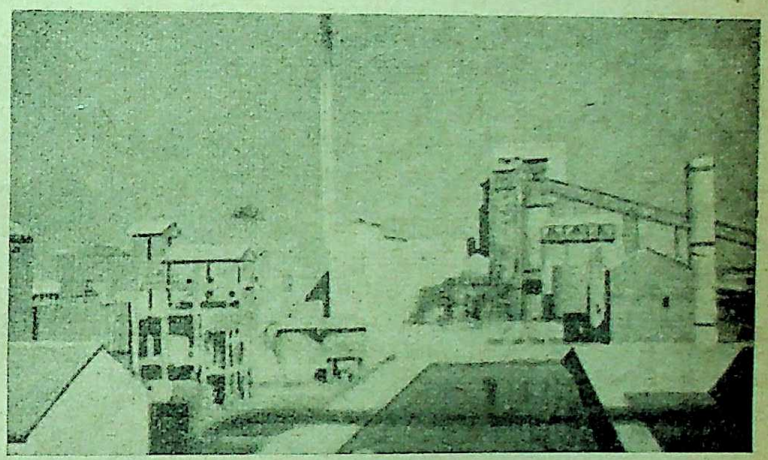
The Tariff Board of 1946 recommending protection to the indigenous caustic soda rightly pointed out that an electrolytic plant of less than 20 tons per day would not be economic. In U.S.A. there are more than 20 plants with rated capacities ranging from 20 to 350 tons per day. The Travancore-Cochin Chemical Corporation have set up a plant at Alwaye to produce 20 tons per day. A similar plant is also worked by the Delhi Cloth Mills Limited.

In the electrolytic process which is much more simple, about 2 tons of common salt is used per ton of caustic soda produced, much of the salt is wasted in purification of the brine made out of it. The Tata Chemicals have their salt factory in the very premises but the Mettur Chemical Corporation has their salt factory at Adirampatnam, 270 miles from the Mettur Dam, where their Chemical Works is located. So the Corporation has to bear the cost of transport of salt from their factory by railway for such a distance.

In most of the plants now working in India, diaphragm cells of various types, such as, Gibbs, Allen Moore, Vorce, Nelson or Belitter Siemens, etc., are used. The Diaphragm Cells produce a dilute of caustic soda containing 8 to 12 per cent of caustic soda and 14 to 15 per cent of salt. The salt is separated on inspissation. By the use of mercury cells caustic soda of purer grade is obtained. This grade is used in rayon industry.

Commercially caustic soda is marketed in the following grades:

(a) 50 per cent caustic liquor
(b) 73 per cent caustic liquor



Soda Ash Brin Refinery, Dharangadra

(c) Caustic Soda, solid. and (d) Caustic soda flakes.

Caustic Soda of 50 to 73 per cent solution is preferable to most users as it eliminates the cost of solidification, packaging and re-dissolving. For solid caustic soda, 73 per cent liquor is boiled in large cast iron fusion pots, the melted caustic is poured in steel drums and allowed to harden. Flakes are produced in freezing the melted caustic on a water-cooled rotary drum called 'Flaker.'

One of the gaseous co-products of the electrolytic caustic soda, Hydrogen, which forms 1/40th part by weight of caustic soda output, being 8,750 cu.ft. per ton

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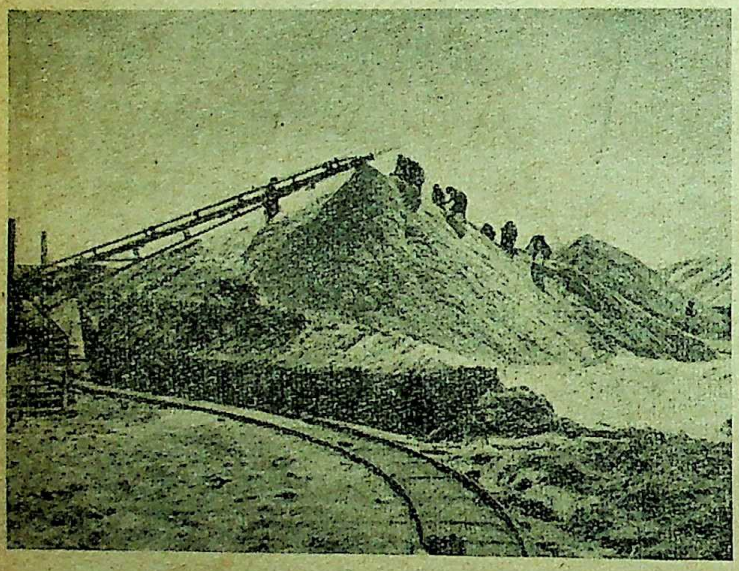
of the caustic, is used in hydrogenation of vegetable oils like that of ground nut, cotton seed, etc. About a thousand cubic ft. of Hydrogen is required to produce one ton of hydrogenated groundnut oil into Vanaspati. The othtr important use of this Hydrogen gas is the synthesis of hydrochloric acid and welding of metals.†

Soda Ash

The principal consumer of soda ash is the glass industry but in the manufacture of glass, the heavy variety of soda ash is preferred. The bulk of the country's produce being light ash is used as washing soda; the glass industry is somewhat dependent on its import. India's annual requirement of soda ash is about 115,000 tons on the following estimate under different classes of consumption:

Industries

Glass	40,000 tons
Silicate	12,000 „
Textile	7,000 „
Paper	5,000 „
Bichromate & others	6,000 „
For laundry and miscellaneous ..	45,000 „
	1,15,000



Salt stacks, Saurastra

The Planning Commission said that this would amount to 1,55,000 tons by 1955-56. The two soda ash works in India, the Tata Chemical Limited at Mithapur and the Dharangadra Chemical Works at Dharangadra, both in Saurastra, have a combined capacity of about 60,000 tons. Their annual output for the last 5 years were as follows:

Year	Tata Chemicals (in tons)	Dharangadra Chemicals (in tons)	Total
1948	17,913	12,360	30,273
1949	10,480	7,510	17,990
1950	26,267	17,223	43,490
1951	28,000	16 000	44,000
1952	37,200	16,000	53 200
1953	44,000	20,600	64,600

It has been admitted that the light soda ash produced by the above two concerns is as good as the imported varieties of light ash. The Magadi (Kenya, British Guiana) natural ash and the heavy ash from the United Kingdom are the principal imports, but lately soda ash of all varieties have come from Italy, U.S.A., Germany France, Yugoslavia and other countries.

The following is a picture of the foreign imports:

Import of Soda Ash

1944-45	78,000 tons.
1945-46	78,000 „
1946-47	57,600 „
1947-48	68,500 „
1048-49	1,63,560 „
1949-50	12,300 „
1950-51	29,800 „
1951-52	83,300 „
Average annual	71,474 tons

The soda ash is manufactured in India by the Solvay process widely known as Ammonia Soda process and this system is now-a-days generally followed in all advanced countries. The common salt, sodium chloride, reacts with limestone to yield Soda Ash (Sodium Carbonate) and calcium chloride. Chemically the reactions look very simple but the control of the process is very difficult. It requires highly scientific training.

Saturated brine is first purified by treatment with lime and pumped to overhead tanks from where it flows to absorption towers. Ammonia gas is then infused into the saturated brine in those towers. After the brine has taken up the necessary amount of ammonia, it is settled and then pumped with compressed carbon dioxide gas from rotary calciners. The ammonia gas combines with the carbon dioxide to form ammonium bicarbonate that again reacting with the brine produces ammonium chloride and sodium bicarbonate. The crude sodium bicarbonate (draw liquor) is tapped from the bottom and is filtered up through rotary drum-filters. From the filters it is calcined to soda ash. The recovery of ammonia from the liquor as residue, is done in stills.

The country's soda ash industry is practically a war time development when the scarcity of this chemical was acutely felt. Extensive deposits of the natural

† Lately an announcement of the newly floated company, Heavy Chemicals Ltd., of South India has indicated that the country is going to have another caustic soda plant probably of 20 ton-day capacity near Tuticorin at the southern extreme where a fairly good quality of salt is manufactured.

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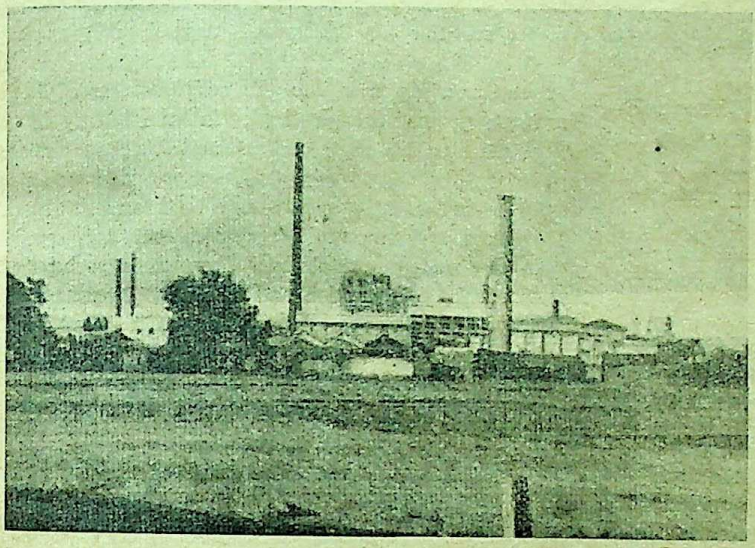
formation of soda (*sajimati*) were exploited during the war in Uttar Pradesh, Rajputana, Berar and Mysore. Chemically it was first manufactured by the Sakti Alkali Works in Dharangadra (Saurastra) in 1923. The factory worked only for eight years but resumed operation from 1940 under the name of Dharangadra Chemical Works Limited after a large-scale improvement was made on the existing Solvay plant. The potential output of the modified plant* is now 18,000 tons. (The first ammonia soda plant in the world was erected in Belgium by Solvay Brothers in 1861 that eventually displaced the Leblanc process).

The Solvay plant of the Tata Chemicals†, Mithapur, was set up in 1944 with a capacity of 50 tons per day, but it could not then operate regularly for 3 years due



Rhotas Industries, Dehri-on-Sone

to difficulties of getting sweet water and necessary equipment. The regular working commenced from 1947 with a recess in 1949 on account of the accumulation of stock due to heavy imports. The Government of India since rendered protection to the indigenous soda ash and both the works got impetus to increase their output.

Soda ash was on open general license from 15th November 1948 to 22nd March 1949 when the system was cancelled. The heavy imports from 1948 to 1949 reflect the liberal import policy followed during 1948 and 1949 up to 22nd March. This resulted in a sharp fall in prices and accumulation of stocks that compelled the two works close for a while.

Considering the present production in the country which hardly meet our entire requirements, attempts should be made in starting soda works in Eastern and Southern India where salt, limestone and coal are available. In Eastern India both coal and salt will be available from comparatively nearer sources whereas in Southern India salt and limestone may be available locally. The following are the materials necessary for the manufacture of soda ash:

Material	*Unit*	*Quantity of material per ton of Ash*
Salt	ton	1.50 to 2.03
Limetone	„	1.20 to 2.00
Coke		.10 to .18
Ammonium Sulphate	lb.	16 to 60
Sodium Sulphide	„	10 to 12

Sites close to Calcutta and Sindri, where the fertiliser plants are working, would have been suitable for soda ash factories, as coke and limestone or calcium sludge would be available and salt might be available at an economic cost after the West Bengal sea-coast was fully utilised for salt raising. In a recent visit to Sindri I have however seen the construction of a cement factory by the A.C.C., which will use the calcium carbonate sludge, but with increased output of the fertiliser factory there may not be any want of the calcium sludge for a Soda Ash plant.

The West Bengal Government have drawn up a scheme for Soda Ash at Durgapur pooling limestone from Birmitrapur near Rourkela but the site may not be convenient from all aspects.

According to the Government of West Bengal, Durgapur will have advantages for transport facilities and scope for integration with the proposed coke oven plant and a thermal power plant. As for the transport facility it may be mentioned that the Durgapur canal of D.V.C. on the Calcutta side will be at a considerable distance from the coalfields. I had been to the barrage site and this was pointed out by the local engineers. As regards power, a thermal station will be necessary, as the power of D.V.C. projects is already allotted to Chittaranjan, Calcutta, etc., etc. The opinion of the Government of India expert, deputed for the purpose, who has visited the site, is awaited.

In Eastern India, however, the third Soda Ash plant of the country will soon be set up at Dehri by the Rhotas Industries. It is understood that unlike in their Dharangadra Works they will follow the Zahn process of Germany, not requiring limestone but producing Ammonium Chloride which can be used as fertiliser.

* Since taken over by Saha and Jains.
† Since increased to 125 tons.

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KESHUB CHANDRA SEN—AN ARTIST

By KAJAL BASU, M.A.

Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen is a symbol of many things to us. A man of such infinite diversity as Keshub Chandra Sen appeals to a hundred people in a hundred different ways.

I do not know enough of philosophy or of high religious thought to speak on these matters. But what has struck me about Keshub Chandra Sen is that he was an artist. He had the eyes of an artist, he had the soul of an artist, he had the breadth and depth and passion of an artist. And the artist in him is constantly seeking to express itself in every form in his life, in his work, in his religion. Today, therefore, I will talk of his artist that existed in him and I will try to show that even his religion and his philosophy of life were shaped by the artist within him.

We have got too much into the habit of compartmentalizing and segregating the various expressions of a man's mind but perhaps we approach the whole thing from the wrong angle. Man expresses himself in many ways, but the motive power, that is the mind, is always the same, and the ultimate goal that man sets before him is always the same. As Clive Bell has said in his book on Art:

> "Art and Religion are two roads by which men escape from circumstances to ecstasy. Between aesthetic and religious rapture there is always a family alliance. Art and Religion are means to similar states of mind."

Let us see now how the artist and the man of religion unite in Keshub Chandra Sen. We usually speak of the great religious revolution that he accomplished, but seldom pause to think of how he accomplished it. What was this tremendous power within him that urged him along in his career and found such fiery expression in his life and religion? It was not knowledge alone that led him on to his voyage of discovery. There have been learned men enough who have read more and learnt more than Keshub Chandra ever did. But mere knowledge is not enough. For these men failed and gave up their quest after fruitless searchings where Keshub Chandra in a single moment reached the divine truth. True, he came from no ordinary family. But it was an age when great ideas were in a ferment, and if Keshub Chandra lived then, so also did many others. No, the answer lies not in his family heritage nor in his age, but in the man himself.

When we read his lectures and sermons, one thing becomes very apparent to us. He did not think and analyse, and then create his God. As soon as he assumed his attitude of [illegible] he felt (to use his own words). "I felt God breathe into me His Holy Spirit." The two things happened co-instantaneously and could not be divided into different acts. To quote from him again, "Directly the soul assumes this position of prayer towards heaven, the rays of the Eternal Sun of Righteousness fall upon it and enlighten it." To the single flash by which his whole soul became illuminised he gave the name *Inspiration*. "Prayer and inspiration," he says, "are the two ends of the axis round which the sphere of man's spiritual life revolves. They are only two sides of the same fact."

Having made this inspiration the basis of his attitude to God, he proceeded to build up his religious faith. But before we follow him further, I think we should pause and study this inspiraton and perhaps like him, through inspiration, we shall be able to approach and understand his religion better. And moreover, by studying his belief in inspiration we may come to see how the artist and man of religion have united in him. Inspiration, as he speaks of it, brought something new into the religious life of India. But if we go far enough back in the history of the world, we see that Plato also speaks of inspiration though with reference to art. He says, what the poet creates is an act of inspiration. The moment of conceiving and the moment of creating are the same.

In the modern age Keshub Chandra is perhaps the first to speak of inspiration and to realise its tremendous significance in religion. After him came an Italian philosopher, Croce. Croce may have heard of him; whether he was influenced by him we do not know, but Croce's theory is a direct transponsition of Keshub's inspiration from religion to art. He says:

> "Art is expression. The mind of the artist has intuitions and expresses these in the form of images. But the intuition comes and the image is formed in the same instant of time. There is no such thing as an unexpressed intuition for the intuition is its expression."

Croce's intuition, in other words, is the same thing as Keshub Chandra's inspiration. For here is his definition of inspiration:

> "Inspiration is the thrilling and electrifying response that God gives to our prayers. The cause and the effect seem hardly distinguishable, and in the reciprocal action of the human and the Divine spirits there is a mysterious unity. The effect is immediate, necessary and inevitable."

If therefore, we take Croce's theory to be the basis of all art, we realise something about Keshub Chandra that perhaps we had not realised before—Keshub Chandra was an artist, and as an artist he approached religion. And if we look back on the history of humanity we see that all great men of religion have been artists. Christ was an artist, Buddha was an artist, Mohammed was an artist. In the Vedic age we see the astonishing spectacle of a whole race of artists. From this, then, working backwards, we can even say that a man *must* be an artist, in this deepest sense of the word, before he can apprehend the infinite God, and that when he ceases to be an artist he ceases to apprehend God in his infinity.

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This, then, is the secret of Keshub Chandra's religion. As an artist, he based all on inspiration. Through it he felt the presence of an unseen spirit towards which he approached with love and worship. And, despite opposing theories that Divinity, to be realized at all, must be clothed in flesh, his faith in the truth of his own inspiration remained unshaken. So he built up his religion.

> "We believe in the one Spirit, God, in life eternal, and in duty—three doctrines which are summed up in one fundamental doctrine—life in God. Such is our faith."

This sentence is taken from his lecture on "Our Faith and Experiences," delivered in 1876 and the lecture on Inspiration from which the earlier passages have been taken was delivered in 1873. This period of three years is referred to as the *Brahmagitopanishad* period when he began to work out his inspiration in group-life. And we can see also how, in the three years, his mind has developed, how it has passed from the first stage of inspiration to that of faith. We see a further development of his mental process in two other passages. In one of his sermons, dated 1876, he asks himself—what is the value of *bhakti* (devotion)—the instinct of prayerfulness which is the attitude of mind that inspiration brings. And he says man can be good in two ways. He can be good in a stern austere way, and he can be so in a gentle, sweet way. This sweetness is brought into life and religion by devotion. The picture exists from before, but it is lifeless, it is colourless, it lacks beauty. Devotion comes and gives it life and colour, and makes it beautiful. But he gives an even higher value to devotion, for he says that devotion cannot enter the soul until the soul is purged of sins and has reached a stage beyond sin. Thus he defines the stages by which the mind attains to devotion: reverence makes us say, Thou existeth*; love makes us say, Thou art good†; and finally, devotion makes us say, Thou art beautiful.‡

This was written in 1876. In 1880 comes *Jivanveda*. In the previous sermon he had shown us how inspiration led him to the realisation that God is beautiful. The next stage now comes when he sees God's beauty imaged everywhere on earth, and realises that He is to be found, not in the books of the Veda or the Vedanta, but in the book of life and nature. And he says:

> "This book teaches by illustrations not by words, and so touches the soul sooner. And it is in the image of a sky, the figure of a housewife, the picture of a group of men praying, that we can apprehend the true beauty and the true majesty of God."

Keshub Chandra Sen

Thus we see, how in Keshub Chandra, art and religion become one, for inspiration which is the source of all art, is the source of his religion. But the

* श्रद्धा द्वारा सत्यम् † जाति द्वारा शिवम्
†† उन्मत्त भक्तिद्वारा सुन्दरम्

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artist in him finds expression not only in his religion, but in every aspect of life. We see it in the very form of the Divine Service that he has left us. For where before it had been a dry matter for the intellect or mechanical chanting of *mantras*, he now brought into it a sweetness of a tender charm through which his instinct for beauty continually expressed itself. The *aradhana* and sermon with his inspiration as their basis, became charged with a new sweetness which had been absent in the more learned discussions of other speakers. Above all, through the *kirtan* he brought back into the service the old devotional intensity of our past—for he realised that music often takes the soul in a swifter flight to God than words ever can. But the eye, no less than the ear, must be attuned to the harmony of the soul and so, though he opposed idolatry, he wished to retain many of the ceremonies of old and invest them with a new significance. He was always moved by the beautiful *arati* ceremony and introduced it into his own religion giving to its lights the new name of the five ethical lamps of life. And his instinct for beauty and purity overflowed itself in his love of flowers. At the least excuse he would use flowers for decoration. They seemed to him to bring an air of freshness and purity into the room and he has handed the tradition down to us as well.

Simplicity was the essence of his house and home but with him it was the beauty of simplicity and he realised in it the highest expression of the Oriental spirit of renunciation which he has so perfectly described as *swarthanash*. He gracefully combined plain living with austerity. What was the secret of this grace? He writes in a letter to an English lady:

> "This, however, I will not conceal from you—I love and wish to encourage asceticism. But my asceticism is not what is ordinarily accepted as such, . . . Energy, philanthropy, meditation, work, self-sacrifice, intellectual culture, domestic and social love—all these are united in my asceticism."

As a teacher he always used his artistic sense to impart his ideas. His consciousness of beauty was ever present in his use of language and it made him one of the greatest orators and writers of the age. He was also aware of the deep influence that environment has on the mind of man and so established the *Yoga-kutir, Sadhan-kanan, Tapoban* and so on. The very wedding ceremony and the various vows in his *Nava-Samhita* reveal the artist eternally striving to express himself. He conceived of the idea of a flag for his new religion and in the flag he symbolised the great ideals that he set before him and before those who believed with him.

In his own character we find a noble harmony of those qualities that make man great. And with an unerring instinct he could always draw out the nobler qualities of those who came in contact with him.

Beauty in its every form appealed to him, but above all as she revealed herself in the manifestations of Nature. This is how he expresses his love of Nature as he stands high on the Himalayas one day and looks around him:

> "The scenery on all sides is sublime. Hills upon hills, mountains upon mountains, above the highest, a higher still, all aspiring to kiss the heavens above. What can be grander? Trees tall and majestic, and various species, cover the heights and depths, and here and there flowers of rare beauty peep out to enhance the beauty of the wildly romantic scene. All is still as death, except where the jocund birds chirp and sing or the solemn rush of a distant waterfall is heard. Such a place is indeed heaven upon earth."

But Nature was more to him than mere environment. She not only created for him the atmosphere in which to pray but also made him feel in her the very spirit of God. Here is another passage:

> "To be with Thee is to be with Nature. When Thou, O dear God, speakest to the inmost heart in the tender language of infinite mercy, hills and mountains, rivers and oceans, sun, moon and stars, plants and flowers, all discourse sweetly of thy majesty and beauty."

Keshub Chandra himself was deeply conscious of the huge family to which he belonged, and we constantly get glimpses of his feeling of kinship with the painter, the poet and the musician. Knowing that on the ultimate level religion and poetry and painting and music unite, he is constantly drawing allusions from one or another of these spiritual cousins of his.

He is talking of sectarianism. He says, "Let there be no more sectarianism," and then goes on to argue that the great need of the time is unity in all religions. By unity he does mean uniformity. All religions are to retain their own distinctive character but there must be harmony between them. What he asks for, is not annihilation but unification. Then he wishes to clarify the idea—to himself and to others and instinctively he falls back upon the conception of harmony in music to illustrate his point. It is a magnificent passage:

> "Let all sects retain their distinctive peculiarities and yet let them unite in fraternal alliance. The unity I contend for is the unity of music. For, in music though there are hundreds of diverse shapes producing various sounds, yet there is sweet harmony among them. There are many voices, yet there is unity in their swelling chorus. There is concordance in the midst of apparent discordance. Each instrument has its own individuality, its own specific character; each voice retains its peculiar tone and is determined not to yield, yet out of the union of many voices and diverse instruments comes forth sweet and delicious music."

In another passage he shows us his profound

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insight into the soul of a painter. He is speaking of God and calls him the master painter who has painted all Creation. But he knows that before a painter can put anything on the canvas, his mind must be elevated by great and noble thoughts. The painting only gives form and colour to the conception. Then he looks at nature all around him and says:

"If such be the form and colour of God's paintings how great must His mind be. When man wishes to paint he strives hard, and after much straining reaches a state of mind in which thought finds expression in form. But God has only to lift up the brush and wave upon wave of thought flows into his mind so that all that he paints becomes the perfection of art. What beauty there is in every little flower, what splendour in the moon, how exquisite the ray of sun that falls on the ocean-waves. And if this Beauty be the expression of His mind, then how infinitely beautiful He Himself must be."

And so, Keshub Chandra reaches once again the conclusion that his intuitive experience of God had already led him to. For inspiration had brought devotion—devotion that makes us say, God, Thou art beautiful.

We just cannot get away from the artist in Keshub Chandra—he keeps coming back, no matter from what aspect we look at his religion. And indeed, why should we seek to get away from him. Rather, if Keshub Chandra approached religion as an artist—let us do so also. This was the New Dispensation he brought to his fellow-countrymen and if we have not sometimes been able to live up to his ideals, it is because perhaps we have not always remembered to look on life and on God as he did—with the eyes, with the mind, and with the soul of an artist.

——:o:——

IN THE DEPTHS OF THE HEART OF BIHAR

By SURESH RAMABHAI

Acharya Vinoba Bhave entered Bihar on his Bhoodan Yagna mission on 14th September, 1952. During these two years and three months he has been ceaselessly on his feet except when he was ill for some time at Chandil, observing his routine with almost a sun-like regularity. He has thus directly contacted about 3,000 villages of Bihar and more than half a crore of Bihar peasantary have listed to his message from his own lips. Perhaps no other Indian in this millennium has served Bihar in this fashion and conveyed the call of the age to the people with so much steadfast devotion and self-sought penance. Vinoba has called this tour of his a *Bhog-Yatra* (luxury journey). But only the future will reveal what a tremendous sacrifice it was. The coming generations may wonder how in this age of science and speed Vinoba 'kept company with the companionless among the poorest, the lowest among the lowest.' Through his *yatra*, Vinoba has touched the very depths of the heart of Bihar. No statistics can illustrate the measure of the same. In fact, its full significance will be realised several years, rather decades after. But an idea of it can be had from the many eventful happenings that came to pass in this tour specially during the last six months. They will show, as nothing else can, in how subtle and silent a manner has Vinoba's melodious symphony moved the chords of the heart of Bihar's loving and intelligent populace. For want of space, I would have to confine myself to about half a dozen cases to which I myself was a witness.

August last. Vinoba was touring the flood-ravaged parts of the Samastipur subdivision of Darbhanga district. We waded through water mostly on foot, taking a boat only when it was more than chest-deep. The floods this year surpassed all those in living memory. Yet the people faced them with courage and fortitude. One morning we were going by boat to a village called Hathauri. On our way lay a small village. A rich zamindar of that place expressed his desire to offer some land in Bhoodan. We learnt that he was known to be very tyrannical and had recently evicted out several poor families. He wanted to present his *dan patra* (gift deed) in Vinoba's own hands. But as we had no programme to halt on our way, the landlord took his own boat, rushed up successfully to catch us. Leaping from his boat into ours, he submitted his *dan patra* to Vinoba who told him: "I gather that the local people have some grievances against you. In that case how can I accept your *dan-patra*?" Denying the same the zamindar replied, "No, huzoor! This is all wrong. You can very well enquire."

"Now I am going to my camp. It is impossible to make any enquiry here en route. You please come to the camp. Your *dan-patra* can be accepted only after due investigation."

We reached Hathauri at about ten. No sooner did Vinoba come out of the boat than the said zamindar insisted on the acceptance of his *dan-patra*. Placing his hand on his shoulder, Vinoba observed, "I have already told you that certain enquiries have

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to be made in your case. Without that I am not in a position to take in your *dan-patra*."

"I am willing to put up the whole case before you."

"I would like to hear the other side too. So both the parties may come to me at half past six in the evening."

The other party was also informed to the same effect. Throughout the day I frequently found the zamindar friend going up and down with a heavy heart and anxious face. I requested him to have patience and that he need not get so excited in the matter. At long last the sun set and clock struck 6-30 P.M. Both the parties came to Vinoba. At the very outset he declared, "This is no court of law in which one side complains against the other or falls foul of it. This is a meeting of love in which both sides must confess their ill doings or faults."

"The objection against me," said the zamindar, "is entirely baseless."

"What is this?" interrupted Vinoba. "There is no use talking like that. I have just told you that you have come here not to blame but to confess."

But both the sides persisted in mutual mud-slinging. Vinoba expressed his helplessness to do anything. At last the tone of the meeting changed and both sides related what they had done. Vinoba gave them a patient hearing. As something could be said for both the sides, he asked them to appoint one man as *Pancha* who would make on-the-spot inquiries at the actual site to carry out investigations in full and whose judgement should be binding on both.

The zamindar suggested a name and the other party agreed to it. The gentleman concerned was also present there. Vinoba turned to him and said, "Now when both the parties are willing to have you as their *Pancha*, I have no objection. You have to go into this case thoroughly. Your decision would be acceptable to both. In case you come to the conclusion that this landlord friend has done no injustice, his *dan-patra* would be accepted. Meanwhile you have to keep it safely with you."

Our friend handed over his *dan-patra* to the new *Pancha*. And heaved a sigh of relief. It appeared as if tons of load had been lifted off his head.

... ...

Second week of September. A village in the Sitamarhi subdivision of Muzaffarpur district. With some hesitation a worker placed before Vinoba a *dan-patra* of 5 acres. The donor owned some 100 acres. He asked Vinoba his opinion on that *dan-patra*. Vinoba scanned it, then paused for a while. Next he asked for a pen. And on the back of the *dan-patra*, he wrote:

"This *dan* falls far short of the land in possession of the owner. It is, therefore, refused.
—VINOBA."

Vinoba handed over the *dan-patra* to the worker. Quietly, he took it away and sent it back to the donor. A new sensation was caused in our camp: Baba (that is what we call Vinoba: 'Baba' in Marathi means father) has begun returning *dan-patras* today.

Next day, two cultivators owning 15 acres each donated one and a quarter acres. They personally came to our camp with their *dan-patras*. In keeping with Vinoba's instructions, both the *dan-patras* were regretfully refused. The worker told them, "You have a flourishing business. God's blessings are with you. From you we expect something substantial. So we cannot accept anything short of one-sixth." And he returned them their *dan-patras*. They took it to heart and expressed a desire to see Vinoba personally. The appointment was fixed for 2 P.M.

Just at 2 P.M., both the brothers came to Vinoba. "Baba, we had," began the younger, "offered some humble gift. But we very much regret that it was not accepted. It has deeply pained us."

"It has pained me no less. But I tell you that if I accept your offer of love, people will call you a cheat or thief. They will say that you cheated Baba by offering one and a quarter acres out of your 15. I don't want you to be ill-talked about. I am very particular about upholding everybody's dignity. It is better that they should not talk of you rather than that they should talk ill of you. I would ask you to ponder over the implications carefully and then come with an offer befitting your position."

Silence reigned in the noon. Both the brothers and the worker sat motionless. Breaking the silence, Vinoba remarked, "First let me know why did you brothers separate?"

They blushed. One of them murmured, "Differences cropped up in the household."

"I know this is frequently happening these days. But if you were one at heart, you could persuade your wives too. What is the use of breaking families like this?"

Their faces turned pale in anguish. They were on the point of shedding tears. There was a sadness in the air of the room.

Piercing it, Vinoba said to the elder brother, "How many are there in your family?"

"Three—my wife, my son aged 16 and myself."

"Then I become the fourth. Accordingly I must get the fourth share. Would you be willing to have me as your brother in your home?"

One friend bowed low, "Who can dare refuse you? But *moh* holds us fast. So please accept now what we have offered. More shall follow later."

"I am only demanding my right. If you do not grant me admission in your home how can I write it?"

So saying, Vinoba turned to the other brother. "And how are you?"

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"Then you and I become two brothers. I must, therefore, get half of your share."

Pointing towards the elder brother, the younger murmured, "I would only follow my brother."

"Very well. I do want both of you to become one. Then you give me one-sixth of the thirty acres with you."

Both of them were dumb-struck. Not one spoke. "I have," said Vinoba, "only made a just demand. Now you may do what you like."

"I have," said the elder, "offered one and a quarter acres. Have a quarter more."

Vinoba smiled, "It seems it is a vegetable market." All had a hearty laugh.

"What is this *sava* (1¼) and *derh* (1½)? Complete the one-sixth and obtain the blessings of *Janata-Janardan*." So spoke the worker.

"Alright, take two acres," replied the elder. He put the *dan-patra* before Vinoba and seemed to get up.

Returned it back to him, Vinoba remarked, "You appeal to be a successful businessman. But I regard it as a *Satsang* (truthful company) and I don't want to do anything below your dignity."

Silence in the room. The worker appealed to them, "It is now a question of only half an acre more. Have courage and come forward." But they refused to budge. Their places, however, were overtaken by deep melancholy. They were plunged in profound sadness. Vinoba too sat straight with his eyes closed. Minutes passed like hours. Some time after the old one ejaculated, "Baba! you are not accepting our gift. With what a face can we go back to our home?" And with tearful eyes, he implored, "I beg of you to accept these two acres and save my prestige."

Vinoba sat motionless in his *samadhi*. "When you are so miserable," said the worker, "imagine the fate of those whom Misery has perpetually marked for her own."

Again, a calmness in the room. Then we heard the elder brother shriek. Pearls were trickling down his eyes. Wiping them with a corner of his napkin, he faltered, "Bhagwan! Pray accept my one-sixth share."

Vinoba opened his eyes and said, "May God give you strength and inspire you to work for the poor,"

Thus both of them filled in the *dan-patra* of two and a half acres each and took Vinoba's leave.

... ...

A month later. Vinoba was touring the flood-affected part of the Madhubani sub-division of Darbhanga district. A friend with 40 acres of land offered six acres. Half an hour before the prayer time, he saw Vinoba and bowed low, "I have gone through your *Gita Pravachan*. That has moved me very much. Today I have donated about one-sixth of my share."

Vinoba, in acknowledgement, said, Jai, Jai. (May you live long!)

The prayer was held at 3-30 P.M. Then followed Vinoba's discourse. In the course of his remarks, he observed that *Dharma* stood on four pillars. One of them, faith, was quite strong in our country. Other three were *prem* (love), *tyag* (sacrifice) and *shram* (physical work). But they were very weak. Whence we regarded irreligion as religion and misery stalked the country, despite the fact that both the Creater and His creation are very beautiful. He advised them to recognise true religion and live it.

After Vinoba reached his room, the same friend (who saw him in the afternoon) followed. With folded hands, he submitted "I want some time if you could spare it."

"Come on, please," replied Vinoba. "You saw me in the noon."

"Yes, Baba, I did. Your prayer address has inspired me to offer more land. We are four in my family. You become the fifth. And I accept your right. Here are two acres more to complete eight."

With all reverence he presented the *dan-patra* to Vinoba. Accepting it with a smile, Vinoba remarked, "I am sure you now become a worker of mine. The faith which has moved you to offer this gift would enable you to obtain gifts from others indeed." The new convert bent low with humility, touched Vinoba's feet and took leave.

... ...

Second week of October last. Saharsa district. We were at a small village in the Kosi area. Of about 2,000 acres of land in that village, about three-fourths belonged to two families, the rest with others. Donations amounting to 60 acres were offered on behalf of the two rich houses. In keeping with Vinoba's behest, that was returned. In the evening after the prayer, four young men from these two families approached Vinoba. While one of them was a graduate, another was a Vakil, the third was a leading Congress worker and the fourth had Praja-Socialist leanings. They gave a written memorandum (?) to Vinoba regretting the insult (?) shown to their village by returning their gifts. Some Bhoodan workers were also present.

Vinoba began, "At the outset I must tell you that my work is not to discredit any one but to raise everybody's prestige. I do not want to run down anybody's honour or reputation. I am interested only in revoking love and cementing hearts."

"We too want the same," the Vakil put in. "But I am constrained to add that our *dan-patra* was refused. I know cases [redacted] offers short of one-sixth have been accepted."

"Vakil Saheb, it is no court of law where you must argue against the adversary. This is a company of the faithful who give vent to their true feelings,

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who are anxious to wash off all stains on their heart. I can quote numberless instances when people have offered far more than one-sixth as also of those who have forsaken all. Why should you initiate only low-pulling cases?"

"My only submission is that our offer may please be accepted. More shall follow later."

"I would urge upon you to grasp my point. I want you to take me in your house as a member on behalf of the *Daridra Narayan*. If you are five brothers, I should be considered as the sixth and given the share, if three then the fourth, if seven then the eighth, and if you are alone then I must get the half. I do not count children for they grace every house. Mine is a religious demand."

The Vakil grew silent and seemed to be thinking something. But the graduate ejaculated, "Baba! We can't meet our own needs. Besides, there is the ever sharp sword of the Government hanging overhead."

Supporting him, the Vakil added, "They are going to fix ceilings. Who would then offer land in gift?"

"I know it very well," answered Vinoba, "And I also know that all your talents are employed in the task of sabotaging the proposed legislation. When I was in Telangana, the Government there was thinking of land enactments. It went on thinking. Meanwhile the landlords transferred their lands in the names of their various relatives. At long last the Act has now come allowing some 100 or 125 acres. Now this is as good as not done. In your Bihar too, joint families are being disintegrated. Within two years, or by the time they pass any Act, all lands would go to the family-members. And that Act would be rendered futile."

"Do you mean to say that this legislation is in vain?"

"You know it far more than myself," said Vinoba with a laugh. He continued, "I am afraid you did not appreciate the secret of my demand. I want to abolish the very ownership of land. To claim land ownership is heresy. It is against the will of God. I go from village to village to spread this message. As air, water, sky and light cannot be owned by anybody, so also land. Land would go only to the tiller, even as a book goes only to the reader. True that some of you will not be able to work on the field yourself. But, I give you time. Not much but four or five years. During this period, you must prepare your children so that they may labour in the company of the children of the landless. But would you please tell the reason of keeping any land when you can support yourself by [illegible] practice?"

The Vakil tried to evade the issue, "People have not yet quite understood."

And the Congressman joined him, "Even if we agree to part with land, the elders of the house do not. They have earned it by the sweat of their brow. How can they give it up now?"

"I would not go into the question how land has been acquired by you people. I need not rake up into the past. It would neither help you nor me. But I would like to know your duty as a Congressman. Your State Congress passed a resolution for 32 lakhs of acres and also repeated it in a subsequent meeting. Do you feel that you must fulfill that resolution?"

"There are ever so many resolutions," interrupted the Socialist young man.

"I see!" spoke Vinoba in astonishment. "But it were you of the Praja-Socialist Party who told me that I had taken up your work. Does it mean that you have abandoned it after my taking it up? You are a very strange lot. Your leader, Jayaprakash Narayan appealed for it. But you are such queer followers as forsake their own leader after giving him a push!" The whole assembly convulsed with laughter.

"Baba, this is not surprising at all," confessed the graduate, the youngest. "For your demand strikes first at one's own self."

"You are right," exclaimed Vinoba. "Had it not been required to offer one's own share, both the Congressmen and the Praja-Socialists would have accepted the resolutions of their parties. This is the difference between my work and that of others."

The Vakil seemed to be in a hurry to wind up the case, "Alright! You agree to our present offer. We shall complete one-sixth quota shortly."

"When you are willing to offer one-sixth, the earlier the better. Who knows when I would be able to come to your village again or see you?"

"For that matter, there is so much land lying idle. And we do not even know how much it is."

"Why don't you give me all that? It is waste for you but I can make use of it. My demand is: give me all the uncultivable land with you and out of the cultivable land I want my rightful share as a brother."

"Baba, what can you do with that uncultivable land?" asked the Congressman. "It is of no use—it is either river or sand or barren."

"Please give me first. All is grist that comes to my mill. I will show you what I can do with it."

"We won't be able to keep it with us under the proposed enactment."

"And yet you do not part with it!"

In a slow voice, the Vakil murmured, "Its compensation . . ."

Vinoba heard it and uttered loudly, "Here you are! It is now that you have opened your heart. Your eye is on the compensation-money. This is what makes you stick on to that. I would rather ask you to donate me all compensation that you may get. Many have done like that."

"They must have been rich men," put in the

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Congressman. "We are not so well off. Nor the elders will permit us."

"Well, I won't say that. But I am sure that offering your uncultivable land you lose little."

Silence followed. The four talked for a while in whispers. Then one of them in a feeble voice said, "Baba, we four are willing to offer one-sixth of our share."

Vinoba laughed and inquired, "What is your *ganit* or measure? Is it that of the Patna University or that of Bihar?" This amazed everybody: What does it mean? One of them said, "May we know the two measures?"

"Sometime ago I met a pleader with a diploma with the Patna University," said Vinoba. He offered me one acre of land with the remarks: 'It is more than one-sixth.' I asked him to clarify. He explained. 'We have one hundred acres in our family. We are four brothers and our father is alive. So we get twenty acres out of this 100. Now I have three sons. They three and myself make four. Consequently my own share is divided into four. And only five acres fall to my lot. Obviously, one acre is more than one-sixth of the same!' This is the Patna *ganit*."

All burst into peals of laughter. Vinoba continued, "So one-sixth of 100 acres is one acre. So kindly let me know which *ganit* you follow."

The young graduate was very inquisitive, "Baba, tell us also the *ganit* of the Bihar University."

The Congressman silenced him, "What more do you want to hear from Baba? Give him what you want to give."

"We four offer," said the Vakil, "one-sixth of the land due to us and our children. All of us will donate separately."

Humorously, Vinoba stated, "I wanted at least one-sixth of the whole family. But you have followed the Bihar University *ganit*. Now, what about my share of the land with other members of the two families?"

"For that our fathers and uncles would meet," replied the Congressman. "All members of the families would sit and then decide what to do. Presently we have dispensed with one-sixth of our individual shares."

"As you please," remarked Vinoba, "I hope that you will prevail upon your elders and successfully persuade them to part with at least one-sixth of the family holdings. But what you give me now is, I am sure, all cultivable land."

This stirred the Socialist: "Now that we have accepted you as a brother, we give you as your right. And when one gets a right, he must share both good and bad stuff."

Vinoba nodded in assent and said, "So I become your family member now. But I plead for justice. Won't you like your brother to stand on his feet like you? Naturally he must be made to share, besides land, all other things too. I am your weakest and youngest brother. Whence I have an extraordinary claim."

They all blushed at these words. The Congressman seemed to be struck aghast. He grinned: "Baba, you are continuously attaching more and more."

"Is there anything unfair in what I ask? Would you dare make merry, while your own brother be in a wretched condition? At any rate, I would expect you to get broken all fallen land you give me."

All the four conceded this demand.

More than an hour had passed. It was past eight Vinoba turned to the workers who wanted to consult him on some points. And the four brothers took his leave.

... ...

November, first week. Purnea district. Kishanganj town. A Muslim noble saw Vinoba in the morning. He had already donated 3,500 acres of land. He gave further 1,500 acres to Vinoba that day. "You have," said Vinoba, "offered all the *Ghar Mazrua Khas* land (uncultivated) with you. Now as my right, I demand one-sixth of your *Khud Kasht* land (under cultivation)."

"I agree to your claim," spoke he very politely. "But in our Muslim families, a woman has also her right. And we are five brothers and two sisters."

"Then I become the eighth in your family," put in Vinoba, and I want one-sixth."

"Very gladly so." And he signed the *dan-patra* accordingly. Later he observed, "This mission of yours is in keeping with Islam which enjoins such gifts as duty. Your demand is a righteous one. God willing, the country would fulfill your demand."

... ...

A week later. A village in the Katihar subdivision of Purnea district. We were on our morning trek from the Navabganj Pokharia village to Kalyangaon. On our way, the local people welcomed Vinoba with an original song:

Sita Sita Ram Bolo!
Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!
Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo!
Sab Koi Sampattidan Dedo!

(Let us recall the name of God. Let everyone of us offer Bhoodan and Sampattidan.)

This gladened Vinoba's heart. Reaching the halt he observed that we human beings were called upon to do only two things: chanting God's name and offering gifts. He advised them to sing this *bhajan* regularly. As one eats day after day, so also one must offer *Dan*. A few days after the said *bhajan* was sung in this form:

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Sita Sita Ram Bolo!
Sabkoi Bhoomidan Dedo!
Radhe Radhe Shyam Bolo!
Sabkoi Sampattidan Dedo!

Associating Sita with Bhoodan and Radha with Sampattidan is very significant. The workers have now adopted this *bhajan*. I don't think that hymns to God and *Dan* are sung in this manner anywhere else in the country. That it was begun by the lay peasantry in a village in Bihar indicates to what depth the movement has penetrated into the heart of the people.

... ...

Last week of November. Santhal Parganas district. We were at a village in the Adivasi area. The prayer was held usual at 3 P.M. It was followed by Vinoba's address in which he pointed out that his object was to abolish private ownership of land and transfer it all to the village. They must regard the whole village as their own home and live like a family. Everybody should work according to his or her capacity and get according to his or her need, just as in a family.

After Vinoba had left the dais, an old, tall Santhali approached a worker selling some Bhoodan literature near the dais. The Santhali told him that he wanted to offer 1¼ acres of land out of the ten acres he had in the hilly region. The worker began to fill in the *dan-patra*. When the time came for signing it, the Santhali told him, "I have twelve acres more in the plains. May I offer two acres out of that too?"

"Why not? Rather you must."

"Then fill in the *dan-patra* for that too. I would sign both of them simultaneously."

The worker did as desired. The Santhali gave his thumb impression on both the *dan-patras*. And he walked back happily to his house.

... ...

Two days later. We were at a village Bori. Vinoba was returning to his camp after the evening prayer. On the way, several Santhali people greeted him. And one of them said: "Baba Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Ham Zamin Denge! (Baba, take land! take land! We shall give it.)"

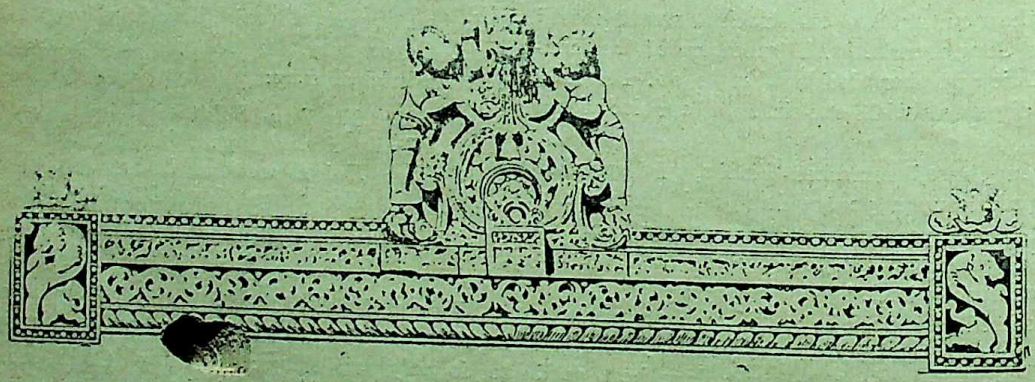
Vinoba folded his hand and stepped on. Then another Santhali stalwart came to him and spoke warmly, "Zamin lo! Zamin lo! Baba! Zamin lo! (Take land! Take land! Baba, take land!)"

Vinoba then stayed for a while and stated: "Give! Give! I have come to take! Distribute a land! Finish this collecting business. Distribute an share as in a family."

And he asked a worker to meet all these friends and fill in the *dan-patra* of their offerings.

... ...

The above events speak for themselves. When Vinoba entered Bihar, his words were: 'I want land. Give me land.' On the eve of his departure, Bihar's sky echoes and re-echoes with the word, "Take land! Take land!" What more is required? Now it is for the workers to contact the masses from house to house and execute the task. Not workers, but I would prefer, *Yagna-doers!* Once the *Yagna-doers* take to their feet, land ownership in India would become a thing of the unhappy past. All land would belong to the village, while the 'field-ings' to the peasant (*khet gaon ka, kheti kisan ki*). And if this can happen peacefully and smoothly, every other problem can be likewise solved by *Jan-Shakti* (people's power) in this country in keeping with our genius. Doubtless, that would lead us to true Swaraj to Gram-Raj and to Ram-Raj.



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Book Reviews

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HISTORY, ITS PURPOSE AND METHOD: *By G. J. Renier, Professor of Dutch History and Institutions in the University of London. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1950. Pp. 272. Price 16 shillings.*

This is one of the most thorough and important works on historical methodology that have appeared in recent years. The author who has a number of historical works to his credit combines astonishing erudition with a rare faculty of close analysis and critical appraisement of the views of other scholars, while his capacity for lucid exposition holds the reader in a firm grip from beginning to end. In his foreword while rightly criticising the attitude of the scientists and the extreme Marxists towards history, he justifies his own treatment from the point of view of a practising historian. Himself an acknowledged disciple of well-known pragmatic philosophers like William James and John Dewey, his originality lies in his application of their method to the problems of history. He divides his work into three parts bearing the titles, *What is History, The Detection of Events,* and *Telling the Story,* which between themselves cover the complete course of a historian's craft from the initial quest for knowledge of the past experiences of societies through the collection of material down to the record of those experiences in writing. The author's definitions of a large number of technical terms in the course of his narrative are always apposite, while his criticisms of well-known doctrines like those of the Roman Catholic Church and the Marxist writers as well as the interpretations in Toynbee's *Study of History,* are informing and instructive. Altogether this is a highly stimulating and suggestive work which should serve as an excellent guide for all worshippers at the shrine of the Muse of History.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MEWAR AND THE MUGHAL EMPERORS, (1526—1707): *By Dr. G. N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shivalal Agarwal and Co., Hospital Road, Agra. 1954. Pp. 248+x. Price Rs. 12-8.*

There is hardly any episode more fascinating and attractive in Indian history than the annals of the Ruling House of Mewar. Founded by Bappa Rawal the line produced such a succession of noble warriors that the saga of their fight for freedom and sacrifices undergone outshine the romantic tales of the Scottish and Dutch war of independence. Both the Scotch and the Dutch sustained a fight against enemies with whom they were united by ties of race and culture. On the other hand, wide divergences in religious beliefs and social practices separated the Sisodia from his Muslim adversary and gave an unexampled bitterness and intensity of passion to the struggle.

The Mewar Ranas' contest with the Turkish Sultans and the Padishahs of Delhi have, therefore, an epic element and flavour. It is not too much to say that the Ranas like Kumbha (1433—1468), Sanga, (1508?-1528), Pratap (1572-1597), and Raj Singh (1652-1698), fought with the dogged obstinacy of the Anglo-Saxon, the reckless courage of the Tartar and the chivalrous disposition of the knight-errants of medieval Europe.

The book under review is an attempt at reconstructing the history of Mewar on the basis of the primary sources. The author has brought to light many raw materials which had hitherto been unknown. A mass of Sanskrit epigraphs and Sanskrit works, such as the *Amar Sar, Amar Bhushan, Jagat Singh Kavya, Amar Singh Kavya,* etc., *Kheyats* and *Vansabalis,* such as the *Granth Vansabali, Vansabali Ranajini, Sisod Vansabali,* and a new Persian chronicle *Khulasa-i-Shah Jahan Namah* by Zahid Khan which is an abridged version of Shah Jahan's reign, as given by Qazwini and Abdul Hamid Lahori.

The chief merit of the volume is that it reinforces the main facts of Mewar history, previously compiled by G. H. Ojha and supplements our knowledge on many points.

Reference may also be made to the chapter on the "Economic and Cultural" history that forms the epilogue to this volume; to the ten maps, two plans of battle, numerous illustrations, such as the armoury of Maharana Pratap, Saddle, Chhatri, and Chabutra (pavilion) of Chetak that are incorporated here.

The book is a thesis approved for the degree of the Doctor of Philosophy, but the tediousness of expression and dull narration reduce interest in the work for which I would recommend the cutting down of the thesis to half its size.

N. B. ROY

MAN IN BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY: *By Rev. Dr. Bryan de Kritser, Ph.D. Published by Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell Street, Calcutta-16. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 3.*

The author is a Protestant Christian Missionary in Ceylon and the book under review is his thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. As the title suggests it makes a comparative study of the conception of Man as held by Hinayana Buddhism and Protestant Christianity. It is divided in[illegible]mall chapters, besides eight short appendices [illegible]ment topics.

The comparison is critical and pointed and documented with copious quotations from established authorities. The learned author had to study patiently very many standard works on Buddhism and Hindu-

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ism in order to write this book. Passing references are made to Hinduism, and its differences with Christianity are clearly pointed out. Sangha, Arhat, Enlightenment, Anatta and other conceptions of Buddhism are respectively compared with the Church, New Man in Christ, Redemption, Original Sin and other corresponding conceptions of Christianity. It is regrettable that the comparison is intended firstly, to bring out the sad contrast between the two faiths and finally to prove the superiority of Christian doctrines over the Buddhist and Hindu ones.

In the fifth chapter entitled "The Buddha and the Christ" the orthodox author wrongly observes: "The word 'avatara,' which is the Hindu equivalent of the Christian word 'incarnation,' literally means an apparition. Rama and Krishna are *avatars* of God, they are apparitions. They do not become 'flesh' and dwell with men." In the opinion of the dogmatic missionary, therefore, an *avatara* is apparition! He means to say that Christ is the only incarnation whereas Rama, Krishna and Buddha are not! Is it anything other than tomfoolery on the part of a bigeted Christian.

In page 73 deaths of Buddha and Christ are cited to show the essential contrast between the two world-religions. In this connection the fanatic author remarks: "The Buddha cannot help any man at death. In contrast the death of the Christ on the Cross has universal meaning." So in the author's view-point in order to be great every *avatara* like Christ must be crucified! If crucifixion means atonement for the sins of humanity then Buddha certainly underwent crucifixion of a different type which the bigoted missionary fails to understand and appreciate.

In page 24, the author opines: "The main difference in the conceptions of Reality in the two faiths is clearly indicated by the Mappamondo painting in the Campo Santo in Pisa and the Buddhist idea of the wheel of life or the Bhaba-chakra. . . . While the Buddhist artist paints the wheel in the hands of Yama, the Christian pictures it in the hands of God. The final word for the Buddhist is Yama, the God of Death; for the Christian it is the living God."

The book is blackened by similar vilifications on almost every page. The Hindus as well as the Buddhists will be benefited by reading this propagandist work and knowing how their religions are being misunderstood and misinterpreted by Christian missionaries at home and abroad.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

MY PARENTS: *By Kailasnath Katju. Published by the University of Calcutta. Price Re. 1.*

Dr. Katju is well-known as an able minister, jurist and politician. This brief account of his parents—Rampyari Sohagrani Katju and Pandit Tribhuwannath Katju—is interesting not merely as a part of his family history, but also as affording a glimpse into Nineteenth Century India. The account of his mother as given here is translated from Hindi, that of his father was originally written in English.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

THE CHANGING MAP OF INDIA: *By G. S. Halappa. H. Venkat[illegible] and Sons, Vidyanidhi Book Depot, Mysore. P[illegible] Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is an important publication when the States Reorganisation Commission appointed by the Government of India is examining the problem in all its aspects and touring all over the country to assess public opinion on the subject. The author has dealt with this vast and complicated subject from different angles in six chapters, *viz.*, The Evolution of Political Map of India; British Opinion on the Reorganisation of States; Indian Agitation for Linguistic Provinces—Pre-Independent Period; Post-Independent Period; Linguistic States in Theory and Practice; and National Unity and Reorganisation of States. The Congress before the attainment of Independence promised Linguistic provinces for the country. But now the leaders are afraid to change the provincial boundaries as this may set in motion separatist tendencies and may lead to narrow "State patriotism" detrimental to All-India unity. The author by dealing with the objections historically in different periods—Hindu, Muslim and British, has shown that there is nothing to be afraid of from mapping out India linguistically. On the other hand, such a step will reduce the number of States and thereby reduce cost of administration and help development of regional languages and spread of education and efficiency of the people and above all satisfy the aspirations of the people. India's unity is in her diversity and to try to shape the entire sub-continent into one pattern will not only be improper but dangerous for her future development and progress. Hindi as an all-India language will better develop under such linguistic States on willing co-operation. The author also supports the adjustment of boundaries of States of West Bengal, Orissa and other States in North India. To him the problem of linguistic provinces is particularly a problem of the South—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese, Marathi and Gujarati speaking people. We have pleasure in recommending this book to all who are interested in subject.

PRACTICE AND PHILOSOPHY OF CO-OPERATION: *By V. Veerasingham, Manipay Hindu College, Manipay (Ceylon). Pp. 155. Price not mentioned.*

It is a study of co-operative philosophy and movement with special reference to Ceylon. The writer himself a co-operator and an educationist of repute has done a service to his countrymen by bringing out in bold relief not only the material benefits but also spiritual gains of co-operation. The conditions are not much different in Ceylon from that of India and the progress had its way more or less through governmental backing or initiative which the author rightly deplores. Co-operation is a people's movement and it is the people who will work it up for themselves. Government can help it but cannot create co-operation. Co-operation presupposes many human qualities in its organisers and initiative among workers for a great cause irrespective of immediate benefits to them. The author depicts co-operation as a religion which people of all lands and faiths must honour. He believes in world co-operation and world salvation through co-operation. Capitalism, Socialism and Communism, each has its merits and defects but co-operation brings within itself a happy compromise to suit all countries, all people and all times. It is a panacea for war, ignorance, poverty, unemployment, immorality and social evils of all kinds. Such is the author's estimate of co-operation. Indeed with such faith in co-operation, he is in a position to write with conviction on the subject.

The book contains twenty-one chapters dealing with various aspects of co-operative movements and activities. Law, State, Politics Economics, Religion,

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Education, Party system, Bureaucracy, Co-operative government, all have been drawn in the discussion by the learned author. The book has been written in a pleasant style and subjects presented display the author's unshakable faith in co-operation. The author is very much against State interference in the matter of co-operation although he welcomes help (co-operation) from all quarters. The book deserves to be widely circulated among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

UPANISHADS (Vol. I, 1950 and Vol II, 1953): *By S. M. Bhaumik, M.A., LL.B., B.C.S. (Retd.). Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. 228 and 480. Price Rs. 4-8 and Rs. 6.*

We welcome the publication of the two handy volumes containing the complete text (in Devanagari) and translation in simple English of all the principal Upanishads, eleven in number, including the *Chhandogya* and the *Brihadaranyaka* taken up in the bigger second volume. Most of the standard books in English on the Upanishads are now out of market and the present work is likely to commend itself specially to common English-knowing readers who are not well-read in Sanskrit. The author with a rare devotion took up the study of the Upanishads as the greatest solace of his life in old age and as an inestimable boon. The book is, therefore, free from polemic and scholarly outlook. On the other hand, he approaches the scriptures from the common man's viewpoints, some of which he has pertinently discussed in the two forewords. He has, moreover, added interesting explanatory notes throughout. We only wish the author had arranged to correct the printing mistakes, from which the book is not unfortunately free.

D. C. BHATTACHARYYA

SANSKRIT

CHIKITSA TILAKAM OF SRINIVASA: *Edited with Introduction by Sri S. Venkatasubramanya Sastri, Vaidyavisarada, Sahitya and Ayurveda Siromani, Professor, Venkataraman Ayurvedic College, Mylapore. Madras Government Oriental Series No. CVIII. Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Price Rs. 9-4.*

South India has a rich store of old manuscripts of works in different Indian languages and on various subjects. A number of institutions have been engaged for a long time in publishing critical editions of valuable important works found among them. But it has been possible so far to bring to light in this manner a very small and insignificant portion of our great heritage. It is therefore very much encouraging to find that the Government of Madras has taken upon itself the task of making the unpublished manuscripts accessible to the world of scholars in decent printed forms. It has introduced a series of publications entitled Madras Government Oriental Series in which have appeared editions of old works in Sanskrit and provincial languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. A number of Sanskrit works published in the Series have been noticed in these pages (April, 1951, March, 1952, and January, 1953). The volume under review, No. 108 in the series, contains a little-known Sanskrit work on medicine which looks like 'a revised edition of the Astangahridaya brought up-to-date with additions.' We have here only the Sutrasthana section in forty chapters—all that is available of a big work consisting of five parts with 130 chapters. The edition is based on a damaged palm-leaf manuscript preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras which also possesses, it is recorded, a 'restored copy' purchased from the Sarasvati Bhandagaram. The learned editor claims to have corrected the mistakes in the manuscript with the help of well-known works on Ayurveda. Certain matters which appear to be irrelevant have been relegated to the footnotes together with the corrupt readings of the manuscript and an entire section dealing with mineral preparations has been suspected to be later interpolation and printed as an appendix. We commend the work to the notice of students interested in Ayurveda for critical and comprehensive study initiated by the learned editor in his Introduction in English and *Upodghata* in Sanskrit.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

(1) JAJABAR, (2) MATIR MADHURI, (3) MADHUKARI: *By Sudhir Gupta. M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 14 College Square' Calcutta. Cardboard bound. Pp. 60, 58 and 60. Price (1) and (2) Re. 1-12 and (3) Rs. 2.*

The author of these three books of poems is a romantic poet who loves to play with imagination and is enamoured with the charm of melody and verse. The muse of poetry has captivated his heart, his wants are few, but the beauty, grandeur and sublimity of nature has filled his heart with love and bliss. He wants to keep away from the hustle-bustle, hurry-scurry and the cold, calculating ways of the world, and seeks a peaceful haven where everything is full of amity and unison, but he likes to enjoy the roaring rumble of the sea and the fury of the tempest, safely nestled in the warm bosom of mother Earth. His verse is simple and rhythmical in contrast with the intricate mazes and perplexities of thought and verse of the modern poets. The poems entitled 'Rater Swapan,' 'Pranaya-Smriti,' 'Kabitar Prati,' 'Ghoom-Bhangani Gan,' 'Dustu Rakhal.' 'Mahakaler Prati,' 'Palataka,' and 'Swapane,' are charming and expressive. The reader will find his poems delightful.

B. K. SEAL

BENGALI-HINDI

RASHTRABHASHA-SHIKSHAK: *By Sudhir Chandra Majumdar. Sole distributor: Chuckervertty, Chatterjee and Co., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 118. Price Re. 1-8.*

The average Bengali has no clear idea about the relation between Hindi and Urdu. Mr. Majumdar is an adept in both the languages and is, moreover, an enthusiast in linguistic researches. His keen philological insight has helped him not only to afford to the Bengali readers an easy access to the State-language Hindi, but also to explain within the limited space of the book the relation between the two languages. The exercises will be of great help to the readers. The fact that the book has been appreciated by emine[illegible]rs goes to show the merit of the book. We wish it a wide circulation. Frequent misprints have marred the value of the book, but the author has given assurance that they will be corrected in the next edition.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

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HINDI

SIRDAR VALLABBHAI PATEL (Part I): *By Narahari Parekh. Translated from Gujarati by Ramanarayana Chaudhuri. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Pp. 544. Price Rs. 6.*

Though posterity alone can sit truly in judgment on the worth and work of an individual in the light of the "one-increasing purpose" of the author of the universe, yet it cannot be denied that Sirdar Patel would be reckoned as one of the tallest stalwarts in India's fight for freedom and a sagacious "integrator" of that freedom. As such, his life is bound to be a continual source of inspiration to all those who prefer justice to injustice, freedom to slavery, strength to weakness, service of the people to "self-help." For, as we read the present account of his life, which ends with 1929 we watch the step-by-step evolution of a patriot-*cum*-hero, whose forehead is stamped with the marks of a crusader with the cry on his lips, "I *will* never rest while my country languishes daily in soul-corroding slavery." Many an illusion in the public mind about the Sirdar being "a steel-frame," as if the human heart did not beat under it at all, or a politician of the market-place, and so on, will be dispelled after reading the book under review. Indeed, if Gandhiji was a maker of heroes, the Sirdar was a maker of patriots.

STRI-PURUSHA-MARYADA: *By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Translated from Gujarati by Someshwar Purohit. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 188. Price Rs. 2.*

Man-woman relationship is one of the basic human relationships. Accordingly, like life it, too, grows and is not something static. It is subtle, however, and only a sensitive and keenly critical person like the author could "lay down" its logic as well as its "logical" (as against sentimental or customary) limits which will ensure "cleanliness" in our social life and also social solidarity of the right type in our times. Therefore, he has discussed the various aspects of this relationship—passion, celibacy, marriage, social contact, individual behaviour, etc.,—with his characteristic courage and candour, nay, conviction. The reader will be saved from many an unsuspected pitfall and predicament, indeed, if he would care to act on the suggestions and advice contained in the book. It should, therefore, be in every educated family's private library. Shri Mashruwala's is a mind that sees, dares and does the right thing, come what may,—which is a rarity in these days.

ASHOKA VAN: *By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp.176. Price Re. 1-8.*

GANDHI GAURAV: *By Gokul Chandra Sharma. Hindi Prakashan Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 112. Price Re. 1.*

Both the books, each of which has twelve cantos, deal with themes, which shall ever remain dear to the heart of every Indian, specially every student of Hindi literature. The first "sings" of Sita's dark days, when she was a captive of Ravana in the then Ceylon, while the second "sings" of the life and achievements of Gandhiji, who model[illegible]ife after that of Rama. The poet has, indeed, s[illegible] his illustrious subjects in the manner of the minstrels of old, so spell-binding is his style.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHOJ ANE KALIDAS: *By Lakshminarayan Mojilal Pandya. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 398. Price Rs. 4.*

This book contains a collection of 104 stories narrating discussions between King Bhoj and Kavi Kalidas. Whether apocryphal or mythical, they are most interesting, describing as they do the literary duels and contests taking place in the court of that well-known princely patron of learning in ancient India. This is the fifth edition of a work written by the late Mr. Ambalal B. Jani, a noted Gujarati writer. The present editor Shri Pandya has made extensive changes in the light of his further study of the subject and produced a work which fully sustains the reputation of the original writer.

SHODHAMAN (In Search): *By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. Published by N. M. Thakkar and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Illustrated cover. Pp. 111. Price Re. 1.*

Dr. Jhaveri obtained his Ph.D. degree by writing a thesis on the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's many-sided literary work. One of the outstanding features of an all-round valuable literary work of Sir Ramanbhai was humour. He was one of the few Gujarati writers of humorous works. His incomplete story—the work under notice—has been completed by Dr. Jhaveri, and he has been able to sustain the spirit of the original and the whole work is so ingeniously dove-detailed that it is difficult to find out where Sir Ramanbhai ends and Dr. Jhaveri begins. To catch the humour of the hero's vanity (emptiness) and self-importance, the reader is asked to read the book at one sitting.

SANSKSHIPT NAGARIK SHASTRA: *By Mahendra Kumar M. Desai, B.A. Publishld by Kikubhai Chandulal and Co., Baroda. 1950. Paper cover. Price Re. 1.*

Science of Civics in brief: This is what the title means. In the present times when every one wants to know his rights and duties as a citizen of a State, a book bearing on the subject, written in popular and easy language, was a desirable requirement. Mr. Desai has met that need ably, efficiently and intelligently.

BUDDHI MAPAN: *By P. C. Shah, M.A., B.T., M.R.S.T. (London). Published by the Gharhasth Prakashan Mandir, Bhavnagar. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 89. Price Re. 1-12.*

As its name implies, this small book deals with an educational subject which has hitherto remained untouched and therefore unexplored in Gujarat. It is taking this measure (*mapan*) of a child's intelligence (*buddhi*). The writer is one concerned with the education of young men and has studied the science and art of this subject from all available sources. Tests for gauging the intelligence of a juvenile are laid down with hints from the guidance of teachers and parents. Those interested in this valuable question of national importance will benefit by its perusal.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Fundamentals of Jainism

Prof. Prithvi Raj Jain Shastri writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Speculations about man, the universe and the relation between them, and about the goal of human life have been agitating man's mind from time immemorial. This has given rise to many philosophical systems and religious doctrines, one of which systems is known as Jainism. Its followers, now-a-days mostly confined to India, hold a prominent place in this country. They have a vast literature in different languages, a most ancient culture, holy places scattered throughout the country and numerous historical monuments as symbols of their glorious past and evidence of their love of art and sculpture.

It is quite wrong to believe, as was held in the greater part of the 19th century, that Jainism was either a break away from the Vedic religion of the ancient Indian Aryans or merely an offshoot of Buddhism. (See Hermann Jacobi's Introduction to *The Jaina Sutras*, Part I, in The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII.) The Jains believe their system to be eternal truth, revealed for the benefit of mankind in every era by innumerable Tirthankaras or Jinas (Victors). (A Tirthankara is defined as he "who shows the broad fording-place of virtue, the best of all, reaching which men overcome pains and sorrows." —Samantabhadra; *Brihat-Svayambhu*, Stotra, 9.) These are omniscient expounders of the nature of things, preachers of truth and organizers of the *Sangha* or Holy Order of ascetics, and teachers of the laity, both men and women.

Owing to insufficient historical data scholars may hesitate to accept the claim of Jainism to be a most ancient system of thought. But there is irrefutable literary evidence that Jainism was flourishing in India definitely in the eighth century B.C., and even during the Vedic age. According to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan (*Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, p. 287):

"Jainism prevailed even before Vardhamana (Mahavira) or Parshvanatha. The *Yajurveda* mentions the names of three Tirthankaras—Rishabha, Ajitanatha and Aristanemi."

Buddhist literature contains evidence that Lord Mahavira did not reveal any new truth or found a new system. The four vows (*Chaturyama Dharma*) preached by Lord Parshvanath, the last Tirthankara before Lord Mahavira, were in vogue before Lord Buddha attained enlightenment. (Pandit Sukhlal: *Nirgrantha Sampradaya*. Parts I and II.) Lord Mahavira was born of the promulgators of Jainism; his parents were followers of Lord Parshvanatha. (*Acharanga Sutra*, II.15.16, and *Kalpa Sutra*).

Jainism is distinguished from other religions and philosophies by its clear-cut theological and metaphysical doctrines. The main purpose of this article is to acquaint the educated laity, with the basic principles of Jainism without going into details. The exposition will be based mostly on original, authoritative works.

Unbiased Indological research by European and Indian scholars has revealed in ancient India two distinct currents of culture, namely, the Vedic or Brahmanic and the Shramanic. They were so antagonistic in approach that some ancient scholars regarded their opposition as eternal, like that between a serpent and a mongoose or a cow and a lion. (Patanjali: *Mahabhashya on the Panini Sutras* 2.4.9.)

The old Shramanic culture included the doctrines accepted by the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sankhkyas and the Ajivakas. The Sankhyas have entered the Vedic fold, the Ajivakas are found no more and only Jains and Buddhists may now be regarded as representatives of this culture. Prof. A. N. Upadhye (A. N. Upadhye: *Pravachana Sara*, Preface, p. 12) describes it as "an indigenous system of thought; call it for convenience the Magadhan religion, which was essentially pessimistic in its worldly outlook, metaphysically dualistic if not pluralistic, animistic and ultra-humane in its ethical tenets, temperamentally ascetic, undoubtedly accepting the dogma of transmigration and the Karma doctrine, owing no racial allegiance to the Vedas and Vedic rites, subscribing to the belief in individual perfection and refusing unhesitatingly to accept a creator."

Pandit Sukhlalji, one of the greatest living authorities on Indian religion and philosophy, has very lucidly summed up the basic difference between these cultures:

"Brahmanism or the ancient Vedic movement was established on the attitude of inequality while the latter (Shramanism) was based on the attitude of equality. This basic difference is obvious in these three respects' *viz.*, concerning society, concerning the end to be achieved and concerning the outlook towards living creatures." (*Jain Dharma Ka Prana* p. 1).

Both Jainism and Buddhism deny the authority of the Vedas, reject priestcraft and the rigidity of the caste system based on birth, deify the human soul, follow the doctrine of *Ahimsa* more earnestly than others and stress ethical standards. But other tenets of theirs differ, as do also their literature and their history.

Jainism accepts the existence of the eternal, non-material soul which persists through all changes and migrates from one body to another until finally liberated. Buddhism, denying the existence of such a soul, believes in an unbroken series of states, each depending on the condition just preceding it and giving rise to the succeeding one. The Jain and Buddhist concepts of liberation are also different. The tenets of Jainism, moreover, are claimed to have been promulgated by various Jinas at different times

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while the Buddhist doctrines were preached for the first time by Lord Buddha himself.

Jainism lays stress upon external and internal self-denial, while Lord Buddha was opposed to external austerities, regarding them as useless for purifying the mundane soul. While the two systems have in common words like 'Jina,' 'Arhat,' etc., used in both for deified souls, the word *'Niggantha'* (*Acharanga Sutra,* 109; *Bhagavati,* 9.6.383) (*Nirgrantha* in Sanskrit and *Niggantha* in Pali) meaning "free from all fetters," internal as well as external, is used exclusively for Jain monks and deified persons.

Prof. Dalsukh Malvaniya, a well-reputed Jain scholar, holds that in the Upanishads, regarded as the fountainhead of all other Indian philosophical systems, the foundation of Jainism is not found. This fact establishes its independence and originality. The exposition of Karma, of the *gunasthanas* (stages of spiritual development), of the order and creation of the universe, of atoms, matter, the six substances, etc., found in the canon attributed to Lord Mahavira, goes to prove this system to be the result of the labour of many centuries before his time as well as different from and independent of Upanishadic thought. (*Agama Yuga Ka Anckanta Vada,* p. 12).

Jainism maintains that truth and untruth have been existing and will continue to exist side by side. Professor Kapadia has rightly said:

"According to the Jainas their religion as propounded by their omniscient Tirthankaras is nothing but truth, and hence they are inclined to believe that there was never an age when Jainism did not exist at least in some part of the world and that there will never come an age when it will be completely wiped off from the surface of our globe." (H. R. Kapadia: *The Jaina Religion and Literature,* Vol. I, p. 7).

As to specific literary evidence to justify this claim, we have referred to Lord Arishtanemi's being named in the *Yajurveda* (IX. 25). The Adi Parva of the *Mahabharata* refers to *kshapanaka,* which means a Jain monk. The *Bhagavata Purana* (V. 3-6) gives the life of Lord Rishabha. The word *shramana* occurs in the *Ramayana* (I. 14-22) and commentators interpret it as meaning a sky-clad Jain Monk. In the *Prabhasa Purana,* Lord Nemi is referred to as a Jina who obtained salvation on Mount Raivata.

The Buddhist *Dhammapada* refers to Rishabha and Mahavira. The *Mahavagga* mentoins a Jain temple of Lord Suparssva as standing in the time of Lord Buddha. The *Shatashastra* (5th century of the Christian era) mentions Lord Rishabha as the founder of Jainism.

Archæological proofs of the antiquity of Jainism are also not wanting. In the Orissa inscription of the Emperor Kharavela (160 B.C.) Rishabha is mentioned as Agrajina. The Kankali Stupas of Mathura also prove the antiquity of the system. Some scholars maintain that nude figures discovered at Mohenjodaro are in the Yoga posture peculiarly Jaina. (*The Modern Reaiew,* August, 1932, pp. 155-160.) Prof. Pran Nath of the Banaras Hindu University deciphers Seal No. 449 as *'Jinesha'* (*Jin-i-Sarah*). (*The Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. VIII, Supplement, p. 18.)

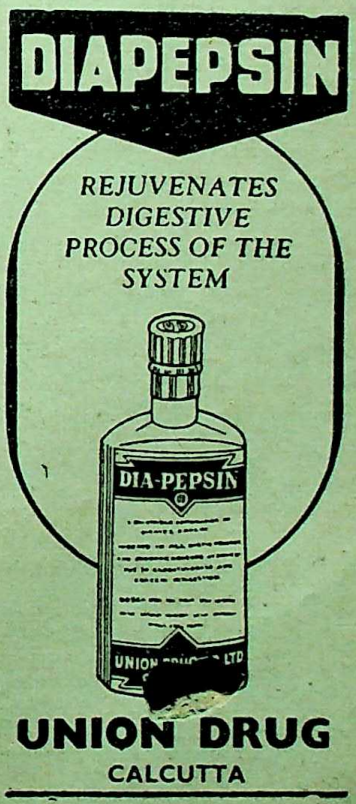
The foremost peculiarity of Jainism is that it claims no non-human source. Its tenets are based on the knowledge of the Victors, who have attained perfection by their own efforts in this very universe. According to Jainism it is the human soul alone which can reach the highest degree of purification. All souls are possessed of fulness and perfection. Jainism is totally against offering devotion to any being, human or divine, in the hope of gaining bliss, immortality or perfection through the mercy of that being. The full development of the soul cannot be gained through outside aid. Lord Mahavira emphatically declared, "Man, thou art thine own friend; why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself?" (*Acharanga Sutra,* 116.) One has to struggle with one's own enemies, having faith in one's own strength. The true victor is expected to defeat his passions and sense cravings and not his fellow beings.

"Fight with this, your own body; why should you fight with anything else?" (*Sutrakritanga,* 154).

"Fight with yourself. Why fight with external foes? He who conquers himself through himself, will obtain happiness." (*Uttaradhyayana,* IX. 35).

The noble, human character of Jainism makes it free from mystic ritual, unholy superstition and the feeling of helplessness or inferiority. That is why the late Virchand Raghavaji Gandhi (delegate to the Parliament of Religions, Chicago World's Fair. 1893), the first torch-bearer of the message of Jainism to the modern West, declared in one of his speeches:

"The philosophy of the Jains is not essentially founded on any particular writing or external revelation but on the unfoldment of spiritual consciousness, which is the birth-right of every soul. Books, writing and scriptures may illustrate, wholly or in part, this truth, but the ultimate fact remains that no mere words can give full expression to the truths of Jainism, which must be felt and realized within." (*The Jaina Philosophy,* pp. 15-16).



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According to Jain metaphysics, this universe is without beginning or end. It has always existed and will continue to exist for ever, undergoing countless changes which are produced simply by the inherent powers of different substances, without any intervention of an eternal God or Creator.

Substance has been defined as possessing some unchanging essential characters (*gunas*) and other changing modes (*paryayas*). (*Tattvarthadhigama Sutra*, 5.38). The essential characters of a substance are found permanently in it and it is on account of them that the substance exists. Non-essential or accidental characters of a substance are always subject to succeeding changes.

The world, according to Jainism, is changing as well as unchanging. Jainism rejects both the theory of impermanence accepted by the Buddhists and the theory of absolute permanence expounded in the Vedanta system. It believes in permanence in change. From one point of view, substance is permanent and from another it is subject to change. That is why substance or reality is also defined as consisting of three elements: origination, decay and permanence. (*Ibid*, 5.30.)

Paryayas originate and decay but the *gunas* remain permanent. Consciousness, for example, is regarded as a quality (*guna*) of the soul. There cannot be any time when the soul is absolutely devoid of consciousness. But pleasures, pains, etc., are merely various modes (*paryayas*) of the soul. They appear and disappear.

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India and Commonwealth

Mallikarjunan writes in *Careers and Courses*:

Off and on, in Parliament and outside, we hear talks of the necessity or desirability of leaving the British Commonwealth for one reason or the other. It would be well to study the problem away from the realm of local political controversy. The obvious tendency of the age in all spheres now is towards combination for strength or for safety. However unpleasant, 'collectivization' is the order of the day and the democratic nations practise it no less assiduously than the totalitarian. In the economic field, even those who cannot or will not organize themselves, into combines and cartels and collectives, make a compromise with necessity by forming voluntary co-operative associations, in order to save themselves from being swamped by larger forces. The logic of that method is no less applicable to the field of international politics.

Towards Dynamic Neutrality

The major part of the world has already organized itself into two powerful blocs, each unwilling to endure the other, each desperately and mortally anxious to secure by bribe or threat, strategic allies and strategic materials and strategic positions for a final showdown. Apart from the material strength of these blocs, their psychological influence is to be feared because they have neat ideologies at their command, each appealing to a certain section of the people in every country—one apparently preaching freedom and the other economic justice, though in reality they stand only for uncompromising reaction and uncompromising revolution. The patronage or dominance of either would spell disaster to nations like ours, trying to evolve at their own pace towards greater total prosperity as well as greater social justice. Rightly and bravely, therefore, has this country elected to tread the tightrope of dynamic neutrality, struggling hard to be herself and do things her own way. But she needs like everybody else the climate of peace in which to grow, and such a peace she cannot command entirely by her own strength. A third force or a neutral bloc—an association of nations who have not lost their heads altogether, of nations who are not power-erazed or power-driven—is, therefore, of the greatest necessity in this period of strain.

The idea of such an Asian Federation was in the air a few years ago, but the complexion of the international scene has changed considerably since then; and with the inroads that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have made in this continent such a federation is not out of question. We are left, therefore, with the one association that we have had these many years—the Commonwealth. It is definite that we are not willingly joining either of the existing power blocs, and it is also clear that there is no chance of forming now any new association of the kind that we can welcome.

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have, at the moment, the option only between remaining in the only association of which we have ever been a member and of living in a splendid but distinctly hazardous isolation. It is a grave choice to have to make and merits more than casual consideration.

Why no Truck with Britain ?

Since the talk is of leaving the Commonwealth, it would not be illogical to consider at the outset the arguments adduced against continued membership. The first, which is rapidly eliminating itself due to the softening influence of time, is the sentimental antipathy felt in certain quarters against any association with Britain. But mature opinion has never supported this attitude. Gandhiji himself, foremost among the fighters for freedom, never gave up the desire of amicable association with Britain on terms of equal partnership in the Commonwealth. The leadership of the Indian National Congress has shown, even sentimentally speaking, a good deal of affection and respect for Britain and has been happy to continue the old association on a more honourable basis. Indian sentiment at the moment is, if anything, more strongly in favour of Britain than at any other time, and it a matter of credit to both the nations.

The second argument relies for its strength on the various weaknesses of the Commonwealth. It is pointed out in the first instance that the Commonwealth does not have a common foreign policy. The relationships of the different Commonwealth countries with the United States vary in degree though not substantially in basic friendliness. Their attitudes towards the U.S.S.R. or Red China vary even in kind. Then too their own mutual relationships have not been particularly happy in recent years. The colour prejudice exhibited by South Africa and Australia, the lack of goodwill between India and Pakistan over Kashmir and other problems, the none-too-smooth relationship between even India and Ceylon—these do show that the members of the family of nations do not get on altogether too well with one another. Most critics, therefore, claim that the Commonwealth idea exists no longer in fact. Others liking or disliking it, point out also that, if anything, the British Commonwealth is becoming rather an Anglo-American Commonwealth with the increasingly close relations which the United States has established not so much with Britain, as with Australia and New Zealand by the Anzus Treaty and with Pakistan through substantial military assistance. This intrusion of the United States as an active—indeed, too active—force in shaping the foreign policies of these member nations of the Commonwealth does not augur well for the safety of that association. These indeed are genuine handicaps and defects of Commonwealth today.

Importance of Association

But to grant these defects is not to take away from the value of that association. Differences in policy among the Commonwealth nations are bound to exist, though such serious differences are no doubt unfortunate. But the genuinely voluntary nature of the association and the almost complete absence of restriction on the members, which permits such differences, points out to a strong underlying unity. They all bear the impress of British ideas and institutions more or less uniformly in their intellectual, social and political life. All of them are busy with the task of national reconstruction and none of them is at the moment expansionist in outlook. The sentimental force of tradition has shown itself already in the fact that India and Pakistan have opted to remain in the Commonwealth at a time when feeling that those countries was least favourable towards Britain. The further fact that the mutual differences between the member-nations as yet being attempted to be solved by consultations and conference is not inconceivably influenced by the same force.

Moreover, while our membership of the sterling bloc cannot perhaps be called an irreplaceable economic convenience, we certainly enjoy special trade privileges with Britain because of our Commonwealth associations. The Commonwealth has its own programme for raising social and economic standard of member nations (like the Colombo Plan) and these assistance measures, uniquely have no political strings attached. Commonwealth Defence Conferences keep us posted with valuable military information and there is provision also for training for our military personnel in the U.K. The Commonwealth Relations Office provides valuable political information to member-countries. These benefits may not compare with what we may gain by striking a bargain with either of the power blocs desperately anxious for friends but they are benefits nevertheless, and they are paid for in the honourable coin of goodwill and co-operation and not in slices of freedom.

Commonwealth membership is indeed independence with something added, as the Prime Minister of New Zealand once described it. No advantage is lost and no liberty or dignity is sacrificed for this membership. And yet we derive definite economic, political military and even intellectual benfits. We enjoy in the international sphere a certain added respect because the Commonwealth though long past its glory, is still associated with power and dignity. It may not be too fanciful to say that we are somewhat 'fenced' by the great name of that once-powerful organization. It is a unique association of peoples from every quarter of the globe united for peaceful purposes and providing a great example of voluntary co-operation whatever its defects may be.

Perhaps a little colourful but accurate enough is Mr. Louis St. Laurent's description of the Commonwealth as an organization building "a new bridge of understanding between the East and the West." Greater unity may perhaps be desirable in certain matters but one cannot have everything. One has to make some kind of compromise between liberty and order, and the present arrangement is not a bad one on the whole.

DIABETES ?

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We seem to have quite a bit of the advantages of combination with none of the accompanying restrictions. The Commonwealth represents "a gentleman's agreement," however vague, and we need more rather than less of that kind of thing in the world of today. The existence and the stability of that organization would seem to be still one of the guarantees that a third and total world war may yet be avoided. Our leaving the Commonwealth would be a definite disadvantage for our country as well as for the Commonwealth which is an important instrument for securing that peace which we desire for ourselves and for the world.

Racial Policy in South Africa

National Christian Council Review writes editorially:

The following resolution was adopted by the British Council of Churches at its half-yearly meeti in London:

"The British Council of Churches, believing

(1) that the just relationship of persons different races is of vital interest to the whi Christian Church;

(2) that the policy of the South African Gover ment as expressed in the Native Resettlement A and the Bantu Education Act whereby it is propos to ensure the mental as well as the physical segr gation of the Bantu 'in his own community,' and deny him any place 'in the European communi above the level of certain forms of labour,' is n only an offence against human rights, but also agai the Divine Law as set forth in the Bible: a noting the contents of the recent Circular threateni the cancellation of leases to missions in African loc tions if representatives of those churches to whi leases have been given take part in activities whi the government regards as of 'subversive nature' or tending 'encourage deterioration in t relationship between the nativ and governmental persons or bo ies'; hereby affirms its whol hearted support of the Declaratio made by the World Council Churches at Evanston on inte group relations, including the fo lowing words:

'It is the duty of the Church t protest against any law or arrang ment that is unjust to any huma being, or which would make Chri tian fellowship impossible, or woul prevent the Christian from practis ing his vocation. . . . The Churc of Christ cannot approve of an law which discriminates on ground of race, which restricts the oppo tunity of any man to acqui education to prepare himself f his vocation, or in any other wa curtails his exercise of the full righ and responsibilities of citizensh for sharing in the responsibilit and duties of government.'

Accordingly, the British Coun of Churches asks the Archbishop Canterbury, in consultation wi responsible leaders of other chu ches, and with the chairman the International Department appoint a special group to adv the churches at an early date co cerning opportunities for acti which would strengthen the ch ches in South Africa."

The resolution was moved the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. K. A. Bell, and representati of the Church of England, Church of Scotland, the Bapti the Methodist and Congregation Churches were among those w took part in the debate.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Safety from Atomic Attack

Richard Bolling and Lewis Anthony Dexter observe in the *New Leader*, November 29, 1954:

American military defense policy may be thought of as a chair with two legs which reach the ground, a third which is viciously foreshortened, and a fourth which is a mere stub. This article deals with the fourth leg—safety against attack, ways and means of making it less effective for an enemy to attack with A-bombs and H-bombs. Since the significance of this fourth leg lies in its relationship to the other three, let us first identify them.

The first leg may be seen as representing hardware, the weapons of "massive retaliation." Obviously, without such weapons we would be naked in a world of power politics; but, it should be emphasized, the very notion of "retaliation" presupposes that the enemy first attacks us.

The second leg stands for the military aspects of defense—radar screens, continental air defense and the rest, which may permit us to detect and knock out *some* attacking enemy bombers. However, the situation here seems to be still generally the same as when the late General Hoyt Vandenberg, then Air Chief of Staff, wrote: "Should war come, we can be expected to destroy no more than 30 per cent of the planes making an attack in strength on the United States before their bombing missions are accomplished." (*Saturday Evening Post*, February 19, 1951) In other words, this system of continental defense presupposes an attack—and an attack which will be successful in damaging and perhaps ruining many of our big cities.

The third, foreshortened leg stands for immediate pre- and post-attack civilian defense. Civilian defense concentrates on mass evacuation before an attack, putting out fires, rebuilding telephone lines, rescuing the wounded, etc. All these things presuppose that the enemy successfully completes a most unpleasant attack—or at least threatens to do so. An effective program of civilian defense could mean the difference between a rapid resumption of military production and public services in [redacted] areas and a situation so catastrophic that we [redacted] not continue fighting. Consequently, one of our pressing needs at present is to rescue the Federal Civil Defense program from the no-man's land of buck-passing to which an unrealistic notion of states' rights has condemned it.

But the fourth leg—safety from attack—still remains to be considered. A group of scientists and scholars over the last eight years have pointed out that the basic reason why we must fear the atom bomb is that we are all bunched up together like lambs in a slaughterhouse. The sixty-seven critical target areas contain most of our productive resources —including defense factories and a lot of skilled people. We must, these scholars have pointed out, spread out, or, in the event of war, we shall surely perish, individually and perhaps nationally.

For instance, an editorial in the September, 1951 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* said: "Dispersal is the only measure which could make an atomic 'super Pearl Harbor' impossible. . . . The most exhaustive preparations for (civilian defense), while they can promise a considerable reduction in the number of casualties, could do little to protect the production facilities of an attacked city—facilities whose incapacitation is likely to be the prime aim of the attack."

The reasons why this is so have been cogently, patiently, carefully, scientifically and persuasively presented in a series of publications, the most notable of which is probably *Project East River*, Part I (published by Associated Universities, New York, 1952). This report should have set off wide discussion, but in fact, it has been almost completely ignored; as of July 1951, neither Harvard nor MIT even had library copies.

These arguments were cogent, careful, scientific and persuasive to those who read them. But they were and are largely, though not entirely, ineffective. the national industrial-dispersion policy, announced by the President in the summer of 1951, has never been broadly implemented, and by and large, since then, target cities have kept on growing faster than the rest of the country. For example, there is every reason to suppose that about 30 per cent of all investment in plants in metropolitan areas during the last three years has been in the central target areas. (The city manager of Cambridge, Massachusetts was quoted in July 1954 as urging that Cambridge, which is right in the heart of a high-priority area, start to build skyscrapers).

It is only fair to say that the use of certificates of necessity sometimes has encouraged new construction outside rather than inside target areas. But what has been done has been only a drop in the bucket compared with what could be done.

To be sure, a number of communities, under some prodding from Federal authorities, have formed industrial-dispersion committees. The chairman

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the New Haven committee said in the spring of 1954: "Industrial dispersion is not accepted as practical. Most people recognize the sense of it . . . but don't want to face up to its implications." In San Diego, the assistant city manager says: "There have been no cases of (industrial dispersion) in the last two years." A member of the industrial-dispersion committee in a New England area says: "As a matter of fact, there is a conflict between the idea of industrial dispersion from a defense and security point of view and the attitudes of our local civil organizations with respect to holding industry within . . . the city." Dudley Harmon of Boston says: "Our committee (on industrial dispersion) seems destined for complete inactivity."

Basically, the Federal Government has merely given undramatically presented advice on industrial dispersion and on some means of making cities less attractive targets. It has then chiefly left things up to the individual manufacturer, institution or worker. This is what Senator Norris used to call the "lazy fairy" notion of government run mad.

It is about as sensible as it would be for the Federal Government to proclaim that in order to defend ourselves we need battleships, tanks, airplanes, guns, uniforms, trained officers, etc., and then to leave it up to the manufacturers or the cities to produce them. If the Federal Government wants weapons or officers, it has to supply incentives for producing or training them; otherwise, since what is everybody's business is nobody's business, we would all be left defenseless. Similarly, if we want safety, we have to provide incentives for those who can secure it.

A co-author of this article, Representative Bolling, has introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives which is directed toward finding out how we can most effectively and inexpensively purchase safety by using space. Senator Hubert Humphrey (D. Minn.) introduced a similar resolution in the Senate last July and, in his remarks explaining the meaning of the resolution, discussed the possible establisrment of an Urban Decentralization Authority. Like any proposal for a legislative investigation, the Bolling proposal is not altogether new and has numerous ancestors and antecedents. But it goes well beyond any previous proposal in that it assumes that it is and should be national policy to use all the economic powers of the Federal Government to encourage industrial dispersion wherever such use will increase the safety of the country.

How can and should this be done? At present, nobody knows very clearly; and, consequently, the gist of the Bolling proposal is the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Economics of Atomic Defense, which would "conduct a special study of the ways in which existing and proposed Federal economic powers and programs can make their greatest contribution to defense against modern atomic attack."

The resolution declares that "it is the purpose of this resolution to bring before the Congress and the American people the best judgments of scientists, lay leaders and Congressional experts on the effect of the H-bomb or its successors on existing concentrations of population and industry; the possibilities for defense measures within those areas; the degree to which industrial dispersion and urban decentralization can be expected to reduce the dangers of present-day atomic warfare; the length of time and the scale of action necessary to arrange for dispersion and relocation of population and industry now in target areas; and the ways in which the Federal Government in co-operation with state and local governments can, within our free-enterprise system, contribute to such dispersal or relocation policies through its monetary, credit and fiscal policies and through purchases and construction, aids to education, health and welfare, the regulation of transportation, and other programs or policies affecting the pattern of the nation's economic development." Congress has, of course, adjourned since the Bolling and Humphrey resolutions were introduced, but they will be reintroduced next year.

We hope that investigation and analysis by such a committee will lead to the invention of better ways of making us safer from attack than anything we now propose. Indeed, one of the biggest arguments for such a committee is simply that it may focus attention and discussion on the question: How can we best preserve our lives and our civilization against atomic attack?

But, in any case, the first, obvious task of such an investigation would be to find out how and where the H-bomb and other developments of the last three years affect the conclusions of Project East River about how far we must spread out to be safe. This, in itself, is a question on which we must rely upon scientific judgment; but it seems probable that the area of great danger is considerably smaller than most people (or Chambers of Commerce) now fear. If so, this is of considerable importance; it means that industries can remain at their present locations.

However, whatever the facts are, they should be established, and the first function of the committee will be to summarize and interpret them so that the people can understand what decisions must be made.

Having done this, we are inclined to believe that the committee will decide to explore and make recommendations on the following points:

1. *New Building*: The major target cities add new building each year which altogether is the equivalent of four Bostons. That is, we make the target cities more attractive to attack—and less safe to live in—by something like this amount.

Through mortgage insurance, housing loans and taxes, the Federal Government can influence who builds what where. It could shut off new building almost entirely in obvious target areas by refusing to

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give the same tax and loan considerations to building there as elsewhere. If a firm knows that it can deduct all expenses from gross—from the top—if it builds in Brunswick, Maryland, for instance, but not if it builds in Baltimore, it is likely to build in Brunswick; if, at the same time, Federal loan and mortgage policy makes it less probable to build new houses or new department stores in Baltimore than in Brunswick, new buildings of this sort will take place in Brunswick and not in Baltimore.

So stated, the poblem seems simple. But it isn't. Only a few firms should be encouraged to build in Brunswick; otherwise, Brunswick itself would become a new target area! And under what circumstances does an addition to plant get counted as new building? Who shall make the decision on such knotty points as this: Radcliffe College builds a new Center for Graduate Students: is it new building? And what if a manufacturer puts a new wing on a plant? And in order to avoid fire storms, for no other reason, slum clearance in target cities is still highly desirable; how can it be encouraged if new housing is not to be built in its place and the land is to be turned (as for safety it should be) into parks?

2. *Vital Products and Services*: Many basic national products and services are manufactured or developed entirely in target cities. In some cases, if the target cities were to be destroyed the goods and services could not be obtained elsewhere. Probably many essential parts of vital weapons are now produced exclusively in target cities; if several of these cities were knocked out, our capacity to retaliate would be much reduced or destroyed altogether. Conversely, then, our capacity to retaliate would be increased by some measure of dispersion.

At present, the purchasing agents for the Defense Department do not systematically take the contractor's safety from attack into account in placing contracts. Congress should make it unmistakably clear that they should do so. But here again, the problem is complicated. Some order of priority needs to be set up. It matters relatively little if a contractor engaged in making uniform buttons is bombed out; some substitute can doubtless be found, and in all probability other button manufacturers in smaller cities can, at need, replace the defunct button king.

But, on the other hand, along the Charles River in Boston and Cambridge there is a terrifying concentration of scientific research, most of it defense-oriented, all of it with defense implications. And it is right at the center of a target area. Yet, the Defense Department has kept on placing contracts with MIT, Harvard and adjacent institutions; in most cases, new contracts have led to an even greater concentration of research talent in the field under study by bringing more specialists to Cambridge. But, in most instances, with some effort and perhaps at a slightly greater cost, it would have been possible to place the contracts at institutions like Cornell, the University of Missouri, the University of New Hampshire, or the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

3. *Governmental Considerations*: The Government itself is a prime offender in making life unsafe for everybody. The Federal Civilian Defense Administrator has often declared that he thinks Washington is the Number 1 target for any enemy. Yet, only one Federal agency, the Federal Civilian Defense Administration itself, has actually arranged to move in order to meet the atomic threat.

The National Security Resources Board proposed plans, which were approved by President Truman, for dispersing essential governmental bodies into units so scattered that an A-bomb attack would use too much of the enemy's power to be worthwhile. This proposal, which seems the most obvious common sense, has run up against a stone wall of indifference and hostility. Common sense, similarly, would suggest dispersing Federal agencies out of metropolitan New York and San Francisco.

4. *Inducements and Compensations*: A basic reason why the Federal Government has been unable to persuade itself to seek safety, so to speak, is the unwillingness of its employes to move. Indeed, at present writing it appears probable that a substantial number of Federal Civil Defense Administration employes will refuse to move to Battle Creek and will transfer or resign. They own houses, their children go to school in Washington, a wife or husband works in Washington and cannot find employment in Battle Creek, they like the metropolitan atmosphere of Washington, and so on.

All this proves, of course, that it is awfully hard to persuade a man who lives on a volcano to get off it—"tomorrow never comes." So, no doubt, the elegant Romans of Britain in 390 A.D. would have disregarded any warning that they had better get out while the getting was good; ten to fifteen years later, most of them had been killed off or enslaved by the barbarian invaders.

Such historical parallels are unlikely to be convincing without the provision of concrete inducements. These the Federal Government can offer, if it will, to its employes in large measure. For instance, the Government could—and perhaps should—assume carrying charges on houses which are vacated and cannot be sold as a result of its requiring employes to move. In instances where employes suffer a loss because, for instance, a wife has to give up a job, a very substantial non-taxable cost-of-moving bonus should be provided; and, furthermore, the United States Employment Service or some similar agency should provide special aid and help in getting new jobs for displaced wives. The Government cannot exactly transfer Maryland schools to Battle Creek, but there should be legislation permitting it to give aid to Battle Creek schools as "Federally-impacted" areas *immediately*, before the move takes place.

The biggest obstacle to getting people to move out of cities is that they will miss some service that they are accustomed to. In some cases, for instance, there might be considerable movement to a town without obstetricians. In such cases, inducements should probably be provided for specialists to move into the area. A parallel has already been provided by loan programs for GIs entering business, and no doubt such legislation could be adapted to help those establishing new businesses or professional services in towns showing a population increase because of spreading out from the cities.

5. *Transportation*: This problem of service could also be tackled by improving our transportation arrangements between smaller towns. At present, roads, railroads and bus schedules spread out from the big city like spokes from the hub of a wheel. This means that people who want any sort of service—use of a big library, beauty treatment, medical care from a specialist, a chance to see *The Pajama Game*—have to go into the city. Consequently, the daytime population of cities is needlessly large, and anybody who lives outside the city is at a disadvantage. But if there were easy rapid transit between the smaller

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suburbs and outlying districts—that is, from spoke to spoke, rather than through the hub—the difficulties involved in getting people to move out would be reduced. In some instances, all the Government would need to do would be to provide subsidies to the bus companies for more frequent bus trips. In other cases, it would need to stimulate—financially—the building of roads or bridges, or the development of ferry services.

There are, no doubt, dozens of other ways in which people could be persuaded to seek safety by spreading out. Very likely, many of these ways—if adopted—would be equally effective. The actual problems are: (1) What proposals would be adopted with the least resistance and resentment? (2) What proposals permit the most economical and effective administration? Discussion anywhere, but particularly before a Congressional committee, will throw a good deal of light on what will be accepted most readily and some on the problems and difficulties of administration.

But public discussion of this sort can have even greater value. It might dispel the deadly lethargy of hopelessness about the possibility of effective defense against H-bomb attack. It might then reveal alternative methods of defense among which an informed choice could be made. And this could have consequences far beyond the military field.

Behind Britain's Dock Strikes

John Clews observes in the *New Leader*, November 15, 1954:

A study of the Communist party's present position in Britain reveals a curious paradox. Party membership has sunk to a low of 35,000 in a population of over 50 million, and the Young Communist League now has less than 3,000 card-carriers. As a purely political body, the Communists are on the decline. But, despite what CP executive-committee member John Gollan terms "the continued stagnation in the membership of the party," the Communist cause is flourishing in Britain as a Moscow instrument.

Moscow's "new line" has brought about a sudden boom in delegations to Iron Curtain countries. In contrast to earlier ones, they consist of the politically naive and even anti-Communists. The recent Parliamentary delegation to Moscow contained such resolute anti-Reds as Stanley Evans, Labor MP from Wednesbury.

Most of the newly revived organizations sponsoring these pilgrimages have been proscribed by the Labor party as Communist fronts. Nevertheless, the British-China Friendship Association, the British-Soviet Friendship Society, the British-Polish Friendship Society and similar groups are getting more and more Labor MPs and Labor-party members in their delegations. The Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR is in a particularly strong position, since it has not been proscribed on the grounds that it is primarily cultural (*sic!*). This fiction lets it operate in political territory closed to its blood-brother, the British-Soviet Friendship Society.

It is difficult to assess the real influence of these delegations. Indeed, Communist operations in the film and television fields are far more important. A special firm has been set up to distribute Communist films at very cheap rates. Some innocuous feature movies are shown in London and a few even make the rounds in the provinces. In television, the main target, almost every Soviet cultural group somehow manages to get a spot on one of the top programs.

Recently, for example, the Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR sponsored a Russian tour for five British musicians. At least two of them were solid party-liners, but the group's official leader was Kenneth Wright, head of the BBC's television music department. He returned with a firm record of the trip—made with Soviet-provided equipment—and stressed his complete freedom to select what he wished and use his own commentary. As it turned out, this "non-political" film went off on a tangent to show happy Soviet workers and farmers toiling for the socialist fatherland. Thus, several million British viewers were fed some excellent Kremlin propaganda and, in terms of political capital, the cost of this particular delegation's trip was worth every copeck.

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The negative aspect of Communist activity in Britain was dramatically illustrated during the recent dock strike here. All the major ports—London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, the Tyneside and Southampton—were tied up, most of them for nearly a month. Approximately $560 million worth of import and export cargo was locked up in 350 ships. And the guiding spirits behind this strangulation movement were a handful of men from the Communist-led National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union, which succeeded in calling out 14,000 dock-workers.

The NASDU achieved notoriety for its leading role in the 1949 Beaverbrae strike, which dragged on for three months. This was in support of a strike by the Communist-dominated Canadian Seamans Union. It was described in a Government White Paper as a "cold and deliberate plan" of the Communists, who were "completely indifferent to the loss and suffering that might result."

There have been other Red-inspired strikes since 1949, but the latest has been the most important. The problem of "voluntary overtime" for dock-workers, the official cause of the strike, has been the NASDU's main scourge. There has also been an inter-union fight between the Stevedores and Dockers on the one hand and the huge Transport and General Workers Union on the other. Arthur Deakin, fiercely anti-Communist General Secretary of the T&GW, is a major Red target. In violation of a sacred inter-union agreement, the NASDU enticed several thousand dockworkers away from the T&GW and, consequently, was temporarily expelled from the Trades Union Congress. It should be noted, too, that the decision to call off the strike—which was announced in the *Daily Worker* the night before NASDU spokesmen officially told the dockers to return to work—was based on conditions that had been proposed three months before it developed.

In some quarters, there is still speculation as to whether the strike was actually Communist-inspired or the result of a general grievance that the CP exploited. All the evidence available, however, indicates that the former is true. It followed the familiar Red pattern, with a mixture of action by small Communist-led unions and "unofficial" Communist-led strike committees. A *Daily Worker* editorial on the "Overtime Menace" was reprinted by the NASDU as a fighting pamphlet. And it was undoubtedly groups of Communist activists that transformed a matter of general indifference into something dynamic. T&GW officials were content to do nothing and thus let things get out of hand.

A similar situation developed in the London bus strike, which immediately preceded the dockers' action. This was over genuine grievances: irregular hours, spread-over duties, and often excessive overtime due to the general shortage of public transport workers. The CP's London District Bus Advisory Committee issued a leaflet demanding certain wage adjustments and a rearrangement of the working week—both of which were impossible under existing conditions. Then the strike began in Communist-dominated garages like Dalston and Twickenham and spread rapidly on the basis of the leaflet's demands. Like the dock outbreak, it ended without any real achievement, except that a number of drivers and conductors found new jobs while out of work and the staff situation is now more critical than ever.

Other strikes have occurred recently at the instigation of the Electrical Trades Union and the Constructional Engineers Union, both Communist-infiltrated. In all these actions, there is evidence of close contact with the Moscow-run World Federation of Trade Unions through its London branch.

It is interesting, too, that in the middle of the dock strike London's Red industrial activists met under the chairmanship of Claude Berridge, a Communist and leading official of the Amalgamated Engineering Union. Of the 400 present, some 45 were active on various levels in different unions, covering all sections of industry. The general policy agreed on covered agitation on the factory floor, penetration of the Labor party through trade unions and trade councils, an all-out attack on right-wing labor leaders, and a drive to convince workers that the present full-employment conditions make strikes all the more desirable now.

Another industrial conference, involving shop stewards, will be held shortly to discuss priority strike targets. The list of plants to be considered includes two important ship-building firms, a large steelworks, two large automobile plants, an aircraft factory and one of the biggest electrical-equipment plants in the country. Most of these factories, as might be expected, are doing important defense work.

Of course, the Communists' successes are mingled with failure. Indeed, the dock and bus strike may harden the public's attitude toward them, particularly if anti-Communist union leaders make their members realize the extent of Communist activity in their ranks. Nevertheless, things are going well for Moscow in Britain. "Peaceful coexistence" is becoming more and more respectable. British and other European firms are eager for East-West trade, and Russia can profit from the dock strike, because her deliveries were held up and she can impose severe penalties under various clauses in her trade contracts.

There is one bright spot in this generally dark picture, however: While the pattern of strike action laid down by the Communist Party Congress in the spring is now being worked out, the formal body of the Communist party is withering away. Party leaders had hoped that their activity would help swell the ranks. This has not happened.

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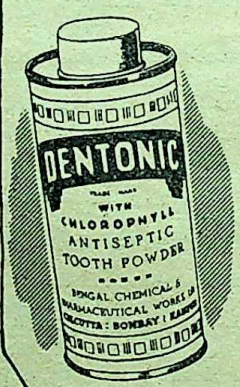

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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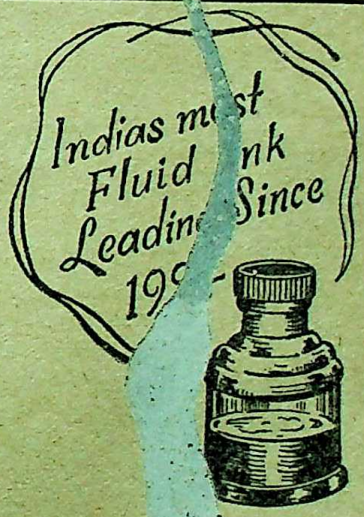

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Evening at the Outram Ghat, Calcutta

Photo: Miren Adhikary

Mid-summer noon

Photo: Benoybhusan Das

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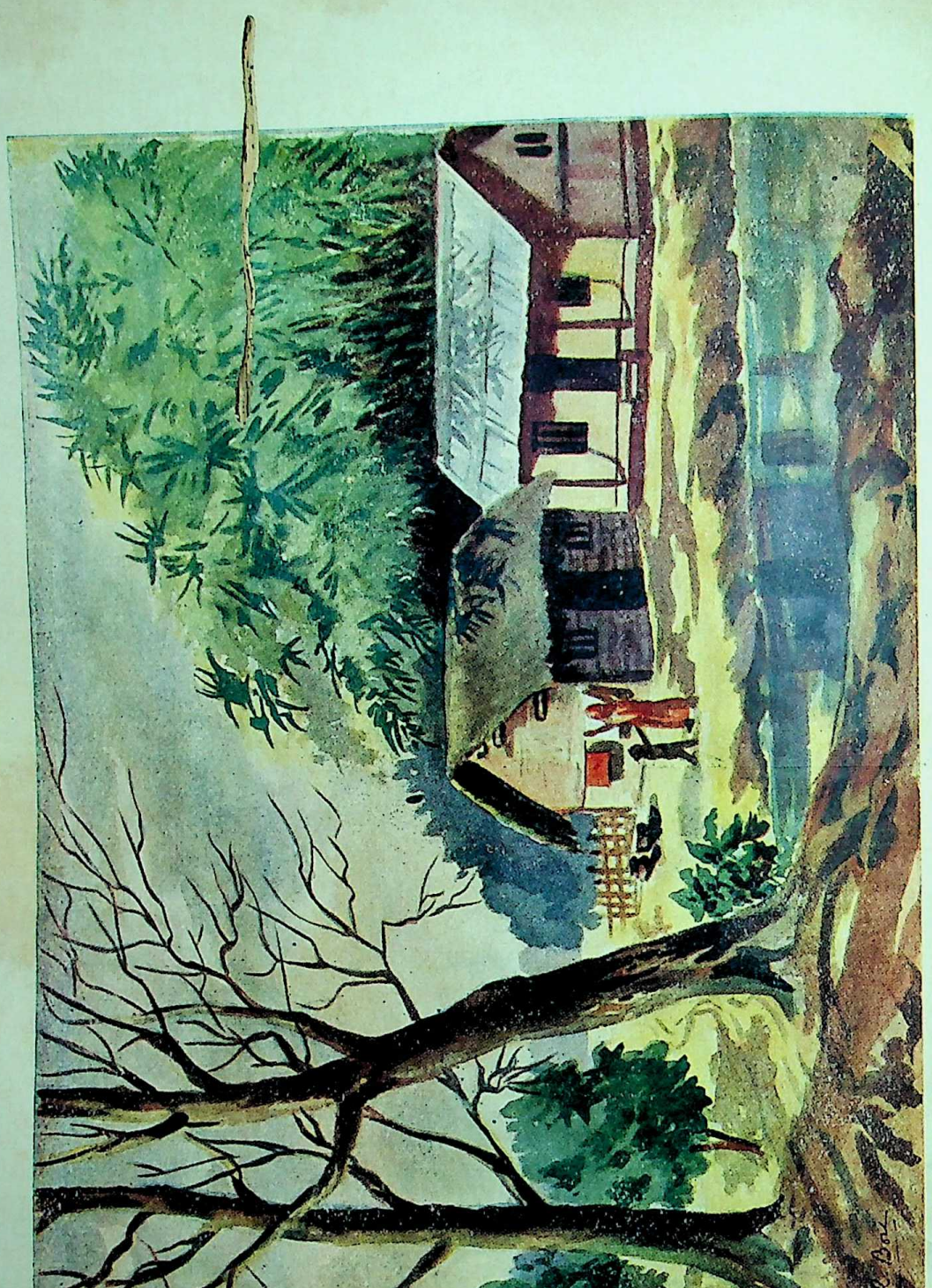

A VILLAGE IN SUMMER

By Asitranjan Bose

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE 1955

VOL. LXXXVII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 582

NOTES

cape-Goats and Escapism

Sixty-four amiable members of Parliament sent representation to the Congress Working Committee garding the desirability of stricter censorship of dian and foreign films. Cinema, they said, was a cial industry"—whatever may that connote—and it tended to create an anti-social atmosphere "some- ng would have to be done about it." Evidently "something" was meant this representation and it having been done, the sixty-four *incognitos*, or may be *incognitas* as well, went back to their arters, well-satisfied at the fruits of their labours d well-content that they had earned the lasting titude of the forty-eight millions that had provided m with the sinecures at New Delhi.

We give the newspaper report that appeared in e *Amrita Bazar Patrika* elsewhere, but here we have address a few words to Shri Shriman Narayan, the ngress General Secretary.

We do not know anything about the sixty-four embers of Parliament. For aught we know they ight be as wise as Solomon or Chanakya, or again ey might be of the average run, that is to say the ual lazy yes-man and woman of no consequence yond party representation. We have still less to y about Dr. Keskar as we have not been able to ake up our minds, as to whether he is in charge the departments concerned or whether those partments have taken charge of him.

But Shriman Narayanji has grown in stature in e shadow of Bapu. He might not be a super- rahmin of Sarvodaya, with all its austerities, fanti- sms and shibboleths, but all the same he has reathed the incense and drank the *madhu-parka* at andhiji's feet for years. He has listened to the rmons and has served at consultations with the ather of the Nation. And therefore we expect hat he would at least keep the Congress, weak, effete and infested with profit-seekers as it is, reasonably free from attempts at cheap publicity. For that is what we see in every line of the subjoined report. If it be incorrect, then it should be corrected.

Does Shriman Narayanji really believe that any Censor-Code imaginable would really improve matters? There were laws in England which punished smoking and tobacco-chewing by chopping the culprit's limbs off. Did that stop it? Is there no drunkenness in Bombay, where a mother with an ailing child has to move heaven and earth to get an ounce of absolute alcohol to sponge the child's sores? In the United States of only a few decades back, women used to be fined ten dollars if they exposed a few inches of their legs above the ankle, while getting down from the bus or the tram. What was the effect?

Can the sixty-four members name a dozen or even a half dozen films, produced in impeccable taste and free from all the carnal evils, that have not been financial failures? We can name a dozen that were impeccable, but totally unprofitable.

Does Shriman Narayanji know that sublime passages and ennobling scenes from the pens of Rabindranath and Saratchandra have to be bowdlerized and totally inverted in places before the public would take it?

We know that the Cinema today is a social problem. But that problem is not so easy of solution as the dauntless sixty-four or Shri Shriman Narayan imagine it to be. The real trouble is with the total loss of moral values amongst the majority of our people, cinema-goers and others. The Congress has done nothing and is doing nothing about it. It is useless making a scape-goat of the cinema, for in the book-trade and in fiction magazines we have the same shameful story. Shriman Narayanji should cry *Peccavi* with all of us and then proceed with such conferences.

We are not going to give a detailed criticism of

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the Working Committee's opinions or of the representation of the sixty-four guards. They are too absurd for detailed consideration, in the form we have perused. We append the extract from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* below:

The Congress Working Committee has expressed the view that rules and regulations regarding censorship of films should be more strictly enforced to check degeneration of public morale and prevent exhibition of unhealthy films.

The Committee expressed this view at its meeting on May 4 after considering a representation by 64 Members of Parliament regarding the desirability of stricter censorship of Indian and foreign films together with a note on the subject by Dr. B. V. Keskar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting.

Communicating the views of the Working Committee in a letter to Dr. Keskar, the Congress General Secretary, Mr. Shriman Narayan, has said it was also suggested at the meeting that censorship should be appointed at the script stage to avoid unnecessary complications and wastage of money at a later stage. It was also pointed out that members of the Censor Boards should be selected more carefully so that they might constantly keep in view the probable effect of films on the morale of the people, particularly those of youngmen and women.

The Members of Parliament in their representation had stated that in India and America the tendency of film producers appeared to be to try to exploit films for the greatest amount of profit regardless of social consequences. The result had been that a deliberate programme of preparing films extolling crime and sex incitement was going on. 'The effect on impressionable young minds of over-sexed stories or crime pictures depicting bloodshed, brutality and violence need not be described. It will not be an exaggeration to say that present-day cinema has been one of the important unsettling factors of our school and University student's life.'

Cinema, the representation said, was a social industry and if its activities tended to create an anti-social atmosphere, something would have to be done to check it. 'There is an overwhelming public opinion that the cinema, more especially in a country like India with an objective of a Welfare State based on socialistic pattern should be controlled and guided more effectively so that it serves the purpose of social and artistic progress.'

Dr. Keskar, in his note, was understood to have generally agreed with the views of the M.Ps. Certain types of films he felt had 'definitely anti-social aspect'. Preparation of such films in increasing numbers had posed a very ticklish problem both from social point of view and from the point of view of national solidarity and security, Dr. Keskar said.

The Kashmir Princess

The world knows now about the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference. And it also knows of the [illegible] escape of Chou En-lai and party who were to [illegible] flown in the ill-fated Air-India Constellation [illegible] 'Murder will out' is a cliche, but fairly true nev[illegible] less, at times.

It is no secret that a great many America[illegible] not like the Conference. That was well-under[illegible] able. But what is un-intelligible to most sane pe[illegible] is the vicious attitude of some reputed journals [illegible] U.S. to all matters pertaining to India.

In this matter of the *Kashmir Princess* era[illegible] *Time* of Chicago, U.S.A., in its April 25 issue [illegible] out thus :

"Murder!" cried the Red Chinese gover[illegible] "Murder deliberately engineered by secret [illegible] organizations of the U.S. and Chiang Kai-[illegible] Retorted the U.S. State Department: "Preposter[illegible]

The Chinese Communists had chartered an [illegible] India plane (fee $20,000) to take part of their dele[illegible] to the Bandung Conference in Indonesia. The [illegible] engined Constellation flew in to Hong Kong [illegible] Bangkok on a regular flight, disembarked its pass[illegible] and refueled. During the 80 minutes it stood [illegible] airfield, *it was ringed with security guards.* The[illegible] charter passengers were whisked in past cu[illegible] directly to the plane. Chief among the three C[illegible] delegates were Huang Tso-mei, head of the official [illegible] China News Agency in Hong Kong and rated one [illegible] Communists' top agents by Hong Kong police. [illegible] Shih Chih-ang, No. 2 man of Peking's chief f[illegible] purchasing agency. Among other passengers five [illegible] as Chinese newsmen were actually (according to W[illegible] intelligence) unsung but important Communist p[illegible] ganda and intelligence agents.

The plane took off. A few hours later, it cr[illegible] into the South China Sea 250 miles east of Singa[illegible]

Without waiting for details, India's Prime Mi[illegible] Nehru despatched a message of concern to Pe[illegible] "This disaster has some very unusual features. S[illegible] thing must have happened suddenly. There must [illegible] full inquiry." Peking did not wait, either. Eve[illegible] fore the delegation left, said the Foreign Ministry [illegible] government had learned of a "sinister plot . . . [illegible] assassinate the members of the Chinese deleg[illegible] headed by Premier Chou En-lai and to sabotage [illegible] Afro-Asian Conference," and had warned the Briti[illegible] take special precautions. The Communist gover[illegible] charged the British with "heavy responsibility." [illegible] British formally rejected the charge, insisted that [illegible] had been warned only against the possibility [illegible] Nationalist demonstrations, not sabotage. Therefor[illegible] special measures had been taken to guard the plan[illegible] self, which was serviced by the regular Chinese [illegible] at the airport. But, the British contended, the possi[illegible] of sabotage was "extremely remote."

Only three survivors, all Indians, were fished out [illegible] Asst. Engineer A. S. Karnik, taken aboard the B[illegible] frigate *Dampier*, gave the first authentic explanatio[illegible]

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the crash: a hydraulic fire in the port wing. The plane broke into three pieces when it hit the sea.

This sounded more like a common accident than sabotage. In their first broadcast, long before any survivors had been picked up, the Communists had said that the plane exploded in mid-air—the same kind of wild report that crash investigators on the world's airlines encounter after most crackups. But Peking, which knows a propaganda windfall when it sees one, grabbed its chance, without even waiting for the facts to be established." Thus far the *Time*.

It will be noted that actual facts have been distorted. Of course there is no expression of sorrow at the loss of life of innocent people. That would be too much to expect of the filthy newshound who wrote that propaganda splurge.

We append the communiques and news reports that followed the enquiry.

"New Delhi, May 27.—The explosion of 'a timed infernal machine,' placed in the starboard wheel-well of the aircraft, resulted in the crash of the *Kashmir Princess*, which was carrying Chinese delegates to the Bandung conference on April 11, according to the findings of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Indonesian Government. A summary of the report, released simultaneously in New Delhi and Djakarta today, says there is positive indication of an explosion having occurred in the wheel-well of the starboard undercarriage. This evidence consisted of—

1. The bulging outward of the skin and strut members in the immediate area;
2. Deep pitting by shrapnel of the skin and structural members facing the explosion; and
3. A hole blown inwards into the No. 3 fuel tank.

"The recovery of four parts of a twisted, burnt and corroded clockwork mechanism, which has no relation to any equipment or structure of the aircraft, found in the same area where the explosion took place, 'provided irrefutable evidence of an infernal machine having been placed in this area.'

"The findings of the committee are as follows:

1. The aircraft was airworthy and properly certified;
2. The crew was experienced and held valid licences;
3. The aircraft was properly loaded and had sufficient fuel for the flight;
4. The take-off from Hongkong was normal and the flight uneventful for the first five hours;
5. An explosion occurred on board the aircraft when cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. A fire broke out in the starboard wing and spread rapidly, causing failure to the hydraulic and electrical services;
6. A rapid descent for ditching was immediately commenced and the emergency procedures were carried out efficiently and calmly by the crew members under extremely difficult conditions;
7. The aircraft hit the water with the starboard wing-tip while under partial loss of control and broke up on impact, and
8. An inspection of the wreckage revealed positive evidence of an explosion in the starboard wheel-well of a timed infernal machine, parts of which were still in the wreckage. This explosion caused puncturing of the No. 3 fuel tank and a fire which spread rapidly and could not be controlled.

"The Constellation took off from Hongkong under the command of Captain Jatar. Routine messages were exchanged by the aircraft with ground stations and the fight was entirely without incident until approximately five hours later, when the aircraft was cruising at 18,000 feet over the sea. At this stage a muffled explosion was heard on board. Smoke began entering the cabin through the cold air ducts and a localized fire was detected soon after on the starboard wing behind the No. 3 engine nacelle.

"Rapid descent for ditching the aircraft was resorted to and distress signals were broadcast. In spite of the fire-fighting action, during which the No. 3 engine was feathered, the fire spread very rapidly and caused failure of the hydraulic system, followed by failure of the electric system as well. During the final stages of the descent, executed in extremely difficult circumstances, dense smoke entered the cockpit, reducing visibility to almost nil.

"Only three crew members survived the accident. The aircraft was destroyed.

"Salvage operations to recover the wreckage from the sea-bed were begun on April 25, 1955, and lasted for ten days, during which period nearly 90 per cent of the wreckage was recovered. An inspection of the wreckage revealed confirmatory evidence of a fire having started in the area referred to by the surviving members of the crew."

"New Delhi, May 27.—A search is now being made for a man in Formosa who, according to irrefutable circumstantial evidence, is believed to be responsible for the destruction of the *Kashmir Princess*. It is learnt on excellent authority that the alleged saboteur, a K.M.T. Chinese, is closely implicated in the planting of the time-bomb in the ill-fated Air India International plane and that he has escaped to Taipeh.

"Meanwhile, the Government of India is refusing to say anything in the matter beyond the statement that those found guilty must be punished. The full report of the inquiry is still awaited."

The Hongkong Government made the following statement to *Reuter*:

"The report of the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Government of Indonesia establishes that an explosion in the wing of the Air India International aircraft *Kashmir Princess* which caused the plane to crash into the sea on April 11 whilst on a flight from Hongkong to Djakarta was due to sabotage.

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"It seems probable that the explosive device employed was placed in the aircraft at Hongkong. Although it would not be in the public interest at this stage to publish results of the Hongkong police investigations so far made, the Hongkong Government is determined to make every effort to ascertain the facts. If it is established that the outrage was committed at Hongkong it is determined to do all in its power to bring those responsible to justice.

"In a statement issued by the Hongkong Government on April 13, it was stated that it had been informed that the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs had received information that trouble might be made by Chinese Nationalist sympathizers for a group of journalists leaving for the Bandung conference by an Air India International aircraft on April 11 and it had been asked to take appropriate precautions.

"There was no suggestion in the message from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or from any other source, of possible sabotage of the aircraft. *The precautions taken were therefore directed to protection of the passengers from molestation at the airport. Had the possibility of sabotage been mentioned, specified action would have been taken for its prevention, including detailed search of the aircraft, and, if necessary, its detention for a suitable length of time.*

"Immediately after news of the crash was received, inquiries were begun as soon as possible. These covered a wide field, including arrangements made for the transport of passengers and their baggage, servicing and fuelling of the aircraft and interrogation of all those that had been in any way connected with the arrangements in Hongkong.

"More than 100 persons were interviewed by the police and statements were taken from all of them. Although there was no evidence at that time to point to sabotage, the investigation was carried out on the assumption that sabotage had taken place.

"As soon as the wreckage of the aircraft had been raised from the sea and had been examined by technical experts, including the Director of Civil Aviation, Hongkong, and the Chief Investigating Officer of Accidents of the British Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation, the Hongkong Government was informed that the crash had almost certainly been caused by an explosion in the starboard wing and that this had been caused by a device placed in the wing behind No. 3 engine.

"In view of the time factor (that is because the normal type of time-bomb is set to go off within 12 hours), it seems most likely that this device had, in fact, been placed in the aircraft during its stay in Hongkong.

"This information enabled the field of inquiry to be narrowed, and it was therefore possible to concentrate investigations on those persons in Hongkong who might have been in a position to place such a device in the Indian aircraft.

"This investigation has been and is still being pursued with the utmost vigour."

According to a message from London the Foreign Office said that the statement issued in Hongkong had the full authorization of the British Government.

The A.I. Radio

In the April Lok-Sabha reports, we had the following item. We are putting it on record.

New Delhi, April 4.—Encouraged by weak criticism in the Lok Sabha's debate on the Information and Broadcasting Ministry's demands, Dr. Keskar today proceeded not only to defend Ministerial interference in the working of A.I.R. but made it clear that there would be "more and more" of it in future.

An officer who wanted no interference, he stated repeatedly, had no place in the organization.

Dr. Keskar said it was the Ministry which was responsible to Parliament for the working of A. I. R. and not the Director-General or any other officer of the organization. It "was utterly presumptuous" for any officer to believe that his work was not open to interference.

He saw no reason for A.I.R. to be treated differently to other departments and failed to make any distinction between supervision and interference.

The importance Dr. Keskar gave to A.I.R. was evident from the fact that he devoted 50 minutes of his hour's speech to it.

It was proposed to distribute 25,000 community listening sets in rural areas in the next two years. The range of medium-wave transmitters had been increased so that they would be picked up by small sets over a wide area.

The reorganization of permanent staff was practically complete. Questions of permanency were being taken up urgently with the Home Ministry.

A. I. R. was giving patronage to more musicians since he had taken over. Songs produced by the light music unit were proving popular.

The quality of programmes had improved and more variety provided. Specialists were being appointed to effect further improvements.

The Akali Morcha

"Ludhiana, May 22.—While the Akali morcha may continue in Amritsar, the chances of its intensification in or extension to other parts of the Punjab appear remote. With most of their leaders and organizers arrested or under detention, there is now an unmistakable sense of bewilderment among the mass of Akali workers. The few leaders who have not been detained are mostly theoreticians with only a limited capacity to organize a movement.

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"The Punjab Government's swoop last Sunday in which over 60 Akalis were detained was most unexpected. Not many Akali leaders anticipated that the State Government would act so quickly and firmly."

This seems to put a period to Master Tara Singh's dreams.

Krishna Menon's Mission

We put on record the progress of the mission of hope, so far.

"Peking, May 20.—The Chinese Prime Minister, Mr. Chou En-lai, and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon concluded their talks on Formosa tonight on a note of optimism, cables *PTI's* special correspondent in Peking. Earlier in the evening, the Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic, Mr. Mao Tse-tung, received Mr. Menon. Present at this meeting, which lasted half an hour, were Mr. Chou and the Chinese Vice-Premier, Mr. Chen Yi.

"After tonight's talks Mr. Chou said: 'We can look to the future with hope.' Mr. Menon said: 'I have spent a useful time here.' No communique was issued at the end of the talks, which lasted about 30 hours, spread over 11 days."

India's Balance of Payments

In 1954 India's exports and imports were higher in volume and value than those of 1953. The total value of exports was Rs. 563 crores, which was Rs. 31 crores higher than in the previous year. The volume of exports of practically all commodities was higher in 1954 than in 1953, the only major exceptions being in the case of manganese ore and tea. But in the case of tea, although the volume of exports declined by 51 million lbs., the value of exports was higher by Rs. 28 crores than that of the previous year. In the case of cotton textiles and jute manufactures, there was a fall in export prices; but the increase in the volume of expotrs more than compensated the decline in prices, and the total value of expotrs was higher by Rs. 10 crores than in 1953 in each case.

In 1953 the total value of imports stood at Rs. 587 crores and this was higher by Rs. 6 crores than in the previous year. While the import of foodgrains declined by Rs. 31 crores than in the previous year, the bulk of the increase was industrial raw materials like metals, mineral oils, dyes, chemicals, cotton, etc. Further, the prices of imports were generally lower than in 1953. The volume of imports was, therefore, greater than the figures of value would indicate. Owing to the comparatively stable foreign exchange position reached during the previous year, it was found possible to continue and expand the policy of removing or reducing the restrictions on the import of several essential commodities and to diversify the pattern of the import trade. As a ressult the import of a large range of industrial raw materials and semiprocessed gools increased considerably in value and volume.

The adverse balance of trade was reduced in 1954 to Rs. 22.35 crores from Rs. 54.26 crores in 1953. In post-war years, chronic deficits have been a feature of our foreign trade, the year 1950 being an exception. The foreign exchange position had shown an improvement; sterling balances stood at the end of March 1955 at Rs. 732 crores. Import licences were liberalised and 33 new items of import were added to the liberal licensing scheme. Imports of industrial raw materials rose from Rs. 288 crores to Rs. 329 crores in 1954. Essential consumer goods cost Rs. 159 crores of foreign exchange in 1954 as against Rs. 188 crores in 1953. The import of plant and machinery declined in 1954 by Rs. 8 crores to Rs. 76 crores. Notwithstanding a liberal import policy, the import of essential consumer goods declined in value by Rs. 29 crores. Although lower prices are partly responsible for this decline, the pattern of trade is being shifted towards an increase in imports of industrial raw materials and plant and machinery.

The United Kingdom and the USA continued to be India's principal buyers and suppliers. In 1954, the distribution of India's imports by countries of origin were as follows (1953 percentage being within brackets): UK 24.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); USA 12.5 per cent (15.7 per cent); Burma 7.5 per cent (3.2 per per cent); Egypt 4.3 per cent (3.8 per cent) and other countries 51.2 per cent (52.6 per cent in 1953). The decline in imports from the USA, Canada and Australia are on account of greatly reduced imports of wheat from these countries in 1954. The distribution of India's exports by countries of destination was as follows: UK 31.7 per cent (28.2 per cent) and USA 15.3 per cent (16.2 per cent). While exports to Burma and Japan declined in 1954, exports to West Germany and Australia increased considerably.

In 1954 the balance of trade with the dollar area improved by Rs. 4 crores to Rs. 21 crores in India's favour. The export of tea, jute and cotton piece-goods accounted for 58 per cent of India's export earnings. Tea tops the list bringing in Rs. 147 crores on an export of 459 million lbs against Rs. 102 crores on 471 million lbs in 1953. The export of jute goods increased by 74,000 tons to 852,000 tons; earnings rose by Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 124 crores. The export of cotton piece-goods increased by 45 million yards to 815 million yards. Exports of raw cotton were permitted to the extent of 3 lakh bales as compared with 1.75 lakh bales in the earlier cotton season. Exports to South-East Asian countries fell sharply from Rs. 120 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 72 crores in 1954-55. Although there was a higher level of production in the light engineering and chemical industries, export earnings declined from Rs. 70 crores to Rs. 64 crores.

The Reserve Bank of India's figures for our exports and imports are different. It places India's imports in 1954 at Rs. 624.5 crores and exports at Rs. 548.8 crores, leaving an adverse trade balance for Rs. 75.7

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crores. The higher imports in 1954 were entirely on account of commercial imports, since those on Government account declined considerably. After taking into account of Official Donations and Government and Private Invisibles, there was a surplus of Rs. 4 crores on current account. But it should be remembered that official donations and invisibles are by way of compensatory official financing which constitute mainly loans and grants and they are not strictly speaking export earnings. Therefore, the current account surplus is apparently a misleading figure, the adverse trade balance being a recorded fact. A happy feature of our foreign trade in 1954 was that India had a surplus of Rs. 4.7 crores in her trade with Pakistan. In 1953, India had a current account deficit of Rs. 2.2 crores with Pakistan. Invisible receipts fell in 1954 by Rs. 18.4 crores to Rs. 79.4 crores. This was mainly attributable to the decline in official donations (*i.e.*. mainly aid received under the Indo-American Technical Cooperation Agreement, the Colombo Plan and the Ford Foundation) by Rs. 13.4 crores to Rs. 5.0 crores.

Second Five-Year Plan

With the first Five-Year Plan drawing to its close, the second Five-Year Plan is being envisaged. The outlines of the second Five-Year Plan still remain undefined, but its overall objectives have been clearly stated to be as follows: (1) An increase of 25 to 27 per cent in national income during the five-year period, or about 5 per cent per year, and (2) provision of employment for 10 to 12 million people during this period. The detailed Plan is yet to be drawn out. The broad outline is based on three papers prepared by economic experts. Briefly, there will be a total outlay of Rs. 6,300 crores, of which the share of the public sector will be Rs. 4,300 crores and that of the private sector Rs. 2,000 crores; in the public sector is included an expenditure of Rs. 900 crores on non-development purposes. Importance will be given to the development of basic heavy industries for the manufacture of producer goods to strengthen the foundations of economic independence. The development of heavy and capital goods industries will reduce India's dependence on foreign countries for the supply of essential machinery. Emphasis will also be laid on small-scale, cottage and home industries, in order to increase the output of consumer goods and provide employment in rural areas. Large-scale factories producing consumer goods will not be given much importance. Irrigation and agriculture will receive due prominence, but the emphasis will be on medium-sized projects and regional balance. Rural electrification, community projects and National Extension Services will be rapidly expanded.

The second Five-Year Plan will aim at obtaining a rapid growth of the national economy by increasing the scope and importance of the public sector and in this way to advance to a socialist pattern of society. The Joint Paper of the experts makes the following observations: "The economic development of the country must conform to the broad social objectives in the period of time. The strategy of balancing the development of a socialist pattern of society has already been enunciated as a basic objective for the country. In formulating the second plan emphasis must be placed on the extension of public ownership and control over the strategic means of production, on greater equality of opportunities, on bringing the gap between the haves and the have-nots and on the protection and enhancement of the well-being of the weak and unorganised sections of the society. Men do not give of their best in the absence of a secure and fair share in the fruits of their labour and achievement. Social justice is a necessary condition for releasing the productive energies of the people."

If the first Five-Year Plan was mainly agricultural the second Five-Year Plan is rightly going to be more industrial. The Russian economic plans give emphasis to the development of heavy industries and the post-struggle for power in that country accused the predecessors, now displaced, of having indulged in the development of consumer goods industries. The authorities in India seem now to have realised that Industrial development is the *sine qua non* of economic planning. Special attention is therefore to be given to the production of machinery to be employed in the other producer goods industries. India possesses the richest iron ores in the world and there is no reason why India should not try to develop herself as one of the foremost countries in the production of machinery. With the establishment of three new steel plants the capacity of steel production will be expanded to 30 million tons in next 10 to 15 years. Emphasis should also be given for the development of synthetic petrol as this would reduce imports and serve as a nucleus for the development of several other industries.

A suggestion has been made that to increase production of consumer goods, the household or cottage industries should be utilised as far as possible. It is said to attempt at a nice balance between the labour-intensive schemes that constitute household and cottage industries and the capital-intensive schemes that comprise the heavy industries. While recognising the labour-intensive aspect of small-scale and village industries, the experts make it clear that once the economy gets going, employment opportunities become more plentiful and investible surpluses increase, it would be possible and also desirable to introduce more efficient methods of production in the consumer goods industries as well. Indeed, the ultimate justification for developing producer goods industries lies in the need for modernising the production of consumer goods and making it more efficient. Although part of the output of capital goods may be exported or used for further expansion of producer goods industries, a part would be absorbed in the modernisation of consumer goods industries. Thus. the development of heavy capital goods industries is consistent with and requires modernisation of methods of production in other sectors of

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ment of producer goods industries at one end with encouragement of capital-light methods of production at the other end is justified in the immediate future only because it is hoped that at a later date our savings would rise sufficiently to permit the adoption of capital-using methods over a large area without starving the rest of the economy for capital and without creating unemployment.

In the opinion of the experts, it should be possible to obtain a rise in national income of 5 per cent per annum, with a wise planning and an investment of Rs. 7,600 crores (excluding obviously the non-development expenditure). Doubts are being cherished whether it would be possible for the authorities in this country to raise such a huge amount for the next plan. It may be pointed out that in the first three years of the first Five-Year Plan, only Rs. 860 crores, or 40 per cent of the expenditure proposed over the Five-Year Plan period, were invested. In the last year of the first Plan, a sum of Rs. 710 crores is proposed to be spent, while in the fourth year Rs. 541 crores were scheduled to be spent. It is to be seen whether this large amount could be spent in the last year of the Plan. If the proposed expenditure under the second Plan is to be realised, it will be necessary for the State alone to make investment at the rate of Rs. 860 crores per annum on an average, which was done in three years under the first Plan. To accelerate the rate of expenditure, technical knowledge and strategic materials must have a continuous flow, otherwise the pace of expenditure will be halted. India lacks technical knowledge and for that she has to depend on foreign experts whose supply is limited.

In the second Five-Year Plan, 10 per cent of India's national income will be invested. In the first five-year Plan, 4 per cent of the national income was saved and invested on an average. Therefore to achieve the target of 10 per cent saving, larger efforts have to be made both by the State and the people. At the end of the first Plan, our national income will come to nearly Rs. 11,000 crores. Ten per cent of this will mean Rs. 1100 crores per year and this will aggregate about Rs. 5000 crores over a period of five years, assuming a progressive increase of 5 per cent per year in our national income. The policy of heavy taxation which is being followed by the State will discourage private saving and as a result the State shall have to take upon itself the sole charge of creating savings in the public sector. The private sector will be assigned with the task of raising Rs. 2000 for investment during the five years of the second Plan. This is too optimistic an estimate. During the first Plan, the private sector could not raise by way of saving more than Rs. 20 annually and to jump from this paltry sum to the height of Rs. 400 a year requires too bold an imagination. The private sector will hardly have capacity to invest Rs. 400 a year in the immediate future. The scope of foreign aid is limited and although larger sums have been estimated on account of foreign aid to be available during the second Five-Year Plan, India shall have to depend mainly on her internal resources for the successful operation of the second Plan.

Another point should not be lost sight of. It is good that the authorities are giving greater prominence to heavy industries. But heavy industries by themselves alone will be fruitless if simultaneous efforts are not made to establish and encourage those industries which can use products turned out by the heavy industries. Consumer goods industries must simultaneously be established so as to absorb the output of the heavy industries. It would be a folly to give too much prominence to heavy industries and ignore the consumer goods industries, leaving them to be developed by small-scale and cottage industries. That would create a condition of unbalanced economy.

Trend of Banking in 1954

Expanding resources and greater activity were, according to the Reserve Bank's latest Annual Report on the Trend and Progress of Banking in India, the main features of banking in India in 1954 in contrast to the relatively quiet year that preceded it. The higher level of banking activity arising mainly from the broadening of overall economic activity was reflected in the rising trend of bank deposits, on the one hand, and of advances and investments, on the other. The increase in advances was particularly noteworthy as it occurred in the wake of declines in the previous two years. Bank credit recorded an expansion of Rs. 57 crores in 1954, as against a fall of Rs. 66 crores in 1952, and Rs. 10 crores in 1953. Though credit demands were at a higher level in 1954 and though the credit contraction in the slack season was not commensurate with the seasonal expansion in 1953-54, there was no reason to believe, states the Report, that speculative influences were significantly at work; the expansion in bank credit is to be related to the sustained increase in production and business activity, though with a generally declining wholesale price level.

In meeting the increased credit demands, banks had to supplement their increased resources by availing themselves in substantial measure of the facilities for borrowing from the Reserve Bank and in fact, in 1954, the financial assistance provided by the Bank stood at a record level. The annual volume of the Reserve Bank's advances to scheduled banks at Rs. 148 crores under the Bill Market Scheme, whose scope was enlarged during the year 1954, was well over double the 1953 total, while the volume of advances for general purposes was also the largest to-date at Rs. 189 crores.

In 1954, deposits of scheduled banks recorded a sharp rise of Rs. 91 crores, compared with the relatively small increase of Rs. 8 crores in 1953. The rising trend of deposits, the Report points out, confirms the observation made in the Report for 1953 that the post-Partition decline in deposits has been arrested and

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that, in fact, a phase of deposit expansion seems to have begun. The rise in deposits consisted of an increase of Rs. 80 crores in deposits with Indian scheduled banks and of Rs. 11 crores with exchange banks.

The trends in investments of commercial banks also indicated, as in the case of advances, a greater utilisation of bank resources in earning assets. Despite the sizeable accretion to the total, the distribution pattern of scheduled bank investments at the end of 1954 hardly showed any change as compared with a year ago. Investments in Government securities formed 86.4 per cent of the total investments as compared with 86.7 per cent in 1953 and the small rise in the proportion of Central Government securities was offset by an almost equal decline in State Government securities. Among other domestic investments, fixed deposits showed a small rise. Foreign investments accounted for 5.8 per cent of the total, of which a little over one-third was held in Pakistan.

The distribution of scheduled bank advances under the main groups does not indicate any marked changes over the year. Industry continues to claim a little over one-third and commerce about one-half of the total. Production credit for agriculture which was at Rs. 12 crores at the end of 1953 declined even further to Rs. 5 crores at the end of 1954; exchange banks, the major purveyors of credit for this sector (which includes plantations), accounted for the largest decline; personal and professional and unclassified advances registered a moderate increase. The profit and loss account of 18 larger Indian scheduled banks (each with deposits of Rs. 5 crores and above) reflects the increase in the turnover of banking business in 1954. Gross earnings of these banks registered a rise of Rs. 2.6 crores to Rs. 31.2 crores, over two-thirds (Rs. 1.8 crores) of this being accounted for by the rise in interest and discount earned. The rise in total expenses of Rs. 2.2 crores was made up of an increase of Rs. 1.2 crores in interest paid on deposits, borrowings, etc., Rs. 0.7 crore in establishment expenses and Rs. 0.3 crore in other expenses. Consequently, net profits went up by Rs. 0.4 crore to Rs. 5.3 crores in contrast to the fall of Rs. 0.3 crore in 1953.

In 1954, 17 banks went into liquidation or were ordered to be wound up. All of them were non-scheduled banks. Of these, 8 banks went into voluntary liquidation; 4 of them in the Bombay area, 3 in the Madras area and one in the Trivandrum area. Some of the more prominent defects in the working of the banks, as observed by the Reserve Bank during inspections of banks, have been inadequate reserves, meagre liquid assets, over-extended advances, relatively large unsecured advances against immovable property and a large proportion of bad and doubtful debts. It will be realised that the process of developing sound banking methods has not been an easy one, since there were no indigeneous traditions in regard to modern banking methods. and a large number of mushroom banks were started by persons who had no experience of banking whatever during the years 1942-47, when ample funds were available. As a result of the guidance and the instructions given by the Reserve Bank, most of the banks have begun to take steps for the realisation of unsatisfactory investments and the recovery of doubtful advances. The Report also makes a reference to the steps taken by the Reserve Bank in assisting co-operative credit institutions and augmenting industrial credit facilities. In conclusion, the Report draws attention to the role of banking in the process of development. While credit expansion to meet the growing needs of the economy would be permitted and encouraged, the Reserve Bank, states the Report, would necessarily have to keep the situation under observation to prevent any undue credit inflation and to ensure the goal of development with stability.

India and Foreign Aid

For some time past controversy is going on whether India should accept foreign economic aid. Foreign aid is provided in the form of outright grants or as loans at low rates of interest to the underdeveloped countries for the purpose of raising their living standards. In the post-war period the US has emerged as the generous donor to the war-devastated and economically underdeveloped countries. Original Marshall Aid was given to European countries ravaged by the second World War. Now there has come a shift in outlook and the American aid is being directed towards the underdeveloped countries of Asia. Mr. Eisenhower pointed out that free Asia contains 770 million people, one-third of the world population. He said:

> "Most of them are citizens of newly independent States. Some have been engaged in recent war against Communists. All are threatened. Capital is very scarce. Technical and administration skill is limited. Within the area, however, abundant resources and fertile lands are ready for development."

He however stressed that the major responsibility for economic progress must lie with the countries themselves and foreign aid and capital can only launch or stimulate the process of creating dynamic economics. Describing the economic philosophy of the aid, he observed:

> "The other free nations need the US and we need them, if we all are to be secure. Here is a clear case of inter-woven self-interest."

Mr. Eisenhower adds that the US economy cannot be strong and continue to expand without the development of healthy economic conditions in other free nations and without a continuous expansion of international trade. He concludes:

> "Neither can we be secure in our freedom unless elsewhere in the world, we help to build

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conditions under which freedom can flourish by destroying the conditions under which totalitarianism can flourish—gross poverty, illiteracy, hunger and disease."

During the first three years of the Plan period, that is, 1951-54, the total foreign aid received by India amounted to Rs. 131.9 crores, and in 1954-55, the budget figure for external aid was placed at Rs. 48 crores. These include loans from the International Bank, Technical Co-operation Assistance Scheme, grants under Colombo Plan, Ford Foundation Scheme, etc. For the year 1954-55, a sum of $60.5 million was authorised by the US Government as development assistance to India. About 50 per cent of this assistance is being utilised in obtaining agricultural commodities like wheat and cotton. Out of this sum of $60.5 million, the Government of India agreed that a sum of $45 million or its rupee equivalent should be a loan.

The Government of India is now hesitant to accept loan from the USA in view of the critical attitude taken by the American public of the foreign policy pursued by India. Of course, the American opposition to loans being given to India is not general but limited to some sections among the people. In view of this opposition from the American people, India voluntarily reduced free gift to about 25 per cent, treating the balance as loan. The sum provisionally earmarked by the USA for India to be given in 1955-56 is $85 million. Out of this sum, $70 million are for economic development and $15 million for technical assistance. Pakistan, which is only one-fifth of India, has been allocated a higher sum of $92 million, that is $7 million more than the sum allocated to India. The sum earmarked for Pakistan is divided as under: $63 million for defence (economic) support; $20 million for direct forces support; and $9 million for technical aid.

Outright grants by the USA for the economic development of India have been very limited. The total of such grants utilised during the first three years of the Plan being only Rs. 22.6 crores, including the money allocated by the Ford Foundation Schemes. The total sum allocated for this purpose was, however, higher at Rs. 84 crores. The total outright grants utilised by India comes to only 2.6 per cent in relation to the sum of Rs. 860 crores spent during the first three years of the Plan. The foreign aid issue is being viewed in a different perspective by a section. In the early period of colonial development, India, China and other colonial countries were exploited by their Western masters for their own industrial development. The plunder of Bengal helped the industrial revolution of Britain and the cost of transformation of the British mercantilist economy to a highly industrialised one was paid mainly by the people of India in the form of famine and death and unemployment. It is now suggested that the Western nations, including the USA, have now a moral obligation to redeem their debt to the Asian countries, and this view finds a supporter in Mr. Chester Bowles, the former US Ambassador to India.

India has not much objection in principle to receive foreign assistance provided it comes without any political strings. For an underdeveloped country like India, foreign aid brings plant and machinery and technical know-how from industrialised nations of the West. Barring the question of moral obligation of the Western world towards the underdeveloped countries, it may be asked whether India can afford to dispense with outright grants and gifts. In the second Five-Year Plan, the help from the USA will form an insignificant percentage of the total outlay and India will not be a loser if she refuses such grants. Sri Rajagopalachari poses the question that in time of war, India shall have a moral obligation to side with the benefactor countries. Outright grants are to be viewed as aids in the preparation for cold war among the big powers and the receipt of such grants may entangle India in the power politics of the world. Although this point need not be overlooked, it need not be, in our view, much enlarged.

Rastra Bhasa

New Delhi, May 5.—The Home Minister, Sri G. B. Pant today announced in the Lok Sabha the appointment of Sri B. G. Kher as Chairman of the proposed Hindi Commission.

One of the terms of reference of the Commission would be the preparation of a time schedule according to and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language.

Sri Pant was making a statement on a motion of Sri S. N. Das calling attention of the Government to the provision in the Constitution for appointment of a Commission for the official language. This is mentioned in Article 344.

Sri Pant said the Government of India proposed to constitute a Commission on Hindi consisting of a Chairman and other members representing different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

It was hoped that the Commission would be able to make their report as soon as possible within a year, the Home Minister added.

In making their recommendations the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the "just claims and interests of persons" belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to public services, Sri Pant said.

The Home Minister said the terms of reference of the Commission were likely to be to make recommendations as to (1) progressive use of Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union (2) restriction on the use of English language for all or any of the purposes of the Union; (3) language to be used for all

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or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution; (4) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purpopses of the Union; (5) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union.

We would lay special stress on the *just claims and interests of non-Hindi-speaking areas*, which the protagonists of Hindi are so eager to violate.

English vs. *Hindi*

Surat, May 1.—Mr. S. K. Patil, President of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee. said here today that the study of English should not be hindered in the interest of international good, greater knowledge and progress.

Declaring open the new building of the Preparatory English School of the People's Education Society here, he characterized the Bombay Government's policy regarding English as foolish.

"The national language cannot be improved by suppressing English or any other language," he said.

"Every one should be compelled to learn the national language and education must be as far as possible in the mother tongue. But to suggest suppression of English for improving Hindi is an argument that could come only from the uneducated."

Mr. Patil was of opinion that English was not a foreign language. "Like the English system of judiciary, the English language is an asset we have acquired. We have to be thankful to the English for these two legacies as well as the democratic thinking they inculcated into Indians," he said. Indians need not be ashamed of these assets.

Mr. M. K. Dixit. President of the Education Society, said, neglect of English would mean destruction of a national asset.

Sri Patil has not understood the real urge behind all this outcry for the suppression of English and the immediate substitution of Hindi for it in all fields. It is that the Hindi speakers would gain an immediate and immense advantage over the non-Hindi speakers.

Untouchability

Delhi, May 2.—With rare unanimity, the Rajya Sabha on Monday agreed to the Home Minister's Bill to prescribe punishment for the practice of untouchability, as passed by the Lok Sabha.

The Bill which is a penal measure, will now go to the President for his assent.

The Deputy Home Minister, Sri B. N. Datar, who piloted the measure said that even now there were people who believed that untouchability was a part of the religion. Scheduled Caste people were not still allowed to enter to some of the sacred Hindu temples.

Later, replying to the debate, he assured the members that the Government would take strong action against public servants who would be found guilty of discrimination in the discharge of their duties.

During the debate, members stressed the necessity of economic upliftment of the Scheduled Caste people. The Government were also requested to make distinction in the matter of punishment between those who practise untouchability not so much from the consciousness of a wrong doing and the landlord classes who tried to perpetuate untouchability for exploiting the poor.

Moving the Bill, the Deputy Home Minister Sri B. N. Datar, said it was a penal measure and not one for the purpose of giving rights, as such, because all including the Scheduled Castes have been given rights under the Constitution.

Sri Datar said the offences under the Bill were made cognizable as otherwise it might lead to results that would make the provisions negative.

At long last the Government has taken a firm step in this matter.

Buddhism and Ambedkar

Poona. May 13.— An all-out bid to lead en mass his scheduled caste followers in the country to embrace Buddhism, on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha. which will be celebrated all over the world in July next year, will be made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, President of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation.

It will be recalled here that only recently Dr. Ambedkar has announced his decision to embrace Buddhism on the occasion of the 2,500th birth anniversary of Lord Buddha next year.

Work on the Marathi translation of the tenets of Buddhism from the original in Pali is being done in Poona. A Marathi Press has also been set up to print the copies.

It is understood that Dr. Ambedkar is planning to undertake a country-wide tour to preach and propagate and persuade and prepare his followers for embracing Buddhism next year, when he himself will embrace the religion. An organisation, called the Bodh Jan Sangh, has already been formed for the purpose.

And thus it may be that millions whose forefathers were penalised by the Brahminists for their faith in Buddhism, would go back into the fold.

Telephones and Democracy

It seems telephones are a source of worry and anxiety even in the U.S.A., as the following extract from the *Worldover Press* shows :

"Telephone talk has never been completely private. This reporter has been in foreign areas where you have to shout so loudly into the mouthpiece that if the person you're talking to is no farther than 20 miles away, you might as well go out into the street and bellow. And if you're on a party line in some sections of the United States, you know that the juicier morsels of conversation are likely to become immediate topics for kitchen conferences throughout the neighborhood.

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"Actual wire-tapping, as we have come to know about it, is, however a very different thing. If it can't be stopped by legislation—which seems rather doubtful—the best alternative might be to have the telephone companies fix things up so any of us can listen in at any time on anyone we want to. Then at least we'd all be more discreet.

"Laws will not work unless those charged with enforcing them set an example by scrupulous obedience. Yet everyone understands by now that the Department of Justice at Washington, aware that wire-tapping is criminal, can't go after the wire-tappers because it has been violating the law itself for many years. It can't bring into court the findings from its wire-tapping because the illegality would ruin its cases. It does, nevertheless, wire-tap to secure leads that can be followed up by a search for evidence more legally found.

In a democracy this has a startling sound. We know how Hitler played back recordings of private conversations to a flustered British diplomat. We've heard the story of the American delegation settling into a Moscow hotel and commenting upon the cleanliness of everything except the corners of the meeting room—whereupon, in less than 20 minutes, in came an agitated maid to attack those corners with a broom.

"What you say may not matter. Many of us are so openly outspoken there is no gulf between what we'd say with the world's ears to hear. But can you control what someone may say to you ? If the talk at the other end of the wire should be of a suspicious nature, you yourself are apt to be involved. The first sentence ever used over his experimental wire by Alexander Graham Bell was a somewhat peremptory order to his assistant: 'Mr. Watson, come here, I want you.' If we can't stop this sneaky, anti-democratic wire-tapping somehow and soon, a summons almost like Bell's may one day reach your eardrums from some Commissar-like Big Shot. For along with suspected thieves, race track touts and subversives, thousands of innocent people, somewhere between Satan and Santa Claus, have already been made victims."

We are somewhat safe in this matter. Not that our official sleuths would stop at wire-tapping. On the contrary. Our safeguard lies in the difficulty of obtaining a telephone connection and maintaining an undisturbed talk of over a minute.

First of all the telephone directories are so designed as to be of minimum service to any one below the rank of a super V.I.P. Then the question of getting the number is complicated where there is a dial system, and a total gamble where it is manual. If you get the number you may find three others have also joined the party.

Hindu Marriage Bill

At long last this bill was passed. It is curious that in the public opposition names came out which showed that mere rank, position, political record, or University education is no guarantee against mediaevalism of the most degenerate type. All's well that ends well, however, and we put the news on record:

"New Delhi, May 5.—The Hindu Marriage Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha today with a degree of unanimity which contrasted sharply with the controversy it has raised in recent years. When put to vote, only one lonely 'no' from the Hindu Mahasabha member, Mr. V. G. Deshpande, could be heard among the chorus of 'ayes'. Since the Bill was adopted in the same form as it was passed by the Rajya Sabha, it now requires only the President's assent to become law.

"As expected from his unremitting support to the Hindu Code, Mr. Nehru made it a point to take part in the third reading. He saw the Bill as the first attempt to shake up the rigid structure of society and said it was essential for social freedom to be integrated with political and economic freedom.

"The Prime Minister paid high tribute to the women of India. He was very proud and had faith, he said, in their 'sense of duty, grace, charm, shyness, modesty, intelligence and spirit of sacrifice.' He was not afraid to allow them to go forward.

"Earlier, the House passed the clause giving the right to claim alimony to husbands as well as wives following an assurance by Mr. Pataskar that he would review it at the first suitable occasion."

Freedom for Austria

We have given a detailed editorial elsewhere. We append below the comment that conveyed the news:

"Vienna, May 15.—Austria became a free independent nation today for the first time since Nazi troops goose-stepped in her territory in March, 1938.

"Church bells pealed the liberty message in every town and hamlet, calling on seven million citizens to pray in thanksgiving before rejoicing with music and flowing tankards.

"The Foreign Ministers of the U.S.A., Russia, Britain and France closed a turbulent era in Austrian history by putting their names to the long delayed State treaty restoring Austrian sovereignty. Their occupation troops will withdraw from landlocked Austria within 90 days of ratification and in any case not later than December 31 this year.

"Soviet concessions after ten years of intermittent argument enabled the four Powers to reach agreement on the State treaty last Thursday. In return for the concessions Austria will follow a neutral path in the East-West conflict."

Eden back in Power

The subjoined news-item was the first communique on the victory of the Conservative Party in Britain:

"London, May 27.—Sir Anthony Eden was firmly back in power as Britain's Prime Minister tonight

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with the strongest House of Commons majority a Conservative Government has commanded for a quarter of a century. His party, pledged to 'prosperity through free enterprise,' won a solid vote of confidence in the General Election held yesterday.

"The nation's verdict means that the Conservatives can govern for the next five years, secure in a majojrity over all other parties of at least 54. For the past three and a half years since they scraped into power in 1951 they have never had a bigger margin than 18.

"Sir Anthony Eden told cheering supporters in London that he believed that the younger generation had influenced the result. 'There is no doubt that younger people felt there was a national job to be done for their country and they were not much in sympathy with the class hatred on which some people have fought the election. We shall do everything within our power to fulfil worthily the trust of the country, which has treated us with such generosity and also with such confidence'."

The British Labor Party

The Conservative Party of Britain has won the Parliamentary elections with a far more comfortable majority than in the last elections.

The abject defeat that Labor has suffered is explained by various commentators in various ways, the most common being the success of the Tories in the building of a real Welfare State, and the intransigence of the strikers in essential spheres. The following comments, taken from the *Worldover Press* for April 8, gives a vivid background to the Labour debacle:

London (WP).—The British Labor Party has entered the most critical phase of its existence. The immediate threat is not of lost votes, and recent maneuvers—such as Clement Attlee's vote in the Executive that barely kept Aneurin Bevan from utter Party banishment—have postponed any final split. But the whole Party has been made aware of inward and spiritual disintegration. Mr. Bevan has done nothing more effectively than demonstrate how delicate is the substance which holds the labor movement together.

The British labor movement has always contained a contradiction. The most numerous element in it, led by the trade unions, has never been keen on socialism. It has only wanted to get the best for the working class members of a capitalist society. The most vocal element, dominant in constituency parties, has wanted to get rid of capitalism and introduce socialism. These two groups could work together well enough until 1950; then the very success of the Labor Government brought the conflict to the front.

The trade union element now wants no more socialism at any price. The other element does not quite know what it wants. The whole Party was in fact profoundly relieved when the Tory Government succeeded it, and since 1950 it has failed to agree upon, or even to discover, a vital program for the next election.

Bevan had what looked like a program. On the home front he demanded more socialism. What he meant by "socialism" was not clear, but the emotional appeal of his eloquence covered that up. On the foreign front he had a more definite policy, neutralism. It is still neutralism of sorts which holds together the so-called "left wing" of *The New Statesman, Tribune*, Crossman, Driberg, Foot and the rest.

But even neutralism has come to seem like a moth-eaten policy since Sir Richard Acland broke away on the hydrogen-bomb issue. Acland has a policy that is a straightforward moral repudiation of the Bomb. But what must still be called the "Bevanite" policy is not at all straightforward. It is based on a dislike of the United States, coupled with a fear of Russia, and it recalls the quasi-pacifism fashionable in the 1930's—a refusal to prepare for war combined with a refusal to accept the full implications of non-violence.

The Attlee policy is a more rational one: that of full alliance with America. The trouble is that the Attlee policy is identical with the Conservative policy and the Conservatives have shown themselves more accomplished in its execution. What is even more awkward for Attlee is that the Conservatives have already shown themselves, to many liberal-minded people, more skilled at administering a welfare state than the Labour Party was.

A majority in both parties now stand for the welfare state, the mixed (part capitalist, part socialist) economy. and the alliance with America; and although the Labor Party *introduced* the welfare state and the mixed economy, it can no longer offer them as its own platform to the electorate. It has got to persuade people it can run a mixed economy *better* than the Conservatives or invent a new platform—which it has not yet succeeded in doing.

The repudiation of Bevan is a repudiation not only of a "demagogue," but a repudiation of socialism. The left wing of Labor is no longer the most optimistic. Fabians like Crossman are disillusioned with the Welfare Service state, because it has decayed into a form of technocracy. The old moral spirit has gone. Ten years ago it would have been unthinkable that trade unionists should try to introduce a color bar, but that is now happening in several places. Gambling, once condemned, is now an accepted source of Party funds.

It is very conceivable that the British labor movement may develop a future on American lines; many trade unions are as pro-capitalist as the big U.S. unions, and the Labor Party may forget socialism as the Democratic Party has forgotten states rights. The machine of the Party is more powerful and efficient than it has ever been. But it has never been so destitute of policy.

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Literature, Films and Society

The *Statesman* reports on May 22 that the Government of India had decided to ban the "horror comics." Although the Government already had powers under the Press (Objectionable Matters) Act to take action on the matter, yet, with a view to placing the matter beyond dispute, the Union Government was reportedly considering legislation on the lines of the recent British Act to ban the "horror comics."

This is a very welcome news. The harmful effect such literature exercised over the adolescents is pointedly exposed by the following news from New York. *Reuter* reports: "A 14-year-old boy accused of butchering his seven-year-old playmate with hatchet and knife, said, he got the idea 'from reading those horror comics,' police alleged here.

"Dr. Douglas Kelley, a psychiatrist said, the accused boy, David Drew, was avidly fond 'of comic books that depicted torture and throwing people off cliffs.' Police at Oakland, California, said on May 19 that Drew admitted intentionally killing Stanley Frank there on Tuesday. Earlier he had claimed the killing was accidental."

M.P. Anti-Corruption Board

The Government of Madhya Pradesh recently announced the setting-up of a Complaints Board for the purpose of enquiring into complaints of corruption against Government servants. If the Board found *prima facie* grounds for further enquiry, it would either undertake an enquiry itself or forward the complaint to the head of the Department for making an enquiry and communicating the results thereof to the Board. The Board would then submit its report to the Minister-in-charge of the Board, the *Hitavada* reports.

In an editorial article on the 14th May on the constitution of the Board, the *Hitavada* writes that the notification announcing the setting up of the Board was one of the "most curious which we have read in the *State Gazette*." The preamble of the announcement was not well-worded or sufficiently explanatory.

The newspaper writes that while a case of a policeman taking a few pice from a rickshawpuller in exchange for condoning the latter's breach of traffic rules might be termed technically as corruption it was not that kind of corruption that caused public concern. "It is the corruption in high circles that has spread an eczematic scar on the face of public life in Madhya Pradesh." In this perspective the decision to exclude Ministers from the purview of the Anti-Corruption Board is regretted by the newspaper according to which, without the power to investigate cases of corruption among Ministers "the Board will be ineffective and will be regarded by the public as simple white-wash."

The Central Government bill for the amendment of Indian Penal Code to give protection to Government servants in the matter of defamation was so worded as to give protection to the Ministers also. The *Hitavada* writes: "Ministers cannot have both ways; they cannot claim protection as public servants in one sphere but in the matter of inquiries into corruption claim that as they are not Government servants they should be immune from the investigation of any special machinery set up to investigate cases of corruption."

The newspaper also criticizes the composition of the Board which was proposed to consist of four persons chosen from retired high ranking Government officers to be appointed by the State Government. "There is strong and wellfounded objection to any retired officer being appointed whether he is high ranking or low ranking. The retired official hankering after jobs has become a pathetic spectacle, courtesying and flunkeying to all and sundry for a job which may help him to augment his slender pension such men, as a general rule, not taking exception into consideration, will not have the courage to stand up to the Ministers or take an independent line which might place their chances of continuing and fruitful employment in jeopardy."

The newspaper suggests that the Board should be composed of a functioning District Judge as the Chairman who was to be appointed on the recommendation of the High Court, another judicial officer chosen by the chairman, and two police officers still in service.

The suggestion for inclusion of two police officers is explained by the fact that they as police officers could take suitable action against persons bringing false accusation against Government servants. The judicial members of the Board would function as the committee authority with the help of the two police officers.

The newspaper writes that every year "a full summary of the Board's recommendations in every case of corruption against Government servants must be placed on the table of the Vidhan Sabha for the scrutiny of the members" and if there was a case of corruption against a minister, "it should be obligatory on the ministry to publish in detail the results of the investigations conducted by the Board together with a report on the action taken."

We are in full agreement with the *Hitavada*. The same remarks, *re* corruption, would apply to almost all States.

India-Pakistan Talks

A delegation of the Government of Pakistan led by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamed Ali, visited New Delhi during the middle of May for talks with the Government of India over the solution of the Kashmir problem. The Pak Premier was accompanied

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by the Minister of Interior, Maj.-Gen. Iskander Mirza. Details of the talks between the representatives of the two Governments were not published. The communique issued after the conclusion of the talks said that the talks were "cordial and full" and would be continued "at a later stage after full consideration has been given by both Governments to the various points that had been discussed in the course of these meetings."

Discussing the motives of the Pakistan Prime Minister in visiting New Delhi now, the *Vigil* writes in an editorial article on May 21 that the Pakistan Government, least of all, could have any illusions about the practical use of the talks in moving the Kashmir question from its present position. The necessary initiative lay with the Pak Government. But the Pakistan Government, the newspaper continues, could not take any step, whether it be forward or backward, because "in either case the hazards would be too great for the present Pakistani Government to incur in view of the precariousness of its own moral and political position internally." The Pak Government could not endanger the position by taking a forward step which would necessarily excerbate their relatoins with India. Neither they could take any backward step which might look like giving up any previous stand or claim. "So the talks," writes the *Vigil*, "could be nothing more than an operation of marking time. The concurrence of the talks between the two countries' Education Ministers on the disposal of the India House Library and those between the Indian Home Minister and the Pakistani Minister for the Interior on steps for the protection of temples and shrines in both countries and for the prevention of border incidents has somewhat served to hide the emptiness of the note which was allotted to Shri Mohammed Ali to play."

Yet, the newspaper holds, the "play" was not without a purpose inasmuch as it yielded some prestige to the tottering Pak regime. The situation was rather paradoxical. "It is because the position of the Pakistani Government has become politically insecure and that of the Pakistani Prime Minister especially so that the honours of a foreign visit were so desperately sought." In view of the uncertain future of the Pak Government it was not wise to any Government to make any far-reaching agreement or settlement with Pakistan depending on the word of its present Prime Minister who had no popular backing and might lose his present titular position any day in a political reshuffle. "But in a situation like this a show of being received with honour in another country, of carrying on important discussions, etc., is expected to be an aid and a prop to tottering prestige. To impress public opinion at home proofs of being respected and taken seriously by other countries are assiduously sought. It was possibly for this reason that the Governor-General of Pakistan was himself so anxious to visit India sometime back and would certainly have come if illness had not intervened."

Referring to the political-constitutional tangle in Pakistan the newspaper remarks that the Pakistan Prime Minister's position was the most ludicrous of all. "The Constituent Assembly was dissolved on October 24 last on the ground that it had lost its representative character and could no longer function and on the night before the Prime Minister had stated that the Constituent Assembly was functioning quite satisfactorily and was to pass the Constitution of Pakistan by December 25. So much for Mr. Mohammed Ali's authority and sense of responsibility. What prestige can accrue to Pakistan through a chance like this?" the *Vigil* concludes.

We would ask another question. What useful purpose do such talks serve, beyond giving scope to the rulers of Pakistan for bluffing their own people? After every such talk all reports and remarks in the Pakistani press vary from the official hand-out in India, to an astonishing degree.

Nekowal Incident

Twelve persons—six armymen and six civilians—were killed on May 7 when Pakistani police opened fire from across the Jammu border without the slightest provocation from the Indian side. According to a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of Defence the incident was one of the most serious since the ceasefire in 1948. Most of the horrifying details of the incidents were deliberately withheld from the public by the Government of India. But whatever little was known left no doubt the hideous nature of the crime committed by the Pakistani police.

Major S. R. Badhwar, a spokesman of the Government of India, said, they had been supervising the ploughing of land in Nekowal—a village on the Indian side of Jammu-Sialkot border which was surrounded on three sides by Pakistan territory—accompanied by five civilian tractor drivers and four other civil employees when Pakistani police had opened fire from all sides using a variety of weapons including light machine guns. In self-defence, the Indian Army escort had then returned the fire. After the arrival of the local UN observer team, the firing had stopped at about 5-30 P.M. resulting in twelve deaths. This had happened on May 7.

The Government of India immediately on receipt of the news of the incident lodged a strong protest with the Pakistan Government over the incident. The Pakistan Government, at first, though not denying responsibility, attempted to put the blame on the victims themselves. However, Mr. Mohammed Ali on his arrival in New Delhi, fully regretted the incident and assured of ample steps for the punishment of the guilty and for the prevention of the recurrence of such incidents. The UN observers' team also reportedly put the blame on Pakistan authorities.

The *Vigil* in an editorial note says: "One of the

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ready benefits, for the Pakistani Government, of Mohammed Ali and his party's visit to New Delhi was the curb it induced on the expression of Indian feeling over the ghastly affair of Nekowal."

Referring to the initial Pakistani complacency, the newspaper expresses some doubt if the Pakistan Government would accept adverse report of the UN observers' team as final. It fears that no action would be taken unless India pressed for it with vigour and determination. "Speedy action in this matter is necessary not only for the redress of a past wrong but for the prevention of incidents like this in future which spell a grave menace to the people on both sides of the border. If nothing is done about the Nekowal affair soon enough there will be little confidence felt in the agreement just concluded between the Home Minister of India and his Pakistani counterpart on steps to minimise chances of border clashes."

India Blamed for Dispute

Interested quarters in Pakistan are, apparently, trying to put the blame at India's doors for Pakistan's trouble with Afghanistan. This, however, is no departure from customary practice of the rulers of Pakistan. A news-item published on May 23 in the *Star*, a weekly news magazine published from Lahore is significant. The newspaper reports:

"*Star*-man reliably understands that the trouble in Afghanistan has been fomented by Britain and India as a counterblast to American influence in this region. The anti-Pakistani propaganda is being conducted under the joint auspices of these two countries who have in recent months toed the same line and showed unanimity on a number of international problems. This war of nerves, it is understood, is part of a cold-war to weaken U.S.-Pakistan front recently forged for certain common purposes. The suggestion that Soviet Russia is backing Afghanistan is ruled out by the experts as, according to them, it is unimaginable that Kabul rulers who dread even a semblance of political democracy and social justice should flirt with a rabid Communist country."

The Id message of Miss Fatima Jinnah may also be construed to be in harmony with the above. Only she goes further and even accuses her own government.

Sino-Indonesian Treaty

One of the most notable by-products of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung was the conclusion of a treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia on the dual nationality of the Chinese in Indonesia (already briefly reported last month). In this treaty, signed at Bandung on April 22 by Mr. Chou En-lai and Dr. Sunario, "the basis has been laid for a better understanding between Indonesia and the Chinese People's Republic and several other South-East Asian countries with a large Chinese population," writes *Antara*, the Indonesian news agency. *Antara* adds: "The coincidence of the signing of this treaty and the Bandung Conference has been generally seen as a demonstration of China's desire to establish and maintain good relations between that country and its neighbours."

The Agreement contained a preamble and fourteen articles a summary of which is given below:

By the treaty the two countries agreed that a person possessing at the same time the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia as well as the citizenship of the People's Republic of China should choose between the two citizenships on the basis of his or her free will in two years' time after the coming into force of the agreement.

"Persons considered of age under this agreement are those who are full eighteen years of age, or those who are not yet full eighteen but already married."

Anybody with dual citizenship wishing to retain his or her citizenship of one of the two contracting countries should under the agreement notify his or her desire to abandon the citizenship of the other country to the Government of the country whose citizenship he or she wished to retain.

"Provisions for choosing the citizenship laid down under this Article (3) basically also apply to persons with dual citizenship as mentioned under Article 1 residing outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China."

A person who once indicated his or her choice of the citizenship of one of the two countries would automatically lose his or her citizenship of the other country.

Anybody with dual citizenship who did not express the choice of citizenship within two years would be "considered to have chosen the citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia when his or her father's side is of Indonesian descent and shall be considered to have chosen the citizenship of China when his or her father's side is of Chinese descent." When the relation of such a person with the father was uncertain the citizenship of the person would be determined by the descent of his or her mother from the mother's father's side, *e.g.*, if the mother of such a person was of Indonesian descent from her father's side, the person would be deemed to be of Indonesian citizenship and vice versa if the mother from her father's side was of Chinese descent.

Persons not yet of age at the time the agreement came into force should choose their citizenship within one year after coming to age. If within that time such persons failed to express their choice they would be considered "voluntarily to have chosen the citizenship hitherto adopted while still under age."

If a person after adopting the citizenship, say, of China, left that country and settled permanently outside its borders and regained the citizenship of Indonesia then that person would automatically lose

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his or her Chinese citizenship. Similarly the other way round.

The citizenship of the children born within the two countries would be determined according to the citizenship of their parents or of the father. A child citizen of one country, legally adopted by a citizen of the other country while still under fifteen years of age would be deemed to have lost his original citizenship and have become the citizen of the country of his foster parent.

Article 10 says: "When a citizen of the Republic of Indonesia marries a citizen of the People's Republic of China each respectively shall retain his or her citizenship before the marriage unless one of them by his or her own will applies and obtains citizenship of the other. When he or she obtains the citizenship of the other, automatically he or she loses his or her original citizenship."

Each of the parties pledged to urge its citizens residing in the territory of the other party "to abide by the laws and customs of the State in which they reside and not to participate in political activities of the country in which they reside."

The treaty would come into force from the date of the exchange of ratification to be held in Peking and would run for twenty years "and shall continue to be in force unless one of the contracting parties desires to annul it" and notified such desire in writing one year before its proposed termination.

Both the Chinese and Indonesian texts would be equally valid.

Diplomatic observers have already pointed the great significance of the treaty as a basis for the solution of the "Chinese problem" of a number of South-East Asian countries.

Mr. Aziz of the Ceylon Democratic Congress recently urged the adoption of the underlying principles of the Sino-Indonesian Treaty for the solution of the problem of the people of Indian descent in Ceylon.

Mr. Ho Hsiang-ning, Chairman of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Government of China, says in a statement published in Peking *People's Daily* that the Sino-Indonesian treaty reflected China's desire to solve the problems of Chinese overseas and her consistent policy not to interfere in the internal affair of the countries where the Chinese were residing.

He said: "In accordance with Premier Chou En-lai's instructions we are now considering solution of the dual nationality question with other countries through diplomatic channels on the basis of friendly negotiations, first and foremost, with those South-East Asian countries that have diplomatic relations with China."

He, however, warned those Governments who were persecuting Chinese residents and were attempting to deprive the Chinese of their right to educate in their own language and to pursue their economic activities without being persecuted, and said China would not give up her responsibility to protect the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese residents abroad leaving them to be persecuted. "Resorting to force like this to solve the question of dual nationality cannot lead to any solution," Mr. Hsiang-ning adds.

Austria Regains Independence

Austria regained her independence as a democratic sovereign state after seventeen years, when Austrian State Treaty was signed in Vienna on May 15 by the representatives of USSR, USA, UK, France and Austria. As agreement of the Powers on the proposed treaty was announced by the Vienna Radio on the 12th May the Viennese shouted and danced on the streets of the capital city, reports *Reuter*.

The treaty followed closely the draft of the Austrian Treaty agreed to by the USSR, UK, USA and France, in 1949, when agreement had been reached on all but five of the 59 articles. Since then however no further progress was made though in the meantime while the Western Powers and the USSR protested their eagerness to reach agreement.

An Austrian delegation headed by the Federal Chancellor Julius Raab and Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Adolf Sharf visited Moscow during the first fortnight of April, 1955 at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Discussions were held between the representatives of the two governments from April 12 to 15, 1955 at the conclusion of which a joint communique was issued indicating their agreement on the terms of a State treaty re-establishing an independent Austria.

The Austrian Delegation gave an assurance of Austrian neutrality and non-alignment to any military bloc as also of her intention not to allow the establishment of military bases on Austrian territory.

The Soviet Union also agreed to transfer for the withdrawal from Austria of the occupation forces of the Four Powers after the entry into force of the Austrian State Treaty, and not later than December 31, 1955. They also agreed to accept deliveries entirely in Austrian goods the equivalent of 150 million dollars which the USSR was entitled to receive under Article 35 of the draft State Treaty of 1949.

The Soviet Union also agreed to transfer, to Austria, immediately upon the coming into force of the State Treaty, the property of the Danube Shipping Company for compensation. It also signified its readiness to cede to Austria its rights, held under Article 35 of the State Treaty, to the oil fields and refineries in exchange for deliveries of crude oil in quantities to be agreed upon.

The Soviet Government also acceded to

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request of the Austrian Government for the release of Austrian war prisoners detained in the USSR.

On April 19, the Soviet Foreign Minister in identical notes invited the Foreign Ministers of the USA, UK and France to a conference in Vienna for the examination of the question of the conclusion of a State Treaty on Austria. The Western Governments accepted the invitation and meetings were held between the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four with the Austrian representatives culminating in the signature of the State Treaty on May 15.

The restoration of Austrian sovereignty is undoubtedly an event of great international significance, and will help lessen the atmosphere of tension pervading the international scene. It shows that given goodwill on all sides agreement on the solution of international problems is not after all an impossible thing. As an instance of agreement between the USSR and the Western nations it will be highly welcomed by the peace-loving peoples of the world.

Commenting on the Austrian Treaty *Pravda* writes on May 16: "The conclusion of the State Treaty is an important event both in the history of the Austrian people and in the development of the relations between the States of Europe. Peace and security in the European continent will be re-inforced by the agreement reached on the Austrian problem, which will help to ease international tension."

The newspaper notes with satisfaction the declaration of the Big Four of their readiness to respect Austrian neutrality and expresses the hope that other States would adopt the same course. Austria would make a declaration which would impose upon her an international commitment to adhere to a permanent status of neutrality on the model of Switzerland.

The Treaty also guaranteed Austria's economic independence, adds the newspaper. The former German assets had been made the property of the Austrian State. The Treaty contained a provision binding Austria not to transfer to foreign subjects the rights to the former German assets, oil fields and to the oil refineries turned over to Austria by the Soviet Union. Another provision guaranteed against the transfer to German capital of the former German enterprises in the Western zones of Austria. "This settlement of the problem of the former German assets is all the more important since it has been fully agreed upon by the Four Powers and by Austria," writes *Pravda*.

Another very important provision of the State Treaty bound Austria to refrain from discrimination in her trade with other countries.

The *News Chronicle* (London) writes under the heading "They Waltz in Vienna" on May 14 that with Austrian independence regained a new page of history opens for that country. "All the world knows the treaty has been made possible by a change of Soviet policy," but had it not been for the refusal of the Russians to agree to what they had now accepted the treaty could have been signed ten years ago, comments the newspaper.

"The Russians were careful, first, to ensure that although Austria's outlook is Western, she should be made a neutral State, unable to join the Western European union. Next, the Russians created an Eastern NATO, which enables them to withdraw their troops not many miles to legally-occupied bases in satellite countries. The West simultaneously withdraws over the Alps, the West is placed much further away.

"So, having taken no chances, Russia frees Austria; and there is waltzing again in Vienna," the newspaper concludes.

The *Manchester Guardian* writes on May 14 that the Western Powers and the USSR had taken only four weeks to agree on what had kept them at odds for nine years.

The newspaper notes that the four-Power guarantee of Austrian neutrality would not be written into the treaty but would be so worded as to protect rather than to fetter Austria. She would be flanked by members of the Atlantic alliance to the north and south, and she would have a long, uncomfortable frontier with Communist States to the east. "But unless the general European climate should worsen, she can have a free and not unpleasant life. She has learnt in the hard school to fear the dictatorial embrace, wherever it comes from," adds the *Manchester Guardian*.

President Rajendra Prasad in a message congratulated the people of Austria on the achievement of their freedom.

U.S. Aid Policy in Asia and Elsewhere

President Eisenhower in a message to the Congress on April 20 requested authority and funds amounting to 3,530 million dollars to carry out the Mutual Security programme during the fiscal year 1956 beginning from July this year.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, in his testimony before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on May 5 urging congressional authorisation of the amount recommended by President Eisenhower, defined the policy the U.S. Government proposed to follow in regard to granting of economic and military aid to other countries.

All U.S. aid would henceforth be distributed through the Department of State—all the affairs of the Foreign Operations Administration, so long headed by Mr. Harold E. Stassen, being transferred to that Department except for certain military functions which would be administered by the Defence Department in close co-ordination with the Department of State.

Of the total fund of 3530 million dollars requested

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under the M.S. Program, approximately one-half or $1717.2 million was intended to be used directly to maintain and build up the military forces of Governments friendly to the USA. In addition to that a further sum of $1000.3 million, about a quarter of the total, was designed for what was called "defence support."

"By direct military aid and 'defence support'," Mr. Dulles said, "there is made available for the defence of the free world far larger military forces than would be available if the same amount of money was spent on our own military."

Direct military aid and "defence support" thus accounted for approximately 75 per cent of the total fund. The remaining 25 per cent, or $812,500,000 was designed "for programs unrelated to military purposes." The principal items were: $337,000,000 for economic aid to Asia, of which $200 million was for "special fund for regional development." There were funds for technical co-operation in the amount of $172 million. And $100 million was designed as a contingent fund for the President. Distribution of the non-military aid would be as follows: Europe (chiefly West Berlin) $21m., Middle East $179m., Asia $337.5m., and others including contingency $222.5m.

Mr. Dulles said that there was a shift of emphasis from Europe to Asia in the proposed program. "In addition to continuing and in some case increasing present programmes in the free countries of Asia, particularly, the technical assistance programmes, the President has requested a special fund for discretionary use in Eastern and Southern Asia," he added. The United States had joined the sessions of the consultative committee of the Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia but Mr. Dulles made it clear that "the United States would retain full control over the use of the fund just as we do in the case of the country programmes."

In a question and answer period following his above testimony, Mr. Dulles told the committee that the U.S. Government had abandoned an earlier policy of earmarking funds in advance on a country-by-country basis. He reminded the committee of the necessity at times to meet acute unforeseen needs.

Mr. Harold E. Stassen, Director of Foreign Operations Administration, in his testimony before the committee on May 6, pointed to the "basic shift of emphasis away from the highly developed areas of the world towards other critical areas," in the programme.

He said: "Asia is the focal point of present Communist pressure and the area whose future direction, either towards domination by Communism, or freedom and independence, will be crucial in the long-range struggle of freedom against oppression. In addition to direct military assistance in the form of weapons and training, funds are requested in the Mutual Society Program in the amount of $1,317,000,000 to meet the defence support and direct forces support needs of countries in the area which are under the constant threat of overt Communist aggression as well as internal subversion. A major part of these funds is proposed for programmes in Korea, Formosa, Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam, all of which are confronted with situations of extreme crises. Funds are also included within this amount for similar types of support to Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, who have firmly and courageously taken their stand on the side of freedom against aggression and are members in the Manila Pact Organisation."

Mr. Stassen said: "An important new element in the proposed Mutual Security Programme for the coming year is the President's Fund for Asian Economic Developments, a new concept of assistance towards helping to meet the critical needs of all free Asia for orderly, long-range economic growth.

$200 million was earmarked for the President's Asian Economic Development Fund. Funds were also provided for the continuation of development assistance to other Asian countries, principally India.

India was to get aid totalling $85m.—$70m. being earmarked for economic development and $15m. for technical assistance.

Recently a ten-nation conference of Asian members of the Colombo Plan consultative committee was held at Simla at the invitation of the Government of India "to consider certain aspects of the problem of utilization of external aid, notably U.S. aid," the participating countries being Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Viet Nam and India. Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo and Sarawak had a common representative. Ceylon refused the invitation to attend the conference. Burma did not attend.

The conference after discussion of a Japanese proposal rejected the idea of an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid and recommended that all additional foreign aid, including U.S. aid, should continue bilaterally as at present and strengthened as far as possible.

The suggestion for the creation of a regional organization for the utilisation of U.S. aid, it will be remembered, was originally put forward by Mr. Harold Stassen during his Asian tour a few months ago.

The conference also pointed to some, mainly procedural, difficulties which had arisen in the utilization of foreign aid. "The aid has to be used within a specified period, but there are problems of the aid not being sanctioned in time or difficulties created by shifting conditions and regulations, on account of which the aids lapse."

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Regarding the question of setting up a special regional fund to meet balance of payments difficulties and promote intra-regional trade on the model of the European Payments Union, the conference, while recognising that counteracting the instability of export prices of the products of the region was one of the basic problems, "considered that action can usefully be taken to solve it only when there are clear indications that substantial sums required for the purpose of setting up such a fund are forthcoming."

The rejection by the Asian nations of the suggestion for an intermediate regional organization for the utilization of foreign aid resulted in a hardening of the opposition in U.S. Congress to President Eisenhower's $200 million Asian Economic Development Fund, *Reuter* reports. According to Senator John Sparkman, a democratic member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee it was possible "that Congress will either eliminate this fund or cut it substantially."

East European Treaty Organisation

An East European Treaty Organisation formally came into being on May 14 with the conclusion of a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance by eight European nations supported by the People's Republic of China.

In November-December, 1954, a conference of the eight European nations with an observer from China was held in Moscow to consider their attitude to the Paris Peace Treaties. The Moscow conference opposed the ratification of the Paris Treaties, and declared that in the event of their ratification the participating countries would adopt joint measures of defence. It was further declared that the conference nations would meet again to consider concrete measures for a joint defence command.

Accordingly, after the ratification of the Paris Treaties, the eight countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and USSR—which took part in the Moscow Conference, met in Warsaw, capital of Poland, for four days from May 11 to 14, and after discussions concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance and decided to set up a joint command of the armed forces of the State signatories of the treaty. Each country's delegation was headed by its Prime Minister. Mr. Peng Te-Hwai, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Defence of the People's Republic of China, attended the conference as an observer from China.

The unified command of the armed forces of the eight countries would have its headquarters in Moscow and would be headed by Marshal of the Soviet Union, I. S. Konev, whose name became famous during the Second World War. The Defence Ministers or other military leaders of the signatory countries were appointed Deputy Commanders-in-Chief and given command of the armed forces assigned to the unified armed forces by each respective signatory country. The question of participation of the German Democratic Republic in measures pertaining to the armed forces of the unified command would be considered later on.

The Treaty made in four languages contains eleven articles and a preamble.

The preamble while reaffirming the desire of the contracting parties "to establish a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European States" states their conviction of the necessity of taking measures "to safeguard their security and maintain peace in Europe" in view of the ratification of the Paris agreements envisaging the formation of Western European Union and remilitarization of Western Germany.

By Article 1 the parties undertook "to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force" and to solve their problems by peaceful means.

The countries declared their readiness sincerely to co-operate in all international actions aimed at safeguarding international peace and security and at the general reduction of armaments and production of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

They would discuss among themselves matters of common interest and would hold mutual consultations for joint defence and the maintenance of peace whenever there was a threat of armed attack on one or more of the signatories.

In such cases of armed threat the signatories would render all help including military help individually and jointly to the State or States thus threatened and would immediately hold mutual consultations regarding the joint measures necessary to be taken to restore peace. The measures thus taken would be communicated to the UN Security Council and would be terminated immediately upon the adoption of any measures by the Security Council for the restoration and maintenance of international peace and security.

Under Article 5, the parties "agreed to set up a unified command of their armed forces," and would also "take other co-ordinated measures necessary to strengthen their defence capacity" for protection against aggression.

Article 6 provides for the setting up of a "political consultative committee, in which each State signatory to the treaty will be represented by a member of the government or another specially appointed representative to effect the consultations" between the signatory States under the treaty and to discuss problems of implementing the treaty.

The parties undertook not to join any coalition, alliance or treaty which ran counter to this treaty and declared that none of their international commit-

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They would promote mutual co-operation for the consolidation of economic and cultural relations among them.

The treaty was open for accession to other States "irrespective of their social and State systems which will express readiness through participation in the present treaty to promote the pooling of efforts of the peace-loving States in order to safeguard peace and security of the nations," says Article 9.

The Treaty would come into force when all the signatory States had deposited their instruments of ratification with the Government of the Polish People's Republic.

The Treaty would remain in force for twenty years at the first instance and, unless notice of denunciation was given by any party to the Polish Government one year prior to the expiry of that term, for another ten years.

Article 11 adds: "In case a system of collective security is established in Europe and a general European treaty of collective security is concluded to this end, for which the contracting parties shall steadfastly strive, the present treaty shall lose its validity on the day when the general European treaty enters into force."

All four texts—Russian, German, Polish and Czech—would be equally valid.

At the time of the signing of the Treaty, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, Herr Otto Grotewohl said that the conclusion of the treaty would help the German people in their struggle for the peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany which he declared to be the main task of his Government. "In signing this Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance," Herr Grotewohl said, "the Government of the German Democratic Republic proceeds from the premise that a unified Germany would be free of the objections assumed by one or the other part of Germany under the military-political treaties and agreements concluded before its reunification."

Tass says, "The conference received with full understanding and took note of the aforesaid declaration of the Government of the German Democratic Republic."

The observer from China, General Peng Te-Hwei endorsed on behalf of China the decisions adopted by the conference and said: "I declare on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China that the Government and the six hundred million people of China fully solidarize themselves with and support the newly signed Treaty . . . We are convinced that the success of the present conference will promote the further unity of the peace-loving countries and peoples and will make a substantial contribution to strengthening peace and security both in Europe and throughout the world."

The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* editorially writes on May 15 that it was difficult "to overestimate positive influence which the decisions of the War Conference exert and will be exerting on the international situation." According to the newspaper, treaty was a defensive one. The setting up of political consultative committee envisaged in treaty would be an important step towards strengthening friendship and mutual understanding. It also provided for increased economic and cultural operation among the parties.

"In contrast to the closed military alignment formed by the imperialist powers, the eight-pow treaty is open to other States regardless of their soc and political systems. This feature of the treaty also testifies to its defensive nature as well as to defensive nature of the organisation which is crea on its basis," remarks the *Pravda*.

The London *Times*, in an editorial article on eve of the Moscow Conference writes that the mai ing was political rather than military.

Discussing the implications of a unified comm of the armed forces, the newspaper writes that immediate purpose of unification appeared "to g legal standing to the presence of Russian troops the satellite countries to allow the East Germ police to emerge openly as an army, thereby produc a reply to West German rearmament, and to prov the Russians with a diplomatic bargaining counter

"Now that the West has ratified the Paris agr ments, Russia can say, as Marshal Zhukov already said, that extra steps to guarantee the secur of Russia and her allies have to be taken. The War meeting is, indeed, political rather than military (10th May).

The *Manchester Guardian* of the same d writes: "The conference at Warsaw, like that in Pa stands outwardly for the division of Germany and Europe. Marshal Bulganin will be there to dot 2's of the 'division.'

"Yet a new Eastern alliance may also enable Molotov to make concessions of the great powers got down to real bargaining over the mutual w drawal of power from Central Europe. The propo might run: 'If you will dissolve West Germa military alliance with you, we will dissolve E Germany's military alliance with us,' and so on.

"So far as formality went, both sides would be able to give up equivalent positions of streng Of course, formality does not mean much. A sett ment, if it comes, must make for a real withdra of power, not the tearing up of pieces of paper. formality sometimes helps, especially when prestige at stake."

Speaking about the significance of the War Conference one might refer the fact that it was first occasion since the Potsdam Conference of t that a Soviet Prime Minister travelled out of country to attend an international conference.

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THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D.Litt. (Paris)

The most important social movement in modern India is that of education. Education attained a very high degree of development in the Vedic, Buddhistic, and early Hindu periods. But with the decline of Hindu civilization and especially during the periods of foreign invasions, conquests, pillage, and destruction, there reigned chaos and confusion in the country. Most of the educational centers and universities declined and deteriorated and were even destroyed by the invaders. With the rise of Moghul rule, there was a general revival of culture, especially in arts and crafts, architecture, painting, dancing and music. But between the decline of Moghul rule and the rise of British rule there was another period of chaos and confusion which was followed by the decline of both Hindu and Moslem educational systems. "At the beginning of the 19th century, after a long period of foreign invasions and internecine wars, Indian learning was at low ebb, . . . and there were hardly any printed books either in the classical languages or in the vernaculars."[1]

English Education

The elevation of the educational system from this low level became an outstanding problem of India in the very beginning of British rule. Attempts were made by several organised bodies, especially the Orientalists, the Missionaries, and the Anglicists, to reconstruct India's educational system on a sound and solid basis:

The Orientalists: In spite of great external changes, there had still existed in India a network of indigenous educational institutions coming down from time immemorial, such as the *Tols* or higher Sanskrit institutes for education of the Brahmin students in philosophy, science, and literature and also the Pathsalas or elementary schools for the education of the lower castes. Similar educational institutions also developed in India under Moslem rule, especially during the Moghul period, such as the *Madrasahs* for higher education of the Moslems, including Arabic and Persian languages and the Koran, and the *Maktabs* or the lower schools for the education of the masses. Some of the higher educational institutes in the north are still to be found in Nabadwip, Mithila, and Banaras for the Hindus and in Murshidabad, Patna, Agra and Delhi for the Moslems. After the victory at Plassey in 1757 and the assumption of the Dewany of Bengal in 1765, the East India Company practically acquired the economic control of Bengal and did everything possible to win the goodwill of the people, both Hindus and Moslems. Warren Hastings founded a Madrasah at Calcutta for the Moslems in 1781 and Jonathan Duncan, the British Resident, founded a Sanskrit College at Banaras in 1792 in order to secure trained Moslem and Hindu scholars to serve as assistants to British Judges. Moreover, the East India Company's Act of 1813 provided Rs. 100,000 a year for education, which the Governor-General could spend for the revival of the old learning in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian.

The Missionaries: Several groups of Christian missionaries have made great contributions to the development of education in modern India. The first group to visit India was the Roman Catholic Missionaries under the leadership of Francisco Xavier (St. Xavier, 1506-52), collaborator of Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), founder of the Jesuit Order (Society of Jesus), who followed the Portuguese military forces, traders and settlers, and founded schools for Portuguese and Eurasian children. With the decline of Portuguese military power and influence, their settlement and educational influence also declined. The second important group of missionaries were the Danish Settlers at Tranquebar near Madras, who learned Tamil and other Dravidian languages, translated the Bible in Tamil, and opened schools for the children of their converts. They were also the first to introduce teaching in English. Early in the 19th century, their schools came under the control of the Church Missionary Society. The third and the most important group of missionaries were the Baptists at Serampur, especially those under Carey and his colleagues, who introduced popular education and vernacular language, though English was also taught. The missionaries were responsible for introducing a new system of teaching with broader curriculum including grammar, history, geography and other subjects; printed text-books for the various classes; well-defined hours and days of instruction, including Sundays and holidays; and also education in religious tenets.

The Anglicists: The most earnest group of advocates for English education was, of course, the Anglicists including such historical personages as David Hare, the humanist and founder of Calcutta High School, which still stands in the centre of Calcutta University buildings; Rammohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Somaj and father of modern India; and Radhakanta Dev, a progressive Hindu reformer. They also took the lead in founding the Hindu College in 1817, which was followed by the foundation of the Serampur College in 1818, and the Bishop College in 1820. That the Orientalists were still very influential was indicated by the fact that a Sanskrit College was founded in Poona in 1821 and another in Calcutta in 1824. For this Orientalistic policy, Rammohun Roy made a bitter attack, in a letter, on Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, for his retrograde step of founding a Sanskrit

1. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, September, 1929; Cmd. 3407, p. 9.

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College, which was calculated to keep India in darkness. The country as a whole followed, however, the policy of the Anglicists, who established Elphinstone College at Bombay in 1827, Wilson School (now College) also at Bombay, in 1834, and Madras Christian College at Madras in 1837. In the meantime, professional schools began to rise and Lord Bentinck himself established the Calcutta Medical College in 1835 and similar institutions were also established in other provinces later on. English education was thus well-established through private efforts in different parts of India early in the nineteenth century.

The controversy regarding the medium of instruction between the Orientalists and the Anglicists required the decision by T. B. Macaulay, the legal member of the Executive Council, who sided with the latter and submitted the famous Minutes to Lord William Bentinck in 1835 and also to Lord Auckland in 1839, endorsing his policy, *i.e.*, "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, and in intellect." Lord Bentinck accepted the Minutes of Macaulay and made the following proclamation in 1835:

> "His Lordship directs that all the funds which these reforms leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language."[2]

The most important step in the establishment of English, especially as the medium of instruction in India, was the parliamentary enquiry undertaken as a preliminary condition to the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853. The evidence submitted to the committees of the Houses of the Lords and Commons formed the basis of Sir Charles Wood's Educational Despatch of 1854, which imposed upon the Government of India the duty of laying down a solid foundation of education in India from the primary school to the university. The despatch prescribed the following measures:

(1) The constitution in each presidency and lieutenant-governorship of a separate department of education with an adequate system of inspection;
(2) The institution of a university in each Presidency town;
(3) The establishment of institution for training teachers for all classes of schools;
(4) The maintenance of the existing government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number whenever necessary;
(5) Increased attention to vernacular schools, both for secondary and primary education and
(6) The introduction of a system of grants-in-aids.

The despatch was immediately followed by the establishment of Departments of Public Instruction, the founding of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, and the rapid growth in number of schools and colleges, governmental and private. The Secretary of State for India sent a despatch in April 1859, which made possible the establishment of Canning College, Lucknow (1864); St. Xaviers College, Bombay (1869); Oriental College, Lahore (1870); Muir College, Allahabad (1872); Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta (1873); and Anglo-Mohammedan College, Aligarh (1879). The Punjab University was established in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887.

The Education Despatch of 1854 by the British Government to the Government of India formed the corner-stone of India's intellectual development in modern times. English language and literature opened for the first time the vast cultural heritage of the West in general and of England in particular. When India's younger generations began to receive education and training in the newly established colleges and universities for various professions and services, some talented and enterprising young men joined Oxford and Cambridge and Inns and Courts and achieved learning and recognition. Coming in close contact with a young and virile nation in its various administrative and cultural aspects, India found her own self, and began to evaluate her glorious past and to realize the potentialities of still more glorious future. To awaken India into her own self or to help her to do so, was the greatest contribution of England to India. India has thus become the mistress of her own destiny and begun to reconstruct herself in the light of modern science, philosophy, art and technology on the basis of her own intellectual, aesthetic, ethical and spiritual values. The most important part played in this national awakening is the higher education as imparted by the universities. Although rather few in number and limited in scope at the beginning, these universities widened their cultural interests and gradually introduced almost all the branches of learning in art, literature, philosophy and science, and have now become great intellectual and education centers. Advanced learning has liberated the mind of the people from the thraldom of antiquated traditions and helped in the rise of new social values, ideals, aspirations, and aims.

Rise of the Vernaculars

The rise of the vernaculars or languages of the people, on whom depends the stability and develop-

2. *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, pp. 107-17 and p. 130.

3. *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, 1929, Cmd. 3407, pp. 12-23.

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ment of modern democracy, is still another important factor of India's cultural development. Vernaculars in India are very many, but only a few of them have reached the literary stage and may be classified under the following groups:

(1) The Indo-Aryan, consisting of Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Bihari, Marathi, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Kashmiri, and Oriya;
(2) The Dravidian, consisting of Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayalam; and
(3) The miscellaneous, consisting of Assamese.

A most important factor in the development of vernacular languages and literatures in India is the religious movement. In ancient times, Buddhism and Jainism, both of which are proselytising religions, utilized the dialects of the people and developed them as languages and literatures. In the Middle Ages, when these religions lost their vitality and spirituality, Vaishnavism took their places and supplied the needs of the people for personal God, such as Rama and Krishna, reincarnations of Vishnu, to whom they could offer their love and devotion. Vaishnavism flourished through the teaching of Ramanuja in the eleventh century, of Ramananda in the fifteenth century, and of Chaitanya in the sixteenth century. All of them utilized the languages of the people for the propagating of their creeds. During the period of from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Moslem rule became predominant and oppressive, Hindu civilization declined, and Sanskrit was discouraged and suppressed. The vernaculars found ample opportunity for development. Some Moslem rulers even encouraged the growth of popular languages for the benefit both of Hindus and Moslems. Nasir Shah, King of Gauda for instance, patronised the translation of the Mahabharata into Bengali.

In modern times, there have appeared several new factors in favor of the vernaculars: First, the rise of Christianity, which undertook pioneer work for the development of the vernaculars in most of the provinces. As in the case of the Buddhist and Jain missionaries, the Christian missionaries were interested in reaching the masses, for whom they not only translated the Bible and the hymns into popular languages, but also developed these languages by establishing public schools, writing their grammars, compiling their dictionaries, and founding printing presses. Second, the foundation of the Fort William College in Calcutta in 1800 for teaching British civil servants the history and languages of India, which gave a new impetus to the learning of the languages of the people. Third, the founding of the Hindu College in Calcutta in 1816 which became a centre of culture. Young Bengalis began to learn the principles of Western civilization, including its social values and social institutions under such distinguished persons as William Carey, David Hare, and Rammohun Roy, mentioned, as well as professors H. L. V. Derozio and D. L. Richardson. They all realized the need of social and religious reforms in India and utilized vernaculars to bring their ideas to the people.

Among the more immediate factors of the development of the vernaculars must be mentioned: First, the conferment of the freedom of the press in 1835. The vernacular press which, in spite of the restrictions put on it afterwards by the British Government, thrived rapidly and, with its journals, periodicals, and annuals, not only helped in the dissemination of knowledge and information, but also in the development of their languages and literatures. Second, the Renaissance and other social movements, such as those relating to religion, reform, education politics and industry, have also served as driving forces for the development of the vernaculars, both as languages and as literatures. Finally, the substitution of the vernaculars for Persian in lower courts in 1837 and the introduction of vernaculars as the medium of instruction not only in the primary and secondary schools, but also in high schools, colleges, and even in universities. That the mother-tongue should be the medium of instruction stands to reason, inasmuch as it facilitates the understanding of the deeper meaning of a subject and assimilates it into the personality of an individual much quicker than a foreign language. Moreover, the vernacular adds to the dignity and prestige of a group of people, who feel proud that they can derive their knowledge through their own mother-tongue.

The last, but not the least, important factor in the development of modern vernaculars is their contact with European, and especially English, languages and literatures. Their contact has been established in several ways: First, English as the official language and medium of instruction and the predominance of English in the public press in British India. Second, most of the vernacular writers are well-versed in English language and literature, the style and idioms of which they have introduced in their mother-tongues. Finally, the translation and adaptation of European and especially English classics and other works in literature, science, philosophy, and art into vernaculars. As a result of this close contact, all forms of the English language, such as essays, poems, dramas, novels, short stories, criticisms and even punctuations have materially influenced practically all the vernaculars of India. Moreover, new social values, such as nationalism, social justice, democracy, and social progress, have also been permeated through these vernaculars. In short, in contact with the languages of modern and progressive nations of the West most of Indian vernaculars have attained a high degree of excellence both in style and literature.

A most important step in the development of the vernaculars is recognition by the new Constitution of fourteen languages, including two classics,

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Sanskrit and Tamil, as national and State languages. Sanskrit is extremely rich in vocabulary and grammar as well as in literature, and serves as the source to all Indo-Aryan languages. Sanskrit may thus help in the co-ordination and integration of most of the Indo-Aryan languages into one or two great national languages, such as Hindi and Bengali. In spite of the 24.8 million population of West Bengal, it must also be pointed out that Bengali remained the mother-tongue of 42 million people of East Pakistan. Tamil may help similarly in the co-ordination and integration of all Dravidian languages into a second great national language. They may thus simplify the problem of the multiplicity of languages.

The rise and growth of important vernaculars in India may be described as follows:[4]

Hindi: India's premier vernacular is Hindi, both because it is spoken by the largest group of the people, and because it has been selected as the national language. The origin of Hindi has been traced back to the Apabhramsa, a common language of the people in the second century B.C. It derived both its grammar and vocabulary from Sanskrit. But it took its literary character from the lays of the bards maintained by the Rajput chiefs at their courts to chant the poems about the glorious deeds of their patrons as well as of their clans. The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardi, known for his famous poems on Prithvi Raj Raso. He was followed by Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra. But its greatest contributor was Tulsi Das, who translated the Ramayana into Hindi in the seventeenth century, bringing new outlook into Hindi literature. Another important writer of Hindi was Kabir, a weaver of Banaras who attempted at the unification of Hinduism and Mahomedanism. Among other writers mention must be made of Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, and B. H. Chandra, who wrote as many as 175 books and treatises in Hindi. As the national language, Hindi has the best chance to develop both as a language and literature, representing about one-seventh of the world's population.

Bengali: Bengali is spoken by the second largest group of Indian people (before Partition) and is India's most highly developed language and literature. The origin of the Bengali language has been traced back to Magadhi Prakrit in the eleventh century. The earliest writers of Bengali were the Buddhist priests, but the founder of Bengali poetry was Chandi Das in the fourteenth century. Bengali literature began with the translation and adaptation of Sanskrit literature. The modern period in Bengali language and literature began in 1800, when Fort William College was founded for training Indian Civil Servants in Indian history and languages. Of the various factors leading to the development of Bengali, both as a language and literature are, first, the Renaissance and other social movements since the beginning of the nineteenth century; second, the rise of the Bengali Press, especially such periodicals as the *Tattabodhini* of Akshoy Kumar Dutt and *Bangadarshan* of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee; and Sanskrit grammar and vocabulary with which it is closely related.

Among the founders of Bengali, mention must be made of Rammohun Roy, the founder of Bengali prose, who translated the Upanishads into Bengali and used Bengali for the propagation of the Brahmo Samaj and other social reforms. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the founder of classical Bengali prose, an author of many Bengali text-books for higher education, who also used Bengali for the propagation of widow remarriage reform; Madhusudan Dutt, who introduced blank verse into Bengali poetry and modern drama; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, who introduced a new concept of novels into Bengali, Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest literary geniuses of modern times, who wrote his short stories and novels and his immortal lyrics, the *Gitanjali*, and won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; and last also Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, another great Bengali novelist.

Tamil: Tamil is a classic rather than a vernacular rendering the same service to the Dravidian culture as Sanskrit to the Aryan culture. It developed as a language long before the Christian era and there were three *Sangams* or academies of scholars and critics devoted to literature at Madura, the capital of the Pandya Kings, in the second century B.C. Like Sanskrit, Tamil grammar is highly synthetic, but its literature is more virile and responsive to foreign influences. Tamil grammar, Tol-Kap-Piyam, appears in the first century A.D. But Tamil literature began with Kural, didactic poems and sacred books in the South like the Vedas in the North, which appeared in the fifth century A.D. Tamil also made considerable progress in religious literature for recital in the temples in the Middle Ages. The European contact with Tamil began in the seventeenth century, when the Christian missionaries learned Tamil and brought the gospel directly to the people. The Reverend Robert de Nabile (1606-56) published several prose works in Tamil; Father Gonsalvez of the Spanish mission printed the first book in Tamil in 1677; and Father Beschi (1680-1742) contributed several works of high rank both in verse and prose. They were followed by Indian authors, some of whom began to translate famous works of literature, science and philosophy into Tamil and others made original contributions. Revitalized in contact with Western languages, especially English, Tamil has made great progress in prose, poetry, drama, fiction and vernacular press.

4. Of all the references consulted on the subject, the most important are: O'Malley, L.S.S., Editor: *Modern India and the West*, New York, 1941; Garratt, G. T.: *Legacy of India*, Oxford, 1937.

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Telugu: Telugu is another important vernacular of the Dravidian peoples. Its origin has been traced to the first century A.D., but its literature began with the translation of the Mahabharata into Telugu in the eleventh century A.D. With the Mahabharata as the foundation, there grew two kinds of literature: (1) The Puranas, the translations of which were highly poetical; (2) the Prabandha, which were highly romantic, *i.e.*, dealing with love and marriage. By the end of the eighteenth century, the life of Christ and doctrines of Christianity were published in Telugu and they made tremendous effect upon the people, bringing new thoughts and ideas into Telugu language. The English education and the public press brought Western culture close to the people. Mr. C. P. Brown, a Civil Servant, made real contribution to the Telugu language and literature (1817-55) and even prepared a dictionary of Telugu language between 1845 and 1853. Modern Telugu language and literature began in 1880, when K. V. Pantulu brought his deep learning to Telugu, founded Telugu prose, wrote the first novel in 1878 and laid the foundation of modern Telugu literature. Dr. C. R. Reddy wrote a critical analysis of the works of a great poet in the Middle Ages and introduced the methods of interpretation into Telugu language. Like other vernaculars, the English language has profound influence upon the structure of Telugu.

Marathi: The origin of Marathi language and literature has been traced to the twelfth century, when they consisted mostly of poems, ballads and chronicles. It attained the literary value through the composition of illustrious songs by Tukaram in the seventeenth century, some of which are sung in many parts of the country even today. The most important factors in the development of Marathi are, first, the work of the Christian missionaries, who established primary schools, translated the Bible into Marathi, compiled Marathi grammar (1805) and helped in the growth of Marathi prose. Second, the translation and adaptation of European especially English classics into Marathi (1810-74). Third, the publication of a series of essays entitled *Nibandh Mala* (1875) by V. S. Chiplunkar, who entreated his countrymen to love their country, history, religion and language. He was followed by a number of other writers, such as B. G. Tilak and N. C. Kelkar in different branches of modern Marathi language and literature.

Urdu: Urdu has its origin in a dialect of Western Hindi spoken near Delhi and Meerut for several centuries. It has been based on Hindi grammar, but the vocabulary has been derived mostly from Persian. Other languages, such as Arabic, Portuguese, French and especially English have also contributed to its vocabulary. It began to develop its prose by the middle of the nineteenth century. Dr. John Gilchrist, Principal of the Fort William College at Calcutta, wrote its grammar and compiled its dictionary. The foundation of standard Urdu was laid by Ghalib of Delhi and its super-structure was constructed by the Delhi and Lucknow schools of Urdu literature. The literary character of Urdu has been established by such men as Muhsinul Mulk, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, Maulvi Altaf Husain and especially by Sir Muhammed Iqbal, a recognized Oriental scholar. It must also be mentioned that Urdu has been adopted by the Osmania University of Hyderabad as a medium of instruction and also by Pakistan as the national language.

Miscellany: Of other vernaculars, mention must be made of the following:

(1) *Gujarati* is derived from Prakrit and is an intermediate language between Saurastri and Sauraseni. There is no dialect of Gujarati, but there is a gradation in pronunciation of the languages spoken by different classes of the people. It attained its literary character through the works of Narasinha Metha and the translation by Rewa Sankar of the Mahabharata.

(2) *Punjabi* or Gurumukhi, is an ancient Hindi dialect, the vocabulary of which has been supplemented by Persian and Arabic words. The best part of Punjabi literature is the Sikh Granth. There are several dialects but modern literature has scarcely begun.

(3) *Malayalam* was originally derived from Tamil in the ninth century, and differs from it now both in idioms and pronunciation. It appeared in 1150 A.D. and the inscriptions of the rulers of Kerala from Travancore derived their literary character from *Ramcharitam*, written in the thirteenth century, and the oldest poem. Another important old publication is a collection of 1000 proverbs in 1868.

(4) *Kanarese* is another language of the Dravidian people. It was represented in the sixth century by the Bijapur inscription written in an alphabet similar to that of the Telugu language and is a highly developed language of an ancient civilization.

(5) *Kashmiri* is an ancient Sanskrit language, but has absorbed many foreign words, especially from Persian and Arabic languages. It is rich in folklores and mythologies. Christian missions have translated the Bible and the Hymns with the old Persian Alphabet, but it still lacks literary maturity.

Revival of Art and Music

From the earliest time, India has devoted herself to the development of architecture, sculpture, painting, dancing, and music. Under the influence of the Indian renaissance, some of the arts, especially painting, dancing, and music have been revived; they have made considerable progress almost all over the country.

Since the beginning of the present century, there has arisen a new school of painting under the leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, a Vice-Principal of the

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Calcutta School of Art and founder of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts. Tagore picked up "the broken threads of Indian Pictorial tradition" and gave "true interpretation of Indian spirituality" (Havell). Other prominent members of this school are Gaganendranath Tagore, Nanda Lal Bose, and Surendranath Ganguly. Among its outstanding productions "The Flight of Lakshan Sen" and "Exiled Jaksha" (the hero of Kalidas's *Meghdutam*) are regarded as masterpieces both in India and outside.

The revival of dancing is still another achievement of the Indian renaissance. Dancing was practised by respectable women in ancient times but in the course of time, it was taken up first by Devadasis or the women of questionable character in Hindu temples and then by professional women of loose morals, and hence lost its respectability. Rabindranath Tagore took the lead in restoring dancing as a respectable art and it has already become popular. Dancing in modern times has taken three different forms:

(1) Classical dancing, for which there are special schools both in North and South India;
(2) Folk dancing, which has been revived by Guru Saday Dutt through what is called the Bratachari movement in Bengal and other provinces;
(3) Ballet dancing, a combination of Indian classical dancing and music under the influence of the Russian Ballet, which Uday Shankar, a former pupil of Madame Pavlova, has introduced in India with great success.

Music has always been a part of Indian life, both spiritual and recreational. But Rabindranath Tagore gave a new turn and a new meaning to Indian popular music. He combined the lofty divine concept of the Upanishad with the deep devotional love of Vaishnavism, first in his lyrics, such as *Gitanjali* and *Gardener*, and then in his songs, both patriotic and divine, including the present national anthem and some of the congregational prayers. Since the beginning of the present century India has passed through such revolutionary changes as the partition of Bengal, the struggle for national liberation, partition of India, achievement of national independence, and establishment of a democratic republic, all of which affected national emotion and gave rise to patriotic and other songs in the various languages all over the country.

Miscellaneous Education

Closely connected with institutional education mentioned above, there have also developed other educational systems, both organized and unorganized, by which dissemination of knowledge has been taking place among the people. Of those systems, the most important are the following:

(1) Scientific and educational organisations, such as those of physics, chemistry, biology, economics, politics, medicine, agriculture, and education, which meet annually different centres of the country and disc various problems on the basis of exp knowledge;
(2) Social, political, industrial, labor, agrarian and similar movements that carry on prop ganda work in regard to their spec interests;
(3) The press, both English and the vernacul since the beginning of the nineteen century;
(4) The libraries, both circulating and oth wise, which have been increasing in numb
(5) Theatres, moving pictures, and the rad that have also been reaching an increasing large number of people all over t country; and
(6) The platform and the pulpit, which ha been propagating various doctrines a ideals to an increasingly large number population.

General Conclusion

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that as prime factor of mental development, education rendered an immense service to the progress of mod India: First, as the medium of instruction, the E lish language has educated India in modern scie philosophy, art and technology and opened to her vast resources of Western civilization in general British civilization in particular and helped India find herself, which is the greatest contribution England to India. Secondly, the establishment various universities and of other higher institutes education has prepared Indian people in the soc political, and economic thinking and reconstruct the best example of which is India's Constitution, monumental edifice to popular democracy. Thir secondary education, both academic and vocatio as supplemented by high schools and similar o institutions, has begun to stabilize the rising mi classes in modern social order as the custodian carrier of cultural heritage from generation to g ration. Finally, free and compulsory education for children up to the age of 14, instead of a few scatte primary schools as at present, is a measure of supre importance for developing the literate electorate intelligent citizens of India's democratic Governm It must also be added that India must also pres the legacy of the English language, which the Br introduced over a hundred years ago for imp purposes and which has now become the most imp tant international language. Like her State-langu and the national language, India needs also her i national language so that she may perform her du and responsibilities in the international organizatio the number of which has been increasing as the c passes on.

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Cf. "Language and literature in India" by Sonya Rudi *The Modern Review*, May 1949, pp. 403-404.

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VIVEKANANDA—HIS INFLUENCE IN THE AWAKENING OF MODERN INDIA*

By G. L. MEHTA,
Ambassador of India to USA

There is, indeed, urgent need today for a better appreciation of the ways of life of different countries, for tolerance between peoples and for mutual recognition of our common aspirations. But in no case is such understanding more essential than between India and the United States as on their co-operation and harmony depend the future of democracy in the East and the peace of the world.

The Ramakrishna Mission which conducts several Vedanta Centers in this country is a vital institution that seeks to combine the religious and cultural tradition of India with the gospel of social service of modern times. This Mission was established in Calcutta in 1897 by Swami Vivekananda to honor the memory of his *guru* or preceptor and master Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa.

In order to evaluate the contribution which Swami Vivekananda has made to the evolution of New India, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the times in which he lived and worked. India was then in a state of ferment. Vivekananda was born only six years after India's first revolutionary movement of independence in 1857. The national upsurge, however, was much wider than the political struggle. The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by activities of social and religious reform. Some reformist movements like the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal laid emphasis on the unity of God and discarded idol worship; it carried on a crusade for removal of social evils and for elevating the status of women. Others like the Arya Samaj in the north sought to go back to the pristine purity of the ancient scriptures and strove to attain the ideal of an Indian nationality. The Indian National Congress which became the spear-head of the national struggle for independence was also established during these days.

It was in these times of turmoil and unrest that Vivekananda came under the influence of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, a poor priest in a temple near Calcutta, and became in due course the standard-bearer of the master's teachings. Shri Ramakrishna had scarcely any formal education and led an intensely spiritual life in splendid isolation. He had deep faith in the inherent truth of all religions and tested his belief by performing religious exercises in accordance with the practice and usage not only of different Hindu sects but also of Christianity and Islam. His broad catholicity, mysticism and spiritual ecstasy attracted considerable attention of the people. But he lived and died a lonely spiritual devotee, unknown except to small groups of disciples and followers.

But Vivekananda was not only a disciple, he was an exponent and interpreter. His learning, eloquence, zest and energy and his wonderful personality gathered round him a band of followers which included the rich and the poor, intellectuals and the illiterate, his own countrymen and foreigners.

Sixty-two years ago, when America was still an unknown land to most people in India and India seemed a distant, perhaps a semi-barbaric country to many in the West, Vivekananda overcoming all the hardships of travel and without adequate financial support came to this country and, indeed, to this city, where on September 11, 1893, he addressed the World's Parliament of Religions. His speech, extempore and brief as it was, created a profound impression on the audience; overnight, he became a celebrity in this country. The keynote of his address was universal tolerance and human brotherhood. Indeed, Vivekananda was the first spiritual and cultural Ambassador of India to America. Sister Christine who heard Vivekananda for the first time in a Unitarian Church in Detroit in 1894, says:

> "The power that emanated from this mysterious being was so great that one and all but shrank from it. It was overwhelming. It threatened to sweep everything before it. This, one sensed even in those first unforgettable moments. . . . He was barely thirty, this preacher from far away India. Young with an ageless youth and yet withal old with the wisdom of ancient times."

And, in parenthesis, may I mention what impression Vivekananda himself had of America. In a private letter from Chicago, dated 2nd November, 1893, Vivekananda wrote:

> "There is a curiosity in this nation such as you meet with nowhere else. They want to know everything, and their women—they are the most advanced in the world. The average American woman is far more cultivated than the average American man. The men slave all their lives for money, and the women snatch every opportunity to improve themselves. And they are a very kind-hearted, frank people. Everybody who has a fad to preach comes here and I am sorry to say that most of these are not sound. The Americans have their faults too and what nation has not? But this is my summing up. Asia laid the germs of civilization, Europe developed men, and America is developing women and the masses. It is a paradise of the woman and the laborer."

* This is the text of a speech delivered by Ambassador Mehta at the First Annual Vivekananda Memorial Lecture in a series designed to promote the fostering of cultural relations between India and the United States of America, at the University of Chicago, on Wednesday, 20th April, 1955. The lectures are provided for by a fund at the University of Chicago, established by Taraknath Das Foundation.

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In Vivekananda, patriotic and religious impulses aroused a supreme desire to uplift the manhood of India with a view to restoring India to a self-respecting place in the comity of nations. He believed that India had a definite contribution to make to the peace and progress of the world but before she could do so, she had to win recognition from other nations by raising her own status. India could co-operate for the common good by eradicating poverty, by redressing social wrongs and by developing her inherent strength. For this purpose, the people of India had to draw their inspiration from her ancient heritage. For the first time in the modern age, he boldly proclaimed before the world the cultural tradition and the spiritual qualities of Hindu civilization, the greatness of her past and the aspirations for her future. Instead of being apologetic or exhibiting a sense of inferiority which marked the attitude of many Indians in those days towards Western culture and civilization, a refreshing courage and a consciousness of innate strength marked Vivekananda's utterances. This, combined with a burning patriotic zeal, made him an embodiment of the ideals of a resurgent Indian nation. He was, in the words of Sir Valentine Chirol, "the first Hindu whose personality won demonstrative recognition abroad for India's ancient civilization and for her new-born claim to nationhood."

Vivekananda was not a politician. He did not fight any political battles nor did he participate in civic and legislative bodies. He was primarily a religious reformer but he propounded the fundamentals and emphasized the verities which years later were reinforced by Mahatma Gandhi and became in many ways the beacon lights of the national renaissance. As Prime Minister Nehru has observed:

> "Vivekananda was one of the great founders of the modern national movement of India, and a great number of people who took more or less active part in that movement later on drew their inspiration from him."

It is not easy to determine the way in which Vivekananda has influenced modern India nor to detail the spheres in which his influence has been felt. Such influence as a man like Vivekananda exercised was subtle and imperceptible, for the work of a spiritual teacher is concerned with the minds and hearts of men, not with institutions and laws. The footprints which a great man leaves on the sands of time are not always visible to the naked eye. Nevertheless, Vivekananda's inspiration and work abide. I shall attempt to deal only with some aspects of the impact of his personality and work.

The national movement of India, particularly after Gandhiji became its leader, has been not merely national in its aims and temper but also democratic and social in its outlook. From 1931, when the Indian National Congress in its session at Karachi laid down the broad principles on which the Constitution of India was to be framed until its recent session at Avadi in Madras in January this year, the emphasis of the Indian movement has been on the building up of a Welfare State through improvement in the condition of the masses and the evolution of a equalitarian society by democratic means. And this is what Vivekananda, known as the "cyclonic Hindu," had to say on this subject:

> "The only hope of India is from the masses. . . . He who sees God in the poor, in the weak and in the diseased really worships Him. . . . who has served and has helped one poor man seeing God in him, without thinking of his caste, creed or race, or anything, with him God is more pleased than He is with the man who sees Him only in Temples . . . Do you love your fellowmen? Where should you go to seek for God—are not all the poor, the miserable, the weak, Gods? Why not worship them first? . . . I consider that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses and that is one of the causes of our downfall. No amount of politics will be of any avail until the masses in India are once more well-fed, and well cared for."

Again and again, Vivekananda said that religion had to be translated into our daily life and practice that it should remove tyrannies and privileges and barriers. He firmly believed that the noblest way to serve God was through the service of men, that temples should not become ivory towers. The term *Daridra Narayan* (to signify the dignity of the poor) which Gandhiji popularized was Swami Vivekananda's expression; it embodied his faith in and compassion for the weak, the humble and the lowly. The most practical form which Vedanta should take, according to Vivekananda, was the uplift of the mass of people. In this he was truly the forerunner of Gandhiji. "An empty stomach," Vivekananda once remarked, "is the worst good for religion." It was he, too, who observed that "God comes to the poor in the form of Bread." We think we should constantly remind ourselves of these words now when we are involved in conflicts of creeds and wars between rival "isms." We have to act up to the ideals of a true democracy, we have to rid the world of dire poverty and want, we have to bring some ray of hope and cheer in countless lives immersed in squalor and misery. And this we have to do irrespective of Communism or Capitalism. The world can no more be half-starving and half-slave. The "free world" cannot be based on hungry stomachs, ignorant minds and idle hands. To meet Vivekananda's challenge in constructive terms is the supreme task of statesmanship today.

India's political system and constitutional structure are squarely based on principles of secularism. The Fundamental Rights laid down in the Constitution prohibit discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth and prevent the imposition of any disability

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restriction on such grounds. Complete religious freedom is assured to all citizens of India. This is the corner-stone of new India. Hindu-Muslim unity was one of the ideals for which Gandhiji strove and, indeed, it was in vindicating this ideal that he sacrificed his very life. Throughout his life, Vivekananda laid stress on brotherhood and tolerance. In his famous address to the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, he said:

"Sectarianism, bigotry and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long pestered this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization and sent whole nations to despair."

Indeed, he realized that social barriers could not be sanctioned by religious tenets.

"India's doom was sealed the very day the caste system was invented and stopped free communion with one another. . . . No man, no nation can hate others and live."

For, he believed like his great master that different religions are but diverse ways leading to the same goal. As the writing on the walls of the Vedanta Centers in this country proclaims:

"He is one but the sages describe Him differently."

Although a true nationalist, Swami Vivekananda was not narrow in his outlook or parochial in his approach. It is remarkable that over sixty years ago he had what we today call an international outlook.

"Even in politics and sociology, problems that were national twenty years ago can no longer be solved on national grounds only," he observed. "They are assuming huge proportions, gigantic shapes. They can only be solved when looked at in the broader light of international grounds. International organizations, international combinations, international laws are the cry of the day. There cannot be any progress without the whole world being based on Truth and Justice. It is becoming every day clearer that the solution of any problem can never be attained on racial, national or narrow grounds. Every idea has to become broad till it covers the whole of this world, every aspiration must go on increasing till it has engulfed the whole of humanity—I am thoroughly convinced that no individual or nation can live by holding itself apart from the community of others. Colonialism breeds exclusiveness. This is the main cause of the degradation of Man today. All nations must get back into the world-current. Motion is the sign of life."

How true these words are today so many years after they were spoken! With Vivekananda, however, internationalism was not a slogan or an instrument of power politics but an expression of his innate sense of human brotherhood.

It is of interest to note that long before Gandhiji, Vivekananda emphasized not only the vital importance of truthfulness in all human activities but also stressed the need of fearlessness and even the principle of non-aggression. When Gandhiji returned to India from South Africa in 1915, what pained him most was a lack of moral strength among people; he was oppressed by the atmosphere of cowardice and fear. Gandhiji thought this to be the worst evil of the foreign rule, worse even than economic exploitation since it corroded the souls of men and women and robbed them of their human dignity: he, therefore, tried to instil fearlessness among his people so that they might stand erect and upright before social tyrants, oppressive landlords and arrogant rulers.

But it is not only individual fear that matters. We live today in an age of fear; the richer are more afraid than the poorer, the more powerful nations are in greater terror than the weaker ones. Measures of security seem only to increase the feeling of insecurity all round. Atomic power accentuated our apprehensions, bringing the whole world under a shadow. Fear is at the root of much of the world's troubles today and has involved us in a terrible race in production of nuclear weapons which, if we are not prudent, can only end in universal disaster. Vivekananda proclaimed:

"Be not afraid of anything. It is fear that is the great cause of misery in the world. It is fear that is the greatest of superstitions. It is fear that is the cause of our woes. And it is fearlessness that brings heaven in a moment."

So, too, about non-aggression. He once said:

"There is no virtue higher than non-injury. Non-injury has to be attained by him who would be free. No one is more powerful than he who has attained perfect non-injury."

This, indeed, has been the teaching of all great religions. This conception of non-aggression was later translated by Gandhiji into the principle of non-violence and its wise application in the international sphere is the only hope for human survival.

Apart from these teachings and tenets, Vivekananda gave an institutional expression to the principles expounded by him. In the tradition of the Buddhist monks or Bhikkhus who went to distant lands carrying Buddha's message of goodwill and love and brotherhood, he travelled abroad and came to this country twice. It was to preach and practise the positive faith and gospel of social service that the Ramakrishna Mission was established. The Mission which has several activities—religious, cultural and social—has been steadily expanding them in various directions. It runs hospitals, dispensaries, industrial and agricultural schools, libraries and publishing houses. And at the occurrence of flood, famine, earthquake, epidemic or any other natural calamity, its members render assistance and give relief. It observes no distinction of caste, creed or religion in this work. The Mission has remained a monastic order, disse-

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minating reformative ideas and engaging itself in social service. It has placed in the forefront of its program the idea of social work not as mere charity or philanthropy but as an essential discipline for religious and spiritual life, as a social obligation which we all owe to those less fortunately placed in life.

The first Vedanta Center in this country was founded in this city soon after Swami Vivekananda's visit in 1893. There are today eleven centers in this country where Vedanta philosophy is studied and expounded. These Centers do not preach a set rigid doctrines or seek to convert people.

Vivekananda died at the young age of 39. T fire that raged in his mind and heart and which pressed itself in eloquent and ennobling langu eventually consumed it. It has been said: "Th whom the gods love die young." But if the gods h spared Vivekananda to live the full span of his l he would have contributed still more to the cultu renaissance of his country and to the spiritual generation of mankind.

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THE MISSION OF BANDUNG

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The Twenty-nine-Nation Asian-African Conference, which commenced its work on April 18, at Bandung in Indonesia has, undoubtedly, made history. In the words of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, work done by the Conference was a "considerable achievement." Although there were certain initial setbacks and hurdles, the wisdom of all the Delegates assembled at the Conference made it possible to achieve complete unanimity on all issues. The 5000-word communique issued by the conference at the end of its seven days' work is a document of far-reaching significance. It shows that the Continents of Asia and Africa are now determined not to be camp-followers or "yes-men" of the Western powers but to meet together and chalk out their own destinies through mutual consultations and co-operation. In the course of his concluding address the Prime Minister of India made it clear that the Conference had not been convened in any spirit of ill-will or hostility towards any nation of the world. He however desired that like India, Asia and Africa should not get entangled in any of the Power Blocs and should behave as free and independent nations. Shri Nehru hoped that "in future there would be no yes-men in Asia and Africa."

In the course of his inaugural address to the Conference, the Indonesian President Dr. Soekarno made a fervent call for "surrender to peace" and declared that Asia and Africa were united "by a common determination to preserve and stabilize world peace and by a common detestation of colonialism and racialism." "No task," declared President Soekarno, "was more urgent than that of preserving peace." He wanted the principles of "live and let live" and "unity in diversity" to be the mottos of the Conference, and hoped that "the Conference would give guidance to mankind and prove that Asia and Africa were reborn." The Prime Minister of Indone Dr. Sastroamidjojo observed that "those who foste the illusion that the stock-piling of atom and hyd gen bombs could bring about peace rather than t sponsors of co-existence were unrealistic day-drea ers." The Conference pledged its support to the ba principles of human rights in the U.N. Chart During the proceedings of the Conference, In expressed the view that "the best foundation t friendship between nations was not political allian but understanding and respect for the culture, mi and heart of one another." The Communique Bandung Conference recognizes "the urgency of p moting economic development in the Asian-Afric region, and the general desire for economic c operation among the participating countries on t basis of mutual interest and respect for natio sovereignty." It also emphasises "the particular sig ficance of the development of nuclear energy f peaceful purposes for Asian and African countries It "deplored the policies and practices of rac segregation and discrimination which forms the ba of Government and human relations in large regio of Africa and in other parts of the world." "Su conduct is not only a gross violation of human rig but also a denial of the fundamental values of civ ization and the dignity of man." The Conference w of the view that "disarmament and the prohibition production, experimentation and use of nuclear a thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to sa mankind and civilization from the fear and prospe of whole destruction." The Conference declared th "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil whi should speedily be brought to an end." The Bandu Conference was, therefore, in more senses than on unqualified success in serving the cause of pea

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and good-will among the nations of the world. The prominent part played by the Prime Minister of India and China went a long way in ensuring the success which the Conference ultimately achieved. We particularly welcome the assurance given by the Chinese Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai that China would not encourage Communists in or from other countries, particularly the Five Colombo Powers. This assurance would go a long way in resolving conflicts in the South-East Asian countries.

It was a happy coincidence that the 18th April was observed throughout India as the day of dedication to the cause of a peaceful and non-violent social and economic revolution through the Bhoodan movement. It was on April 18, four years ago that Acharya Vinoba Bhave got the first instalment of 100 acres as land gift in Pochampalli village in Telangana. During the last four years the Bhoodan movement has spread throughout the country and has rightly become the symbol of a peaceful socio-economic revolution in India. This movement has attracted world-wide attention because of its unique nature in conformity with the innate genius of India. Acharya Vinoba now desires to intensify this movement during the next two years so as to be able to achieve the target of 5-crore acres of land by the end of 1957. Thousands of people must have taken the solemn pledge on the 18th April to rededicate themselves to the cause of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya and for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. It is indeed inspiring to know that on the same day, 29 nations of Asia and Africa also dedicated themselves to the cause of world brotherhood and goodwill. India believes that real peace should be established only if individuals and nations solemnly resolve to eschew social and economic exploitation, work for maximum self-sufficiency and bring about a bold decentralization or diffusion of political and economic power through the organisation of village communities. The best way to preserve world peace is to decentralise and disperse power rather than to centralise and concentrate it in the hands of a few individuals or nations. The Communists believe in the "withering away" of political power but begin by centralizing authority in the hands of a small section of the population. The Sarvodaya philosophy preached by Gandhiji, on the other hand, believes in Panchayat Raj on the basis of self-governing and self-sufficient rural communities or Panchayats. The Bhoodan movement symbolizes this urge and ideal of a non-violent and decentralized democracy for India and other nations of the world. Instead of bringing about a social and economic revolution through the coercion of the State, Bhoodan or Sarvodaya places more faith on the conversion of the minds and hearts of the people through a process of mutual love and co-operation. Prime Minister Shri Nehru re-affirmed the same faith at the Bandung Conference by asserting that India had accepted the Gandhian ideal which taught the lesson of self-reliance on one's own inner strength. Shri Nehru spoke with "faith in the people of India and not in the big bombs."

"India was neither Communist nor anti-Communist; whatever the great powers did, India would rely on herself." It was also a strange coincidence that the world-renowned scientist and humanist Dr. Einstein also passed away on the 18th April. He was responsible for giving to the world the key to the secrets of atomic energy, but firmly believed in the principle of non-violence and world brotherhood. He had deep faith in the inherent goodness of humanity. When I had the privilege of meeting him some years ago in his cottage at Princeton, he gave us a message that "nothing was more important to man than man." He also expressed his full faith in the ideals preached and practised by Mahatma Gandhi. In the words of Shri Nehru he died as a "beacon of light in the world where shadows darken." We also learn that in the course of his last letter Dr. Einstein advocated the philosophy of "passive resistance" for the defence of a minority. Born as a great scientist who gave to the world the Theory of Relativity and the secrets of atomic energy, Dr. Einstein passed away as a great humanist who sincerely believed in the cause of world peace and friendship.

April 18, 1955, was, therefore, a memorable day, indeed. It was on that day that India re-affirmed her faith in non-violence and world brotherhood; it was on the same day that nations of Asia and Africa resolved to work unitedly for resolving international conflicts and bringing about world co-operation, and it was on this very day that one of the greatest scientists of the age passed away quietly in a hospital with a burning faith in the goodness of man and the futility of atom bombs and other instruments of destruction. We earnestly hope that the mission of Bandung, the inspiration of the Bhoodan movement and the faith of Dr. Einstein in passive resistance and non-violence would usher in a new era in the history of the world.

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FOUR YEARS OF BHOODAN YAJNA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

FOUR years ago today was offered the first land-gift in a small village in the Nalgonda district of the Telangana region of the Hyderabad State. How it so happened at all there, is not only very interesting but also immensely significant. It was nothing like a random donation to gratify a poor mendicant or a subtle action performed with an eye for a name in this world or for a good place in the next. It occurred in an area where the objective conditions were as follows:

(*i*) The gulf between the rich and the poor there is wider than perhaps anywhere else in the country;

(*ii*) The rich had lost all balance of mind and ran away to big towns for safety;

(*iii*) The poor were in such a helpless state as to lend their credulous ear to any one who held out any hopes to them, however mirage-like;

(*iv*) The official machinery (both Provincial and Central) had spent about five crores of rupees and taken every step, military or otherwise, to quell the situation and restore peace, but signally failed;

(*v*) The political workers adhering to the democratic method could see no possibility of easing the tension between the people;

(*vi*) Those believing in the dictatorial technique had, in spite of their unremitting labour of several years, only been able to create a sort of terror but could not at all succeed in their objective of socialising the ownership of land or letting the landless enjoy a secure possession of the same;

(*vii*) As people were being ground down mercilessly between the two stones, *i.e.*, by the agents of the official authority in the day and of the violent totalitarian activity at night, they knew no end of their plight, human ingenuity seemed to have totally foundered and all belief in democracy, non-violence, peace or human brotherhood was on the point of collapse.

When the happy event came to pass on 18th April, 1951, it was characterised by some signal facts:

(*i*) The most down-trodden people of the village, *viz.*, the Harijans unanimously demanded eighty acres of land to make their ends meet;

(*ii*) The demand was not made to any landlord, official authority, politician or power-monger but to Vinoba, to one who had passed literally every moment of his past thirty-five years in humanity's service, had led a strenuous life of restraint and silent meditation and unwearying village work, had never sought for any post or office in any public or private concern or party, and had attained such a supreme control over his nature as to harbour no desire or will to do or undo this thing or that;

(*iii*) He had reached the place on foot, walking down all the way from his Paramdham Ashram to Hyderabad and then again to that village;

(*iv*) He invoked the goodness of the land-holding people of that village and inquired of them whether they themselves were not prepared to do sometning for their needy neighbours;

(*v*) A young zamindar came humbly forward with an offer of no less than one hundred acres of his fertile land in response;

(*vi*) The Harijans gratefully promised to make use of that land in a homely manner and lead henceforth a family life of sturdy self-reliance;

(*vii*) Touched by this amazing drama, Vinoba saw in it a manifestation of the Divine Hand and feeling that Providence had chosen him as the instrument for accomplishing this process, he resolved that very night to take up the new mission and set out upon it from the next day which he has persistently continued with a sun-like regularity down to this day.

Such auspicious beginnings leave little doubt about the ceaseless progress of the Bhoodan-Yajna. It has now taken the splendid form of the gigantic Ganga sweeping far and wide with tributaries joining it now and then. During his 51 days' tour in Telangana Vinoba encamped at 51 villages, passed through some 200 villages, settled about 500 village disputes, addressed some two lakhs of people and received 12,200 acres of land for the landless.

Vinoba's endeavour in Telangana was to "bring about," as he said in a mass meeting at Warangal, "a silent ideological revolution in the social outlook by asking the rich to donate land to the poor. This Bhoodan Yajna is an application of non-violence, an experiment in transformation of life itself. I am only a tool in the hands of Him who is the Lord of all ages, both even those who give and those who will receive the gifts. It is a phenomenon inspired by God."

Vinoba returned to his Paunar Ashram on 27th June. On account of the rains he stopped there for two months. Meanwhile he received an invitation from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, to come to Delhi in order to discuss the Five-Year Plan framed by the Government. Vinoba decided to go to Delhi on foot and left Paunar on September 12, 1951.

Reaching Nagpur on September 15, he observed:

"Till God keeps strength in me I shall tour the country and beg for land for the landless."

At another place he remarked:

"Those who do not donate land today will do so tomorrow. They cannot help giving the same. In India there is none who would turn down the request for land."

On October 2, 1951, he was at Saugar, a University town in Madhya Pradesh. Addressing the workers there, he placed before the country his demand for *five crore* acres of land by 1957. He declared:

"Though my own stomach is very small, the stomach of the *daridranarayana* is very big. So if any one asks me what my demand is, I say 'Five crores of acres of land.' I mean thereby cultivable land.

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there are five sons in the family, I want to be considered the sixth; if four, the fifth. Thus I claim one-fifth or one-sixth; of the total cultivable land in the country."

On bended knees he implored:

"I appeal to all of you to contribute your mite for the worship of *Daridranarayana*. This is real Yajna—sacrifice. I, therefore, beseech every one to come forward and put his shoulder to this task. This will usher in an unprecedented and mighty revolution in the country. I can, even as I stand here, behold it taking place before my eyes."

Passing through Madhya Pradesh and Vindhya Pradesh as also parts of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, Vinoba entered the capital of India on November 13, 1951. During the 62 days he took in coming from Paunar to Delhi, he obtained 19,436 acres.

Vinoba introduced himself to Delhi's populace as the proverbial *Vaman* who covered the earth in three steps. So also he affirmed:

"What I want the people to do is, first, to part with some of their land. Secondly, they should engage themselves in the service of others. Finally, in their service they should give up all and voluntarily sacrifice everything. This is the path into which I want to initiate the people."

After reaching Delhi, Vinoba met for three successive days the members of the Planning Commission as also its Chairman, the Prime Minister. In the words of Vinoba:

"During these three days of discussion I placed my idea before them. They promised to consider my suggestions . . . However, there is a difference between their approach and mine, though they have also the interest of the country at heart."

After eleven days' stay in the capital in a hut near Gandhiji's *samadhi*, Vinoba left it in the early hours of the morning of November 24, 1951 and launched upon a walking tour of Uttar Pradesh. According to his demand of one-sixth of the entire cultivable land in the country, Vinoba wanted one crore acres of land from the U.P. As a first instalment, however, the constructive workers of U.P., meeting at Mathura on first November and during Vinoba's presence (when he was on his way to Delhi), resolved to collect five lakhs of acres within one year. Except the Almora district, Vinoba covered one district after another of the U.P.

In April, 1952, Vinoba encamped at Sevapuri Ashram for more than a week in connection with the Sarvodaya Sammelan held there on April 13, 14, 15 and 16. This Sammelan registered a landmark in the growth and development of the Bhoodan movement for it was here that constructive workers from all parts of the country decided to collect twenty-five lakhs of acres within two years as a first instalment to fulfil Vinoba's demand of five crores, in order to establish a classless and exploitation-free society on the basis of truth and non-violence. A quota was fixed for every province. There was thus a clear-cut programme before the workers. The ideology of Sarvodaya had now taken a concrete shape.

On May 8, when Vinoba reached Lucknow, the capital of U.P., it happened to be the Buddha Jayanti Day (Birth Anniversary of Lord Buddha). There he declared:

"I ask people to give the land they have . . . And I have come to believe that God is using, weak though I am, to complete the task which He had commenced through the Buddha.

"The work I am made to do is the continuation of the *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*—revolving the wheel of Dharma, which Buddha had started. And mark what I pronounce with the same commanding voice as that of the lion which drowns all other smaller voices and rings clear across the forest: *The land has already come to me, it has already gone to the landless.* It remains for you only to choose the manner of effecting the transfer."

Then he pointed out:

"The equal sharing of wealth is the cry of the age and it will come to be. Land will have to be redivided. I have no doubt that it can be done peacefully. I can see it quite clearly and this is why I speak so confidently about it; and this is why I ask you to wake up, for as Tulsidas sang to Rama: 'The day is dawning and the birds on the trees are chirping merrily, and it is time when gifts should be made to the poor; so awake, Oh Ram'!"

On 4th July, 1952, Vinoba re-entered Benares city after walking through 48 districts of the U.P. In Benares, he encamped at Kashi Vidyapith for 70 days to pass the rainy season. There he also gave a call for the *Swachha Bharat* (Clean India) campaign. On 11th September, on the occasion of his 59th birthday, he made the resolve not to go back to his Paramdham Ashram until the land problem of the country was solved.

During his stay in U.P., Vinoba encamped at 257 places, covered 3,750 miles and obtained 2,95,028 acres. In June, 1952, was made the first offer of all land in a village—Mangroth in the Manipur district of U.P. The total land collections in the country amounted at that time to a little less than four lakhs.

On September 14, 1952, Vinoba crossed the Karamnasa river and walked down from Uttar Pradesh into Bihar. Entering the precincts of Bihar he said:

"As a pilgrim goes to a *Tirtha*—pilgrimage for God's *darshan*—so also I have come out on Bhoodan pilgrimage. I have a desire that the land problem of Bihar should be solved during my stay here. But the far more important thing is working the non-violent method. If we are able to solve the land problem by the method of love and peace, it would earn credit for non-violence. Could non-violence succeed in attaining economic

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revolution, what else would it not be able to achieve?"

On 23rd October, he declared at Patna the great resolve—resolve not to leave Bihar until its land problem was solved. Next day, he placed before the people the idea of *Sampattidan Yajna*. He said:

"As the work of Bhoodan progressed it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is up to the people to decide what they can and will give me."

Vinoba entered the Gaya district on 28th October. Three days after he declared that he wanted one lakh acres from this district of Buddha Bhagwan. As Vinoba later said:

"When I entered the Gaya district, I resolved that this district, which was the scene of Lord Buddha's austerities and which is sacred to crores of Hindus as the place for offering *Shradha* to their forbears, should be asked to collect one lakh acres as the first instalment. I expressed this feeling to the workers who approved of it and accepted to work for it."

Thus it was that Bhoodan work was taken up in Gaya district on an intensive basis. On 13th December, 1952, Vinoba entered the Manbhum district in a very weak state of health. On the 14th, he came to Chandil and his condition so much worsened that it was impossible for him to move. He had, therefore, to camp at Chandil for several months to regain his health. The fifth annual session of Sarvodaya Samaj was, therefore, also convened at Chandil on March 5, 6, and 7, 1953, Sri Dhirendra Majumdar presiding. The highlight of this gathering was the declaration of Sri Jayaprakash Narayan that he would henceforth devote himself mainly to Bhoodan work. He said:

"Despair had seized our heart after the attainment of Independence. But Vinobaji dispelled our illusions. As the light of Bhoodan Yajna spread out the clouds of doubts and darkness disappeared. Today everybody has accepted that land is the mother of one and all and each has equal right upon it. One who labours to produce from land has the first right. This is the intellectual revolution that has taken place within the last two years. Now the task before all of us is to give this revolution a practical shape, make it a reality and accomplish this mission."

Vinoba placed some very striking ideas before this Sammelan. He urged upon the necessity of building up what he called in his inimitable language **स्वतन्त्र जनशक्ति** (*Swatantra Jan-Shakti*). He said:

"Our work should proceed on the basis —one, Vicharshasan **(विचार शासन)** or peace conversion of people to our view by mak them think about it, and two, Kartritva-vib jan, **(कर्तृत्व विभाजन)** or distribution of work an the individuals without creating an administ tive authority."

To achieve this objective, Vinoba placed four-fold programme: (i) Integration of construct work institutions into one homogeneous unit, collection of five crore acres of land in Bhoo Yajna by 1957; (iii) Sampattidan Yajna; and Yarn offering.

On 12th March, 1953, Vinoba restarted on Bihar trek.

On 18th September he encamped at Baidyan dham, Bihar's most important pilgrimage centre. also stayed there on the 19th on account of meetings of workers from all over Bihar. In evening of the 18th, he was requested by the priest of the temple to pay a visit to the holy shr When he was told that Vinoba could enter a tem only if Harijans were also allowed to have the *shan*, he gave his consent to Harijans accompany Vinoba. Accordingly, on the evening of the 1 Vinoba, accompanied by some Harijans and colleagues, went into the temple. But hardly he gone a few steps the *pandas* of the temple upon Vinoba and the party with *lathis* amidst c of *"Dharm ki jai ho! Adharm ka nash ho!!"* (L live religion! Down with ir-religion!). Members the party surrounded Vinoba, but he was slig injured at the ear. Calmly and quietly he came Some members of the party were seriously hurt beaten. Next day when he reached Pardih Bhagalpur district, Vinoba issued a statement the press in the course of which he said:

"I would like to say at the very outset those who have indulged in this act of assault so only out of ignorance. That being so, I not want them to be punished for this. Th who indulged in the assault were seized w anger, so much so that they made no distinc between man and woman. I trust this prove to be the last curse of Bhedasur, *i.e.*, devil in man that discriminates between man and another.

"I have already said that I do not want a body to be punished. But the constitution free India has been clearly violated. Small re butive measures cannot make up for that vio tion. What is needed is to provide against recurrence of such incidents in future. This is age of science. Every faith is being tested the touchstone of reason. If our society ke this in view and behaves accordingly, everyth will go on well."

Passing through the districts of Purnea, Saha Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur, Vinoba reached Pa

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On 10th January 1954. Addressing the Patna citizens he observed:

"Land problem would be solved in one way or the other all over the world. Hence I do not worry about how much land I get. My only concern is the depth to which the right thought finds place in the heart of the people."

From 30th January to 4th May, Vinoba toured the Gaya district. On April 18, 19, and 20, 1954, was held at Bodh Gaya the sixth Annual session of the *Sarvodaya Samaj*, presided over by Srimati Ashadevi Aryanayakam. The most important event of this Sammelan was Sri Jayaprakash Narayan's address on the 19th. As a Bihari, he expressed his regret at the said fact that Bihar had not yet fulfilled Baba's (as Vinoba is known in the countryside) demand. He felt certain that Bihar could do it. But neither the members of the Congress party nor those of the Praja Socialist Party, both of which had passed resolutions supporting Baba's call for 32 lakhs of acres, had taken up the work with proper zeal and spirit. He added that personally his faith in the efficacy of the movement was growing day by day. Law could not unite hearts. Nor could any party pass a law making land a social property. Of course, that could be done by the sword, but the sword gave rise to more problems than it solved. Sri Jayaprakash pleaded for speedy action as urgency was essential and time waited for none. He said that the paramount need was to dedicate one's whole life to this cause and he called upon his countrymen, specially the youth to come forward and donate their life to it. Jiwan Dan or gift of life. He closed with the solemn announcement of offering himself for the cause.

Next day, the president announced that Sri Jayaprakashji had sent her two letters—one his and the other from Vinoba. She read them out. Sri Jayaprakash's letter said:

"I enclose a letter received from Baba. I have no words to comment on the donation of life to a small fry like me by a man who has inspired us all. I shall say only this that I am totally unfit for accepting such an invaluable donation. On the contrary, we have to donate our life in the name of God to Baba himself. Yours in humbleness, Jayaprakash."

Vinoba's letter was:

"In response to your call of yesterday here is the offering of my life for a non-violent revolution based on Bhoodan-Yajna and with village-industries as its mainstay.—Vinoba."

Then began to flow the Jamuna of Jiwandan-Yajna. One after another, men and women offered themselves. About 500 names came then and there. Then followed the only resolution of the Sammelan, read out by Sri Shankarrao Deo. Expressing joy at the collections of 26,15,101 acres from 2,37,022 donors within two years, the resolution asked all those who were anxious to establish human values in the society to come ahead and devote themselves to make the movement a success. In his valedictory address, Vinoba appealed to all political workers to forget their differences and take to producing *Jan-Shakti* through the common medium of Bhoodan. He claimed that the same would result in changing the whole administration, convert our power politics (*rajniti*) into popular politics (*loka-niti*) and help in the establishment of *shasan-mukta* (State-free) society.

During the rainy season of 1954, Vinoba covered the flood-ravaged districts of North Bihar—Darbhanga, Saharsa and Muzaffarpur—and waded through knee-deep and chest-deep waters, using a boat only when inevitable. In spite of the floods his meetings were crowded and often they attended the prayer as also his speech in showers. How deep a place has Bhoodan Yajna found in the heart of Bihar peasantry can be gauged from the fact that at one village in the district of Purnea they received Vinoba with a song at once original and unique:

"Sita Sita Ram Bolo!
Sab Koi Bhoomidan Dedo!!"

At another village, in the Santhal Parganas district, they greeted him with the words:

"Baba, Zamin Lo! Zamin Lo!!"

In the closing week of 1954, coal-miners of Bihar donated some 15,000 tons of coal for manufacturing bricks required to prepare wells on the Bhoodan lands distributed to the landless. Vinoba remained in Bihar up to 31st December, 1954. During his stay of 839 days he was donated with 22,32,474 acres of land.

In the small hours of the morning of the New Year's Day, 1955, Vinoba stepped out from the Bihar of Buddha and Mahavir into the *Vihar Bhoomi* (pilgrimage-land) of the Vaishnava saints and seers. It was his first visit to Bengal, the land of devotion and piety, of music and dream. He spent there 25 days, eleven in the Bankura district and fourteen in the Midnapore district, labouring to go deep into Bengal's soil and sow the thought-seed. He made it absolutely clear that Bhoodan sought to transform the whole society and was nothing short of *Dharma Chakra Pravartan*. He stirred Bengal to its very depths by calling upon it to supplement its legendary *Bhakti* with *Ahimsak Karma-Yoga* (non-violent activity). For *Bhakti* without *Karma* was bound to lead to inertia and *himsak karma* (violent action) was alien to the genius of her soil. Hence the paramount need of the Bhoodan Yajna for Bengal.

On 26th January, 1955, when Vinoba set his foot on the Orissa soil, he was presented with about a lakh and a quarter acres of land as also 93 villages donated in toto. Accepting the gift, Vinoba pointed out the great task to be accomplished in Orissa. He remarked:

"The work to be done now is that of *Bhoomi*

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Kranti (Land Revolution). Merely giving land to the landless is not sufficient. Private land-ownership has to be abolished. Land can only be God's or of the society. If the people at any place live this idea, it would amount to the *poornata* (completeness) of Bhoodan Yajna. Thereafter the work of obtaining five crores and distributing it would become very long. I, therefore, expect a *paripoorna darshan* (wholesome view) in Orissa."

He also added:

"My hope from Orissa is not small. I am quite confident that now when the Bhoodan current has flowed on to this place, it wolud widely expand even as is done by your Mahanadi near the sea. I learn that Sri Mukund Deva tried to bring the Ganga to Orissa. Perhaps, he failed to earn the prestige. But you would now earn it. This, Bhoodan Yajna's current is the Ganga's. May you march with it right to the sea, the sea of humanity."

These days Vinoba's *yatra* goes on in Orissa. On 2nd February, they donated him 22 contiguous villages. On February 26, when he was at Manpur—a village which has been entirely dedicated in the Bhoodan Yajna by its people—he expressed the hope that the Bhoodan Yajna movement would make the land-revolution a living reality in the whole of India.

On March 25, 26 and 27 last, Vinoba was at Puri where was held the seventh Sarvodaya Sammelan. Therein he, giving a clarion call for land-revolution, called upon all public workers to donate two years for the Bhoodan Yajna. He appealed to them:

"Let all of you put your shoulder to the wheel for two years. This call of mine is not addressed to the people of India alone or merely to Sarvodaya devotees, but to one and all. I urge upon the whole world to leave no stone unturned for two years so that an arms-free society may come into force by 1957."

He further declared:

"It is not only a matter of tackling the land-issue. We have, in fact, to wipe out all Governments the world over for they cannot succeed in limiting the sphere of armed activity. We have to found non-violence. I ask for land-gifts for the sake of world-peace."

Thus has the Bhoodan-Yajna movement grown up during the last four years. About 37 lakhs of acres of land from more than four lakhs of donors have been so far offered in it as also some 150 whole villages. Also about 1500 workers, hailing from different parts of the country, have offered *Jiwandan*. What is far more important, however, is the new enthusiasm the movement has created as also the energetic forces it has released. Persons belonging to various shades of life and subscribing to different political ideologies are participating in it. One of its no less considerable achievement is the great opportunity it has provided for our womenfolk to come out and play their part in the building up of India of the morrow.

The new awakening brought about by Bhoodan Yajna can also be gauged by the rising sale of Bhoodan and Sarvodaya literature. Weeklies or fortnightlies in this connection are appearing in the two important languages of the country. Another evidence of the cultural and spiritual awakening that the movement is bringing about is the inspiration that it is providing to our poets and men of letters. Fresh songs and popular *Bhajans* in the various languages and dialects are a common feature. Also it has attracted wide attention abroad.

In fine, Bhoodan Yajna is not merely a movement for land distribution but for sharing of life as such. It recaptures, as Dr. S. Radhakrishnan puts it, 'the social order as the family writ large.' Virtually it aims at re-discovering the dormant quality of man and make the same a social force with wide ramifications. Bhoodan is a march in the further evolution of the human kind. It is just paving the way for the quicker and greater development and prosperity of the society. It is an endeavour to direct man's course from the rails of distrust, aggression and bloodshed to those of trust, self-suffering and love. Bhoodan's is to build up a new world, to create a new man. It has a message for every country, for every citizen of the world.

Old times are changed. Old order is crumbling. A new one has to take its place—but if it be built on a weak and false foundation more harm would be done to our people during the next one or two decades than has been done during the last two or three centuries. The lines of the new order must be the same as suit our genius and are native to our soil. Needless to state that 'plans' or 'projects' depending on foreign capital and experts or internal combines shaped by foreign interests would result in throwing us out from the frying pan into the fire. India has to be built from below. But how? I can only reproduce what a seventy-eight years old Kisan in Darbhanga district told me. When I asked him what, according to him, could actually help us at the present juncture, with a beaming face he replied:

"Bhoodan is the way to *Sachcha Swaraj* (true freedom) and I want to assure you that I would refuse to die until *Sachcha Swaraj* is established."

This is the voice of our India, real India. Bhoodan Yajna is the way to build her truly as to uphold world peace. It is just in keeping with the path chalked out for us by Gandhiji who led us to political freedom. It opens the door for economic liberty and social equality. May we, the youth of India, rise to the height of the occasion and move together on the noble path with steadfast and devoted steps to mould new India and a new world and establish *Ram Raj* or the *Kingdom of God* on this earth!

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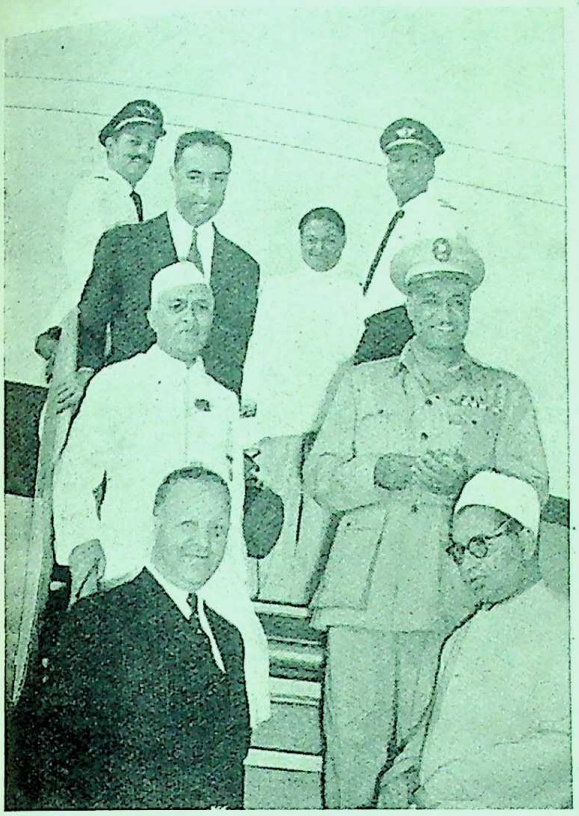

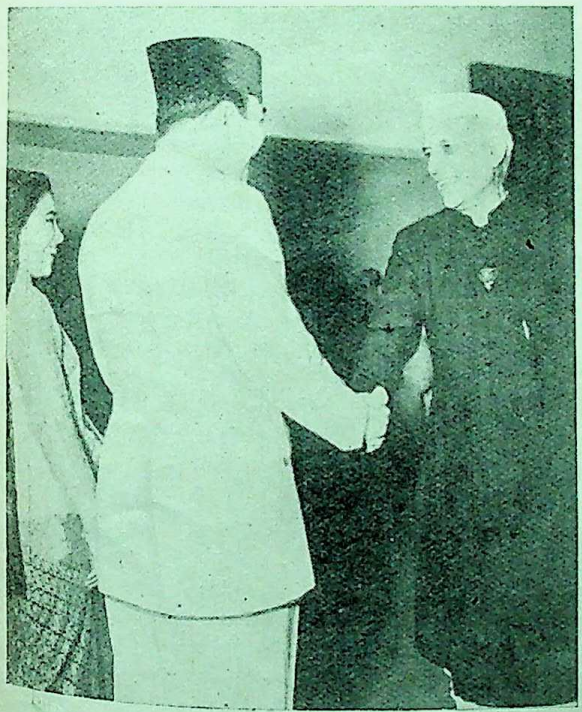

Above: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, at the Palam airport, Delhi, accompanied by Lt.-Col. Gamal Abd El Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt and Sardar Mohammed Naim, Deputy Prime Minister of Afghanistan

Below: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, being received at Bandung by Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia

Above: Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, at Bandung

Below: Sri Jawharlal Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, at Bandung

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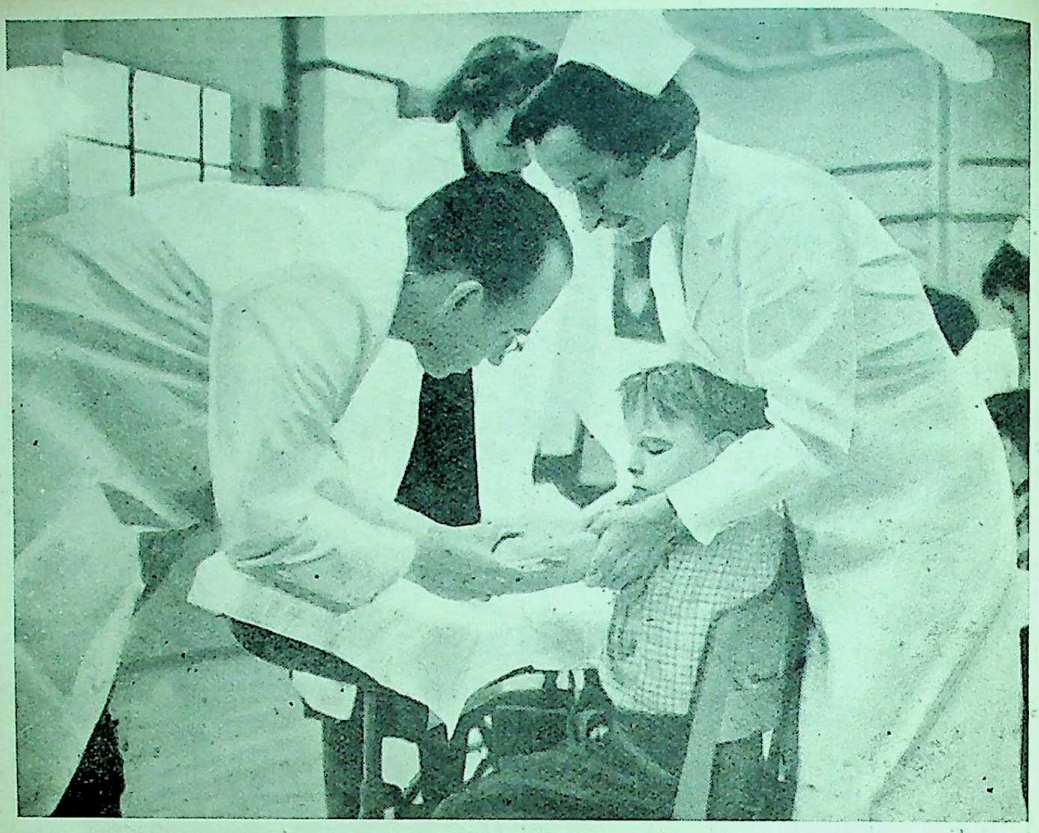

Dr. Jonas E. Salk inoculating a child with the anti-polio vaccine, discovered and developed by him

The group of eleven Indian librarians who left Bombay by plane on February 9, for five months of study in the United States

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THE YUGOSLAV CULTURAL HERITAGE

By M. PANIC-SUREP

For centuries, one part of Europe could only be discerned through a haze of smoke and conflagration. Since the 14th century, only the cries of insurgents and the wails of victims were heard, while for the past 150 years or so an uninterrupted and unquenchable struggle against the Turkish Sultans, the Austrian Habsburgs, the Bulgarian Koburgs, the German Hohenzollerns, Hitler, Mussolini, Horthy, culminating in the resistance to Stalin was waged on Yugoslav soil. It would seem as if fate had decreed that all European dictators and conquerors should break their spears against the same bastion. That is why there are countless families in Serbia and Macedonia where natural death among men is just as rare as drownings of peasants in the sea. To be killed in battle was regarded as a natural death for a man.

And when the smokes of war dissolve, does one only find charred ruins and crops in these regions? Apart from innumerable and deep scars, these areas will show us one of the most wonderful surprises of our civilisation. European culture, particularly in the field of arts sometimes marked its highest achievements here. And, however paradoxical it may seem, these masterpieces actually survived all ravages and depredations.

Little is known of these Yugoslav treasures abroad. This is also understandable. The liberations of 1804 and 1918 were only partial. The greatest part of the people, the workers and peasants were forced to continue the struggle for their most elementary rights, while efforts of the ruling class were concentrated on the exploitation of the people and preservation of its privileges so that the entire cultural heritage remained in the dark.

The pattern of the material monuments of Yugoslav spiritual culture is no less vivid, varied and colorful than that of countryside mountains and rivers. These monuments stem from the earliest stages of mankind, from its pre-history. The Krapina site near Zagreb (Homo sapiens Crapiensis) is doubtless one of the most important in the world. This site gave science decisive data on the diluvial man in Europe, his physical characteristics and the tools he used in his fight for subsistence. His fireplace with the remains of ten human skeletons speaks of the fire on which the future master of Nature was created and tempered. Other Paleolithical sites have also been discovered in Yugoslavia; another such site was found in a cave near Kragujevac only two years ago.

The man of the Neolithical era has left countless traces and relics in this country. Some of these are unrivalled in Europe, as for instance, Vinca and the Starcevo site near Pancevo. While the former is famous for its numerous human and animal statuettes, the latter won universal distinction with its painted earthenware with beautiful black and white ornaments on a red background: both together represent the earliest fruits of creative inspiration, the quality which sets man apart from the other beings.

With the advent of metals the number of human settlements increased notably. Over 2,000 have been registered so far in Serbia alone, of which hardly twenty have been systematically studied and explored. Groups of archaeologists are now enabling sunlight to penetrate into ancient homes, thus lifting the veil from the life and work of their inhabitants. The Illyrians and Celts were once masters here: their memories are preserved with respect.

The Yugoslav territory gave several emperors, statesmen and great men to the Roman Empire. Let us mention only Probus of Sremska Mitrovica, Diocletian of Solin, Constantine the Great of Nis, Justinian of Carcin Grad. They mounted the Roman thrones as representatives of territories distinguished by an extraordinarily intensive cultural activity and economic prosperity. We find evidence of this throughout the country. The walls of the fortifications of that time, the foundations of palaces, temples, theatres, mosaics, sculptures make their appearance from day to day, and testify to the efflorescence of these regions.

But all this intensive life in the remote past was to be overshadowed by the Yugoslav cultural achievements in the Middle Ages. The Dalmatian ornaments, the reliefs on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian stecci (tombstones) and above all, the Serbian and Macedonian mural paintings, mark the triumph of a mature and advanced medieval culture which, as an integral part of the European heritage, is impressive by its originality and the strong imprint of its ethnical milieu. If the Gothic style marks the culmination of the art of that time in sculpture, the Serbian 13th century frescoes are certainly the highest achievement in the field of paintings. The refined and sure draughtsmanship, the rich and mellow colouring, and the constant warm human quality of these murals, made some people speak of a Renaissance on the Balkans which preceded that in Italy by a century or so. However such an affir-

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mation is far from true. Studenica, Zica, Milesevo, Sopocani are no initial steps, but the mature fruits of the century-old activity of a people whose achievements culminate in these monuments. They were contributed to the treasury of civilisation by the feudal era as its most precious gems. The Italian Renaissance will be the herald of the next chapter in History. Architecture, particularly literature, developed parallel with the monumental Serbian paintings. This is not a case of exceptional giftedness of a period and a society for any particular branch of spiritual life; on the contrary, they have proved themselves consummate artists in all fields. Whether this is realised depends only on the interest and sympathies of the successive generations.

Brilliant rays of light often prevent us from noticing the warmth of hues and the unassuming beauty of other secondary features which ensure the entity of the main work. Therefore, the exclusive focussing of one's attention to mural paintings could easily lead to neglect and a superficial attitude as regards the architectural symphonies of the Serbian monasteries, the monumental medieval fortresses which seem an integral part of the surrounding landscapes, particularly the overwhelming beauty of the small objects in treasuries. How many icons, miniatures, fabrics, metal ornaments, carvings each of which represents a masterpiece in itself! On this occasion they can only be indicated as a numerous ensemble which gave birth to and is at the same time overshadowed by the genius of the main protagonist.

* * *

For the first time in history, the immense cultural heritage of the Yugoslav peoples is systematically studied, selected and classified today. Particularly important work is being done on its conservation. Although destroyed and plundered through the centuries, during the numerous invasions of the native territory, it remained essentially indestructible. Its creators, the people, even uncouth warriors, knew how to preserve and defend what was most important. Unfortunately they did not know or were unable to preserve it in the best condition. The prime task of the present generation is therefore to restore it.

What strange tricks fate played with some of these monuments! Imagine, for instance, that the windows and portals of Charters or Versailles had been built in, that new alien parts, say a minaret, had been added to the building, and that all had been covered by yet another thick coat of plaster which completely concealed even the minutest detail of the original reliefs and decorations. Imagine also that these barbarian acts were committed so long ago as to have fallen into oblivion. This is exactly what happened with St. Peter's Church near Novi Pazar (8th century), St. Sophia in Ohrid (9th-11th century), the Ljevinska Madonna in Prizren (15th century) and also partly with Studenica, the Pec Patriarchate, Diocletian's Palace in Split, and others. The Yugoslav conservation experts are performing genuine heroic feats in liberating these works of art from their shrouds. During the past two or three years alone, over a thousand square meters of old frescoes have been brought to daylight again, while the wonderful realism of the old styles again gladden the eye of the observer. If the medieval man believed in resurrection, this belief has been partially fulfilled in this case. These works are really coming to life again after many centuries of the mildew and darkness of the grave.

All these delicate and expensive works have been made possible only by the fact that the country's cultural heritage is at present the concern of the whole social community. We consider time as a link in the long and powerful chain of human life and progress.

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JOURNALISM FOR GIRLS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

Journalism as a career is very much fascinating for anybody and specially for a girl. In these days of advanced civilization and culture journalism plays an important part in the daily life of an average man or woman. In Western countries journalists of different categories, such as Reporters, Sub-Editors, Editors, etc., have secured for themselves a high status in society. In our country also people are gradually realising the part played by journalists in educating the masses, building their national character and improving their general standard of living, and the degree of esteem and honour shown to them is consequently increasing. Up till now very few educated girls have been attracted to the profession of journalism in our country where there is great scope and possibility for their employment on better conditions of service. Recently Calcutta University has started a course in journalism which a girl student after her graduation can join. Of course the best training which she can get is from a newspaper or a news agency office where working side by side with experienced journalists of long standing she can gather a fairly good knowledge, both in theory and practice, of the particular branch of journalism in which she is more interested.

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To be a good journalist the first qualification needed is that a girl should have a good general knowledge with a background of some acquaintance with the social, political and economic developments of the countries of the world. She must have a fair knowledge of geography and history of her own country as well as those countries in particular which get "news prominence" in the pages of daily newspapers. She should not be affiliated to any political party or group as in that case there might be a possibility of the news items from her pen being influenced by her own thoughts and ideas and thereby lose the quality of independent and impartial news. Above all, she must be smart, tactful and courageous and must possess presence of mind and ready wit to face a difficult situation and can avail of a "news scoop."

In order to be a Reporter it will be to the advantage of a girl if she possesses knowledge in Stenography. If she has got a workable speed in English Shorthand and Typewriting she can somehow manage taking down important points of the proceedings of a meeting which she is required to attend, even if the proceedings are conducted in any other language than English, such as Bengali and Hindi, if of course she knows these languages. It will be comparatively easy for her to approach a leader or a prominent person and get an "exclusive interview" on behalf of a paper she represents as in modern society more courtesy is shown to a girl and naturally a girl reporter can get the advantage of it. She has an additional advantage of coming into closer contact with this leader or prominent person if she is a lady herself and the girl reporter can secure more news for the paper she represents. If she requires any detailed personal information about a particular leader, she being a lady can come in touch with a lady member of his family and can get material for writing an account of that gentleman's nature, habits, temperament, etc., which is not possible for a male reporter to gather so easily without causing annoyance and trouble to the leader himself.

In another branch of journalism, *viz.*, sub-editing, a girl journalist's proficiency in the language of the newspaper will be of great help to her. Of course, in addition to this proficiency in the language of the particular newspaper to which she belongs, she must have a good knowledge in English, which is still occupying and will occupy, perhaps for many years to come, an international position of advantage. In a news agency or a newspaper office if she is engaged as a Sub-Editor under training, she has got to go through a large volume of press telegrams and news letters from correspondents'. She needs patience to go through each one of them very carefully and minutely and insert the 'articles' or 'verbs' that are wanting and correct the grammatical errors, if any, or re-write a particular portion if it lacks its full explanatory nature. If of course she is under training in the office of a weekly or monthly magazine her task is comparatively easy as she gets more time to go through the articles or stories of which she is expected to make preliminary editing before these are finally checked by the Editor. With the increased appreciation of readers of the newspaper or weekly or monthly magazine her work will also be appreciated more and more by the Editor. This will no doubt lead to her promotion in rank or increment in pay as a matter of course without much delay.

There is another independent field of journalism, *viz.* 'Freelance,' where a girl can secure a position for herself by her own industry, perseverance and originality. In this branch of journalism she has got to labour hard to improve her knowledge in different subjects and got to maintain her patience at the beginning of her career when she may find unexpectedly poor appreciation to her writings. However, her continued writings on a subject liked by her most, such as stories, articles, etc., will no doubt bring reward to her at not a very distant future. Besides the fame which she will attain as a writer will bring to her a great mental satisfaction and secure for her an honourable position in society.

Either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor a girl will enjoy her profession of journalism more than any other profession because whatever passes through her in manuscript stage will ultimately appear in print and when she will read these herself she will feel a sense of satisfaction and contentment, which she cannot get in any other profession of life. This joy and satisfaction can be compared with that of a teacher or a professor when he finds his own student succeeding in life or that of a Director when he finds the artiste he coached doing very well on the stage or in the picture he has produced.

The emoluments at the beginning which a girl can expect to receive in this profession of journalism either as a Reporter or a Sub-Editor will in no way be less than the emoluments she can earn from any other profession. Besides, she has the great possibility of becoming one day an Editor of a weekly or monthly magazine or a daily newspaper, as the case may be, and thereby get fame and money all at a time, which she can never expect so quickly and easily in any other profession, provided she is honest in her labour and can keep her head high above party squabbles. Lastly the service she can render to the society and the country through this profession is not inconsiderable. Through her writings she can guide her countrymen, specially the youth, to the right path of attaining progress and prosperity to cope with the development of other free countries of the world.

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AN ANALYSIS OF SALES-TAX

By M. MANIKYESWARA RAO, M.A.

The Indian Taxation Enquiry Commission's Report has been recently released. While reading the detailed summary in newspapers I paused over the summary chapter on sales-tax.

These days sales-tax has come to be the mainstay of States' finances especially because of the inelasticity of other sources of revenue. It has well-developed in Part A and B States. Land revenue has paled into insignificance. With the abolition of Zamindari system agricultural income tax has gone down. States' excise duties are also becoming less important as the States are embarking on policies of prohibition. The States today shoulder many responsibilities for ameliorating the socio-economic conditions of the people with such poor finances. The States consequently found a good source of revenue in sales-tax.

Sales-tax falls into the tax jurisdiction of the States. Sales-tax in our Constitutional phraseology means a tax on sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers. Even the Government of India Act, 1935, assigned the taxes on sale of goods to the provinces but the sales-tax then corresponded to excise, a central subject. In view of the powers conferred on the provinces, the C.P. passed the sale of Motor Spirits and Lubricants Taxation Act 1938. The Central Government made a reference to the Federal Court which gave its opinion that the Act of the C.P. was not *ultra vires*. For the first time this decision opened up a new reliable source of revenue to the provinces. Gradually all the States imposed this tax.

Two varieties of sales-tax have come into existence; General Sales-tax and Selective Sales-tax. Selective sales-tax was first introduced in 1938 in C.P. But soon after general sales-tax came into vogue. This was divided into multi-point and single point sales-tax. Almost all the States now conform to either of these models. Single point and double point taxes were usually levied at high rates. In the multi-point system, the rate is relatively low and exemptions are few. Even the list of exemptions vary from State to State. Most States levy high rates on luxury goods. The schedule of these goods and the rates vary considerably. Thus there is an utter lack of uniformity in rates and exemptions. This has led to the necessity of all-India co-ordination. Certain States in their anxiety to tap more revenues interpreted the term 'sale' in various ways. Some of these measures involved taxation of raw materials and goods entering into inter-State trade more than once. Our Constitution says that the legislature of a State is prohibited from imposing or authorising the imposition of a tax on the sale or purchase of any goods where such a sale or purchase takes place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce. This Article 286 w its sub-clauses opened the flood gates of controver The levies of sales-tax by certain States were qu tioned in Courts of Law. In two cases—The State Bombay *vs.* The United Motors (India) Ltd., T Travancore-Cochin Government *vs.* The Cashewn Factory—the Supreme Court gave its judgment 30th March, 1953, that in case of inter-State sa transactions only that State in which goods had b delivered for consumption had the power to such sa The administrative complexities involved in such judgment were seriously thought of by all Sta To circumvent these difficulties various proposals w put forward of which the introduction of purch tax was one. But nothing tangible resulted. Pub attention was focussed on it. Suggestions ranged fr enlarging its scope to its virtual abolition.

The Taxation Enquiry Commission having amined various views submitted their recommen tions. It has been pointed out that the future of system of sales taxation demanded decisions on ma issues of policy. The States cannot do without sa tax and the sales-tax cannot do without the Uni There is an insistent need to give a place to Union in the system. The Commission lays the bro considerations of policy as basic for the futu development of sales-tax as follows:

(1) The power and responsibility of the St must end and those of the Union begin when sales-tax of one State impinged administrativ on the dealers and fiscally on the consumers another State.

(2) Inter-State trade should be the concern the Union.

(3) Sales of goods should be divided betwe those not in the course of inter-State trade a commerce and those in the course of such tra and commerce

(4) The Union's power of levy and coni should be so exercised that there is no avoidab duplication and there is incentive for co-ordinati between the States; subject to this each St should be free to evolve the system of sales-t best suited to its conditions.

Inter-State trade becomes a subject of Centr Legislation. The Commission points out the vari legislative and administrative details and vests t Inter-State Council with recommendatory powers matters that call for a clarification. For rais substantial revenues they recommend to the Sta a general sales-tax with a low rate and a multi-po system.

They admit that in the administration of sales-t there is a constant need for exchange of informati

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between one State and another. The Report says that the Inter-State Taxation Council (to be created) should undertake the task of introducing as much uniformity as possible in matters of sales-tax laws, regulation, procedure, exemptions, etc.

They say that with the growing importance of public finance in the national economy it is important to develop an integrated national approach to problems of taxation and of expenditure. For this purpose they recommend the setting up of an All-India Taxation Council. It is a correct appraisal of basic economic policy for any modern State. But it is not understood why the Commission rejected so easily the suggestion of centralising the sales-tax and distributing the proceeds between the States on an agreed basis. The grounds on which they reject the suggestion are: (1) The sales-tax has become an integral part of the States systems which would be dislocated if so important and flexible a source is taken away. They observe that centralisation is inconsistent with its elasticity. (2) They point out that there is an enormous difficulty in administering the tax from a central place.

These objections do not seem to be very serious. They suggest a system which by no means is less difficult. It would have been better had they recommended the centralisation of the tax. The Central Government can administer effectively inter-State and intra-State sales-tax by making a list of important commodities for such taxation. The tax should be a single point tax with varying rates, luxuries and semi-luxuries being taxed heavily and necessities lightly. The Central Department need not concern itself with all commodities. It is enough if they take into consideration only commodities of importance capable of yielding large revenues. This becomes almost a system of selective sales taxation. This eliminates all duplication of work, confusion of tax jurisdiction whether the sales of goods should be included in inter-State jurisdiction or not, imposition of the tax by the Central Government and delegation of powers of assessment and collection to States, etc. The collections of the tax can be distributed among States on an agreed formula keeping in view a national economy consistent with programmes for an even development of the country.

Superficially this suggestion hampers the revenue yielding capacity of the tax. As it has been suggested that the Central Sales-tax authority should concern itself only with selected commodities the States can be allowed to devise purchase taxation. This cautious blending of sale and purchase taxes put the States in good stead. Much care has to be bestowed to see that serious cases of double taxation do not arise and that this taxation does not impinge heavily upon poorer sections of the society. This proposal is productive and eliminates tax evasion to a large extent. The Central Government can declare different sets of commodities as essential for different States. The Central Government may advise the State Governments with regard to levying of purchase tax on goods on which sales-tax has been levied by it. Thus a sort of selective sales-tax by the Central Government and a general purchase tax by the States would overcome many difficulties.

As the Commission says there is a good case for the creation of an Intelligence Section for maintenance of statistics, pattern of trade, consumption, etc., in the State and assist in checking evasion of the tax by getting the necessary information from railway authorities. This would be possible only under the Central Government.

From this analysis it follows that sales-tax would work well under Central Government. In formulating the general economic policy for the entire country they lay emphasis on a co-ordinated and an integrated approach and when it comes to a question of centralising sales-tax they emphatically refute it on the one hand and entrust the administration of inter-State sales-tax to the Central Government. Thus there is an air of artificiality about their refusal. The Commission points out that all the States are up against the tax being centralised. The Commission seems to be imbued with this peculiar complex that the States may have to lose their autonomy in fiscal affairs. India is a federation. The orthodox theory of federalism, "the rights of the Centre *versus* the rights of the States," has gone to winds. People like Wendell Wilkie emphasise upon the unitary and co-operative spirit of federalism. I very much agree with persons like Prof. R. N. Bhargava when they characterise present-day federations as co-operative federations. Our federation certainly conforms to the spirit of present-day theory of federalism. There is much truth in Prof. K. C. Wheare's statement that our State is a unitary State with subsidiary federal features. The proposition to centralise sales-tax is made not shutting the eyes to the currents of time, time that is craving for a thorough decentralisation of administrative set-up. This is suggested only to help foster a spirit of co-operation and endeavour to take a correct interpretation of State's autonomy in a federal set-up. The real significance of federalism is lost when co-operation finds no place in it. Administrative decentralisation there must be for the dispersal of democratic ideals but it can follow with a bit of centralisation in financial matters. No fears need be nursed that the State may become an "Hobbesian Leviathan." Instead this new pattern in fiscal relationships in a federation points out the possibility of plasticity of an orthodox concept of federalism.

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AN ECONOMIC INCONGRUITY

By AROON KUMAR GHOSH

The outstanding fact in the Indian economic situation today that strikes even a casual observer as most queer and baffling is that although the air is thick with talks about increase in production, the economic condition of the people does not show the least sign of improvement. The common man seems tottering under the burden of the mounting cost of living. Even by drawing upon his little fund of past savings, he finds it a tough job to make both ends meet. He hears a lot about the Five-Year Plan and the grandiose schemes undertaken by Government, but these big promises sound like empty stunts in his vacant ears as they do not give him any relief from the worries and anxieties of the morrow. There is no doubt about the fact that there has been a remarkable fall in the purchasing power of the people which accounts for the low effective demand resulting in slumpy condition in trade and business. The question, therefore naturally arises, if business outlook is dull, and there is low purchasing power while production has increased as is claimed by Government spokesmen, why the price-level is not showing a downward trend. On the other hand, if production index has registered a rise and the price-level is high, why there is business stagnation and unemployment. As Dr. John Mathai, Chairman of the Taxation Commission (Enquiry), posed the question on August 28, 1953:

> "No period since the end of the war has presented economic trends so difficult to determine and to interpret as the past twelve months. Although the level of purchasing power and consequently the demand for goods is lower, and although industrial and agricultural production has not merely been maintained but has increased the price movement is showing an upward trend. That rising prices and increased production would presume better employment, but instead unemployment was increasing."

Referring to prices the former Finance Minister said that if purchasing power was lower, it must be presumed that the effective demand for goods was weaker. But the estimated production of food-grains in 1952-53 showed a substantial increase. "If the demand is less, and the supply is greater, how does it happen that the prices of food-stuffs have risen?" It seems that the economic facet has presented a puzzling conundrum. How to solve this paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty?

The Diagnosis

There is no gainsaying the fact that the present situation is a legacy left by the war. During the war, the Government in order to meet the war-expenditure had to resort to excessive note-issue. This over-issue of currency inflated the credit structure in the market, and brought about an all-round inflation. In the aftermath of the War, Government took measures to counter the inflation, and the situation to some ex improved. The present economic situation is, h ever, fundamentally different from the phenome experienced during the War. Due to the abnor rise in effective demand caused by War expendi and its multiplier effect, business recovered from pre-War depression, and unemployment was gre reduced. If inflation then was considered as a c by the fixed income-groups, it also proved to b boon as it gave jobs to all, and removed busi stagnation. But the present economic situation sh different economic trends. Though the price-l shows no sign of falling and production is ris business outlook is not at all bright, and there unemployment. To look at the picture from the c angle, it would seem paradoxical that although production is rising and there is fall in effe demand due to the weakening of the average pur ing power of the people, the consumer price-i shows no downward trend. The cause of the mal therefore, should be sought elsewhere than in fact of inflation brought about by the last War.

Deficit Financing and Price Behaviour

Some people think that the present high leve prices is maintained by the policy of deficit finan pursued by the Government. Under certain cir stances deficit financing may boost up the price-l but this is not always true. Let us briefly con the effects of deficit financing on price behaviour.

Deficit financing literally means incurring penditure in excess of income, the resulting de being met by borrowing. During the last Great W Government indulged in deficit financing in orde meet inflated defence expenditure. Surplus budge on the other hand, means restricting expendi within the revenue in such wise that it leaves surplus. The real sense in which these two terms understood in Economic Science is, however, differ Deficit financing as an instrument of econ policy means levelling up of public expenditure s to stop the gap in private spending (both on sumption and investment) which has caused a ciency in effective demand resulting in business nation and unemployment. Similarly, surplus bu ing means framing the budget in such a way the public expenditure is retrenched so as to re an excess in private spending raising the effe demand above the optimum par, and leading boom and inflation. The level of prices, income employment in a particular community at a p cular time shows the state of effective demand is a barometer of action for the Government. we see that deficit financing may be resorted t Government, temporarily to offset a depression permanently to compensate a deficiency in pr

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spending on consumption and investment as a contra-cyclical fiscal policy. This latter policy is also known as the policy of pump-priming. Deficit financing may lead to a rise in prices if the funds spent on investment does not yield a proportionate return in the shape of higher production, and the time-lag involved in the process of production is long. If, on the other hand, the amount spent on capital formation quickly yields a rich harvest in the shape of higher production, income and employment and the time-lag is short, and no wastage occurs in the process, deficit financing does not prove inflationary. Where deficit financing brings about a rise in prices it proves that either the funds have not been properly utilised, or that there is bungling somewhere, or wastage occurs which has prevented the increase in production from materialising, thus frustrating the very purpose for which deficit financing was resorted to. Where deficit financing proves successful there may be a rise in prices in the short run due to time-lag, but in the long run such price fluctuations smoothen out.

In the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, the Government of India had to resort to deficit financing, and this may raise the price-level in the short run until the target of higher production is reached. This may, therefore, be considered as a contributory factor in maintaining the price-index at the present high level, but this is not the whole picture of the situation. Moreover, already agricultural and industrial production have been stepped up, and this might have the natural effect of reducing the price-level, but the rise in price-level still persists with dwindling purchasing power of the people and mounting unemployment.

The Real Cause

The cause for the malady has, therefore, to be sought elsewhere. The real cause is to be found in the presence of anti-social elements which are thwarting the operation of the normal economic laws of demand and supply, and are creating conditions which make competition imperfect with a view to maintain their margin of super-profit. This evil is difficult to root out because it is inherent in the capitalist system and until the economic framework is changed, the trouble-shooters will continue to spread their tentacles so as to paralyse any attempt of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the masses. This is why many people are still pessimistic about the success of the Five-Year Plan or any plan whatsoever, within the capitalistic frame-work.

Conclusion

We may, therefore, conclude that the present high price-level and inflationary condition in spite of increase in agricultural and industrial production are partly due to the policy of deficit financing pursued by Government in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan, and partly due to the anti-social activities of racketeers and black-marketers, and unless Government takes an iron hand in the matter, the corruption and moral degeneration which are eating into the vitals of our body politic cannot be eradicated.

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FODDER: THE HEADACHE OF THE DAY

By JYOTIRMOY RAY, M.A.,
Economic Research Section, Indian Central Jute Committee

Thanks to the Government of Pandit Nehru that our struggle at the food front has almost been brought to a successful termination. But every picture, however nice, has its two sides. Victory at the food front has simultaneously placed us face to face with the scarcity of fodder and in an agricultural country like India this is undoubtedly a serious problem.

Even a casual visitor in the village, particularly in the north-eastern region of India, must have noticed that thousands of cattle roaming on the scorched fields with their emaciated bodies searching for a mouthful of green grass in every possible and impossible corner. The first talk he may expect from an intelligent farmer is how to feed the bovine population—an indispensable partner to our agricultural economics. The writer of this article who is a student of village economics has often been accosted by his farmer friends as to the way of a gainful approach in this direction but alas he is no Messiah for them! What the writer has to say is incorporated in this article wtih the hope that it may be of some use to his friends who have no direct access to him.

Mechanisation of agriculture is no reply to our query. For years to come India must adhere to labour-extensive ways of planning if she really desires to tackle her enormous and ever-increasing unemployed and under-employed resources. You can replace the cattle by tractors overnight only to your peril.

There is no denying the fact that these dumb millions were never well cared for in our land. Gandhiji, the Father of the Nation, characterised the Indian cow as *a poem of pity*. While distributing the prizes at the All-India Cattle Show held in Delhi in 1948, Pandit Nehru remarked that

> "India is a strange country where people worship the cow, but nowhere is she so much neglected as in this country."

The partition of the country has farther aggravated the situation. With the influx of the unceasing streams of uprooted humanity from behind the borders, the already

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existing food problem assumed a gigantic dimension. The "Grow More Food" campaign was launched without paying any heed to other considerations whatsoever. The result was as could be expected. Besides converting the fallows and the jungles to agricultural purposes, the long-standing practice of giving the fields rest at every alternate year was totally abandoned. The problem of fodder was never pressing so long there existed fallows, jungles and uncultivated plots. Again, if the withdrawal of these pastures could be counteracted by a proportional reduction in the number of cattle, it is obvious that the question of fodder would never be a headache as it is now. But in actual practice the contrary has happened. When a reduction in the bovine population was desirable, the number actually increased to cope with the vigorous exertions to produce more food and other cash crops. This was possible by the transfer of cattle from areas which now form Pakistan as well as by the lesser incidence of death as a result of the spread of general knowledge in veterinary science among the general public. Decrease in the intake of beef, etc., as human food has also some say in the matter.

Food crops, of course, supply a good quanity of dry fodder, but that is barely 50 per cent of our requirements. Assuming the average weight of a cattle to be 5 mds. (a not very unrealistic assumption) the food requirement per head comes to about 8llbs. of dry stuff per day. For hard-working and milch animals, an increased quantity is necessary. Let us now see if this required quantity is available from the dry fodder at our disposal. It has been estimated that India possesses about 215 million heads of cattle and she produces only 15,54,90,470 tons of dry fodder. An easy calculation will show that this provides only 4.4 lbs per capita thereby leaving a deficiency of about 45 per cent of this stuff alone. This deficiency must be covered by green grass if the maintenance of cow, etc., is to be made an economically sound proposition.

A good quantity of hay, etc., is used by the low income groups in the villages for making their dwellings and it is, therefore, desirable that a good substitute for the purpose should be found out and made available to the villages at a nominal cost so as to release the fodder for more essential purpose, namely, subsistence for our bovine population, who cannot be banished from our economics for generations to come. Though no accurate statistics is available, yet there are reasons to believe that straw etc., also forms an important item in the packing of our bottled industrial produces and other fragile objects. This quantity can easily be withdrawn without any hardship.

Again it is a known fact that more than 20% of our cattle are unserviceable and do no other good but consume a huge quantity of fodder in exchange of which they, of course, provide us with a certain amount of manure. In the interest of the efficiency of our farms these lives should be destroyed or deported to the inaccessable regions of the country thereby minimising the burden on our too acute fodder problem. There should be no place of sentiments in economics. Moreover, skins and bones can be more profitably utilised for other purposes.

The writer is far from advocating that the above measures are sufficient to solve our problem. What is necessary is that over and above all these, we must take active interest in the cultivation and propagation of green grass for our cattle as we are keen in producing more food for our increasing populaion.

Napier, Makai, Guinea, Barseem, etc., are the most common species of green fodder having quick-growing and heavy-yielding capabilities. They are nutritious also. In this country, however, Napier is the most well-known variety and its propagation is found to be encouraged by some enlightened State Governments including the Government of West Bengal. There is no reason why it should not be extensively grown by all and sundry once they are told of its importance and given demonstration as to the actual process of its cultivation.

Assuming that it may be of some use to the readers of this journal, I may venture to lay down briefly the salient features in this respect. Vigorous-growing Napier is a perennial crop. It can be sown any time preferably excepting the winter days when its growth remains dormant. Monsoon months are ideal for sowing but it must be remembered that though extremely fond of water, Napier cannot stand water-logging. High alluvial or loamy soils are well suited for its purpose. Heavy manuring—about 80 mds. of cow-dung per bigha—in a well-pulverised soil is necessary to yield the maximum result. Plants grow as high as 10|12 feet and for fodder the first cutting can be obtained within 3 months of the sowing when the crop assumes a height of 3|4 feet. One can expect 5 or 6 cuttings a year in a well-cared-for plot giving an yield of about 600 mds. per bigha.

It is, perhaps, known to all that Napier looks like sugarcane when matured in view of its having hard stem and prominent nodes and internodes. Its propagation is also like sugarcane done through stems cut into sets. It can, however, also be propagated by roots without any inconveniences whatsoever.

To reduce operational costs, it should be sown in rows so that the subsequent inter-cultures can be given with a simple hand-driven appliance called the wheel hoe. Frequent inter-cultures benefit the plants abundantly. Every cutting should preferably be followed by hoeing, manuring and irrigation when possible. Rich cow-dung can also be used at this stage without causing any harm to the plants.

If the average body weight of a cow is about 5 mds. the per capita requirement of grass cannot exceed 16 srs. a day. It is, therefore, obvious that per capita requirement of food is 144 mds. (16×30×12) for the whole year. Now if the average yield of Napier is 600 mds. per bigha, one can conveniently feed a

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than 4 heads of cattle from a tiny patch of land comprising an area of ·33 acres if only proper planning is done beforehand. As the sowing can be extended till October, a section of the idle labour forces—both human and cattle—at the end of jute harvesting and paddy (Aman) trnasplanting can be most profitably utilised for the purpose.

No sane man will disagree when it is told that in the present economic set-up of India, Cattle is indispensable for our agricultural operations and there is hardly any indication to show that the situation will be otherwise in the near future. So it is high time that we should look earnest in the matter of improving the health and vitality of these dumb partners of ours. The slogan of the day should be not "Abolish Cow-slaughter" but "Improve our Cattle Wealth."

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WAY BACK FROM DARJEELING

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

Darjeeling district I have visited often enough but whenever I go to that side I make it a point to go to Darjeeling town and peep at Kanchanjangha if weather permits, and a short rest at the Mall in the hope of meeting old acquaintances follows as a matter of course. The conquest of Everest, which is invisible from there, and a reference to Tensing are yet interesting topics. I had been to Kurseong for a change and visited Darjeeling on the last day of my stay. I moved about a lot but rather early in the day and long before a bus was due to start I took a seat beside the driver for a comfortable journey down. But at the last moment, an Anglo-Indian girl asked me to give my seat to her. The tortuous journey would make her sick and a side seat would be handy for her. Although old myself, a sense of chivalry prompted me to move in. But the excuse was only a pretext. She carried on a lively conversation with another girl in the second row of seats—no sign of sickness. I purposely abstained from any conversation but when I heard that it was her father, who constructed the admirable railway line from Siliguri to Darjeeling through hard rocks and precarious slopes, I could not check myself. Could she only in her teens, have a father active in 1870, when the line was built? I blurted out that I had heard that same story at least twice before, as indeed I had. I hoped that this would put a stop to further wild talk. But I was mistaken. In two or three minutes, I learned that she was preparing for Senior Cambridge at Bombay and that she devoted her spare time as an apprentice with the Salvation Army for the good of the country. In the long speech that followed, the word "Gentleman" escaped her and I came to the conclusion that she was doing her work well and had a good memory to repeat her usual lecture. I felt relieved, at Kurseong, when I got down at the foot of St. Mary's Hill.

St. Mary and Dowhill on the hills of Kurseong are very quiet but are close to Darjeeling. People fond of company or society prefer Darjeeling, where in close residential quarters they flock during the two milder periods of the year, when heat scorches the plains. But I enjoy such delights only occasionally and prefer Kurseong where one may take a morning journey to Darjeeling and return by evening.

Tensing, conqueror of Everest

Kurseong is situated to the north of the level plains of Bengal. The south winds from the seas, after traversing 300 miles of flat terrain suddenly meet the rising hills here and moisture they contain condenses into water particles from the cold and falls as rain. The annual rainfall here is about 170 ins., which is rather heavy compared to Darjeeling's 126 ins. and Calcutta's 62 ins. A similar situation at Cherapunji in Assam with abrupt higher hills nearer to the sea gives the place the highest rainfall in the world—over 400 ins. The regular South wind from the sea during the summer months is one of the precious gifts of nature to Bengal, which in the plains, as in Calcutta is very pleasant towards the evenings. Water takes longer to heat (than land) when cold and longer to cool when once heated. During the day the

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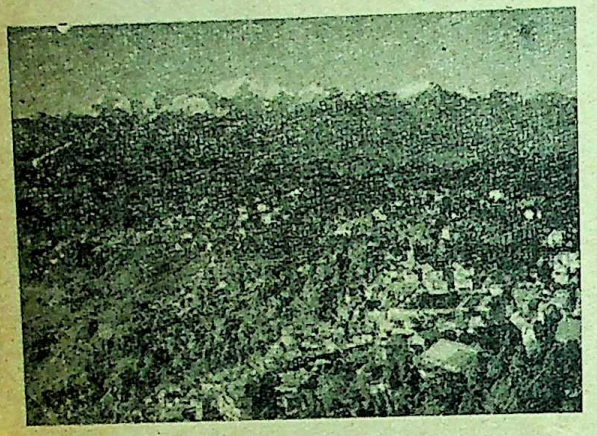
air in contact with the earth gets heated by sun's rays, becomes lighter and flows upwards. This occurs more slowly over water than over land. So the comparatively cooler air from the sea moves towards the land by the afternoon to take the place of the air moving upwards there in large quantities. It is evident that during early mornings, the contrary happens and cold air flows from the land towards the sea.



The city of Darjeeling, Kanchanjangha in the background

One hundred years ago, the whole region on this side was a vast wild. Darjeeling area with a portion of the plains belongs to the Raja of Sikkim. The site of Darjeeling was first sighted by General Lloyd in 1828 during an expedition to settle differences between Nepal and Sikkim. For decades there had been invasions by Nepal Gurkhas reaching as far as Sikkim and Darjeeling areas and culminating in war with the East India Company in 1814. The Company restored the territory to the Raja of Sikkim, all under the paramountcy of the Company. Lloyd and Grant had been urging Government to start a sanatorium and established a military outpost at Darjeeling. In 1834, the Raja again received help to counter a Lepcha inroad into Sikkim. This was followed by a deed of gift of the region between Darjeeling and Siliguri, against a yearly tribute of Rs. 3,000, subsequently raised to Rs. 6,000 (to save face!). Dr. Campbell, the British Resident in Nepal, was transferred to Darjeeling as Superintendent in 1839. He developed the district by opening out roads including the military road from Pankhabari to Kurseong and on to Darjeeling over the Sinchal hills between 1839 and 1842. He established law and order in the then lawless country. There were only 100 inhabitants in Darjeeling but in ten years the number swelled to over 10,000, as refugees crowded into the place from Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, when slavery was prevalent. Then the rise slowed down; by 1869, there were 22,000 souls.

The vast tea industry is based on Dr. Campbell's experiments with acclimatised China stock from Assam. Twenty years later, one of his plants had developed to 20 ft. high and 50 ft. girth. The tea industry was established commercially by the year 1856 and drew individual Europeans. In 1861, for convenient transport, the old military road to the hills being narrow and steep the ingenious cart road was hewed out of the rocks. The Ganges-Siliguri Road was also constructed by 1866. So long it involved a long tedious journey in boats, horses, palanquins bullock carts, etc. The railway was built in 1881. The tea industry grew by leaps and bounds; there were 38 gardens in 1866, which increased to 170 by 1900. At first it had to be kept in check to prevent reckless deforestation. It is today restricted owing to over-production. With the introduction of machinery and large demand of timber for packing and fuel, there was a great influx of labourers, mechanics, and the population grew enormously, fully two-thirds being employed in tea. There was general economic development but the expansion necessitated Company management, individual purses being insufficient. Only small unpretentious concerns under Indian management started later nearer the malarious plains.

Zigzag railway, Darjeeling

So, Dr. Campbell had not experimented in vain. Cinchona experimental plantations were started in 1864 at Mangpu, east of the Sinchal hills. Since quinine was indispensable and foreign products were costly, it was continued as a Government concern although it was not lucrative. Coffee, tobacco, rubber camphor have also been tried and abandoned.

There was trouble in 1850. Dr. Campbell was held in detention in Sikkim but was soon restored after a punitive expedition. Full administration of the area up to Sikkim Doars was taken over by the Company. Difficulties however arose again but were finally settled in 1860 on the Sikkim side. But in the early sixties, inroads from Bhutan started another war and resulted in annexation of Kalimpong and adjacent hills and Doars in the plains.

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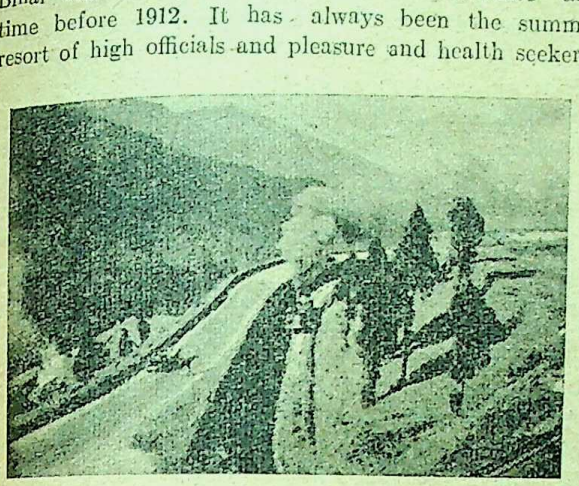
Darjeeling has always been a part of Bengal, though for 6 years of the Bengal Partition, Darjeeling was tagged to Bhagalpur Division, Rajshahi Division had been made a part of East Bengal and Assam. Bihar had no separate existence as a Province any time before 1912. It has always been the summer resort of high officials and pleasure and health seekers.

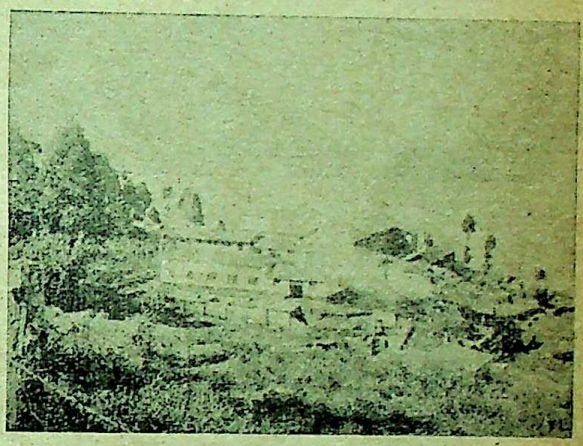


A loop in the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway

A school for girls, St. Mary's College and an Industrial School for boys were started at Kurseong in 1889. Much earlier in 1846, the Loretto Convent at Darjeeling, the first missionary institution there and a seminary were established but the living and lodging conditions there were so severe that it is said that a lady committed suicide. The St. Paul's School at Calcutta, after many vicissitudes had been transferred by Government in 1864 to Darjeeling for the education of the children of Government servants. The Dowhill School was started in 1879 by Government also for the same purpose at Kurseong. For education in a suitable climate on the lines of the English schools, many well-to-do people now-a-days send their children to the schools here. Near about Kurseong, catering for over 600 boarders and day-scholars there are the Dowhill, Victoria, St. Helen's and Goethal schools of a high standard.

The history of missionary activities in this area practically started in 1879, when Dr. Goethal, Archbishop of Calcutta, purchased Woodcot, not far from Kurseong from a planter and gave it over for the use of sick and tired missionaries. It was occupied in 1884. Loretto Convent at Darjeeling, as already stated was started in 1846. On the question of jurisdiction whether Bengal or Bihar should control activities, further expansion was held over for long years, in spite of individual enterprises for promoting education. At the time, visitors from Calcutta (1861) were urging Government to open a sanatorium and a college at Darjeeling ("remarkable for its strange beauties"). The Roman Catholic Fathers were also urging higher authorities to get the mission under the Calcutta Archbishopric. Administration of Darjeeling District was transferred from Bihar to Bengal in 1881. St. Joseph's Seminar was taken over after acquiescence of authorities from the Capuchins (a Roman Catholic Order) of Patna in 1886 and is now widely known as "North-Point."

In the year 1887 the Maharaja of Burdwan, in need of money, sold 117 acres of land near Kurseong for Rs. 3600 to the Roman Catholic Fathers. It was not a bad bargain. It stands on an incomparable site known as St. Mary's Hill in a building which has been added to from time to time; the extension of central and two side wings were undertaken for much needed expansion as well as a measure of protection from earthquakes. The fine Grotto close to the College begun in 1897, was finished in 1924 with great care under difficulties. The mansion Woodcot has also kept pace with the improvements of the College. The College may be said to have started in 1889 when the scholastics from Asansol were transferred to this cooler place.



Farmhouse attached to St. Mary's College

The College number about 100 teachers and students in all. They come from Bombay, Madras and other different States in India, as well as from foreign countries, having severed all connections with their homes. They do not like to discuss their previous history on principle. They are graduates of Indian, European and American Universities in various subjects: literature, philosophy, science, mathematics, etc. All have undergone after leaving their homes, at least ten years of training, before starting the Divinity course which lasts for four years here. After ordination, they become priests and begin educational and religious work. If necessary, these graduates are sent to various places for even further studies. In this way the scholars are specialised in different subjects. After ordination, they go out to Calcutta side (St. Xavier's College, for example), to Patna, Ranchi, Madras (Loyala College), Trichinopoly and many other places. By 1939, 587 left the college as teachers' of whom 275 were in Bengal

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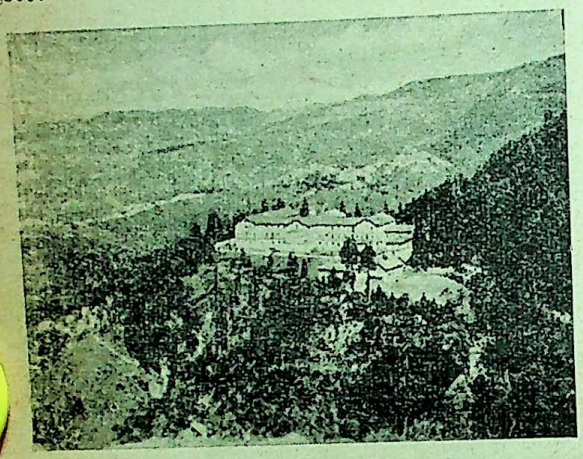
and Ranchi, 169 in Madras and the rest distributed throughout India. The incomparable library of the place, containing mainly the sacred books of all religions for study, has a varied collection, including complete works of Rabindranath, Bankimchandra, Saratchandra and other writers in Bengali and covers the various subjects of philosophy, science, history, mathematics, geography, etc. There were 20,000 volumes in the library in 1939 and the present figure is 48,000, the yearly addition being roughly about 1,500.



St. Mary's College, Kurseong

The farm connected with the institution is wonderful. About 50 cows, 100 pigs and 200 fowls are well-lodged, cleanly kept and well fed. Some foreign cows give as much as 20 to 25 seers of milk per day. They live in a spacious shed and the maintenance cost is Rs. 3 per head. Fowls of selected breeds are kept segregated within separate enclosures with open grounds. The eggs are bigger than ducks' eggs. In spite of their dirty habits, the pigs are cleanly kept. In adjoining grounds, various vegetables are extensively grown. The produce is utilised in the kitchen of the Institution and any excess is accessible to the public. All these are under the whole-hearted superintendence of Brother Smidth, a hard-working, experienced Brother, who left his home in Tito's country, 27 years ago.

The social work for improving the standard of living of the local people excites admiration. The old Doctor Brother Buysse would be often seen tramping down the hillsides at dead of night to succour needy people. Patients flock from distant parts, including Darjeeling to consult him. He left his home in Belgium over 50 years ago. He is known in the bazaar as the great man of St. Mary's. The maintenances of the establishment, such as building new structures or repairing the old and the running of the institution are all carried on by the members themselves with occasional engagement of local people. The example of simple life and sense of dignity of labour, ought to be an eye-opener in this country. Beyond various kinds of help the Fathers are rendering, their work is aimed at raising the standard of life. If one or two are converted to Christianity in this connection there is nothing to grudge in this land of neglected humanity, handicapped by caste restrictions. The Hindu Gita recognises all religions as paths for salvation as opposed to forcible conversions which were often accompanied by unspeakable horrors in olden times. After all, the record is rather poor. The first Baptism of two took place at Kurseong in 1876 and by 1905, 200; by 1932, 300 altogether were converted. For the background of the education and culture derived from this source, we should be grateful. There is no fear of missionary first, trade next followed by occupation and exploitation. Was there not, in no very distant past, mass conversions in East Bengal and Southern India through the influence of the ruling power? This was easy owing to suppression of humanity from a Brahmin superiority complex. Yet the conversions did not produce complete social equality as was professed. But the present village squabbles and communalism and trek towards towns owing to partition are inevitably levelling the social inequality.

Poultry reared in the farmhouse

As an institution of Missionaries vowed to poverty and celibacy, women are not allowed inside the compound of the college, except the family of higher officials, *e.g.*, the Governor. After many years the present Governor's wife paid a visit to the institution last year.

For me it was a problem to distinguish between Fathers and Brothers for a long time, though it was evident that Brothers were not sons of Fathers. Now it has been clear that Brothers undertake all kinds of secular work in running the institution, while Fathers study and preach on the religious side. To obey superiors without question, obedience is a cardinal principle of the Roman Catholic Church. The Pope

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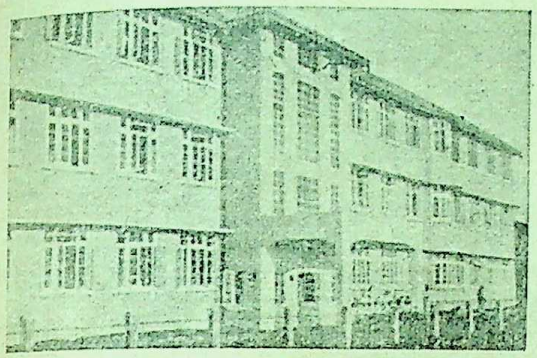
of Rome is the supreme Head, the representation of God on earth. Matters are not decided by democratic vote in religion but there there is ample scope for expression of honest opinion. If Jesus Christ had to take votes for religious tenets, there would have been no Christianity, which would have been a calamity for the world.

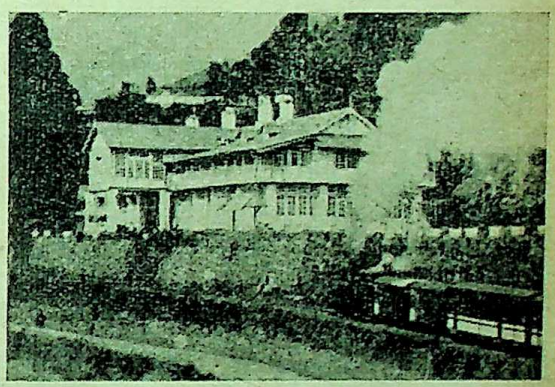


T. B. Sanatorium, Kurseong

As to the industrial school, various attempts had only been preparing the ground, which Father Wery as Parish Priest of St. Mary's gave a practical shape in 1932. During an official inspection about 20 years ago, the writer visited a tailoring class of Father Wery in a room in St. Alphonsus' Primary School, below the college, opened in 1905. Father is an old enthusiastic worker in whose hands with the help of Brother Robin, the huge establishment of the St. Alphonsus' (1937) Industrial School and High School has grown up, year by year on the site of the old Clarendon Hotel, where, earlier in life, the writer had stayed for a while. It was through Father Wery that he settled here and became known intimately to the Fathers and Brothers, for which he is ever grateful.

Parish work at St. Mary's consists of looking after the welfare of the local Catholics, over and above running an Orphanage School. After the removal of St. Alphonsus School to the town of Kurseong a primary school continued under the name of St John's School. Originally looked after by Fathers of the college the combined work became too heavy and Father Wery was succeeded by other Fathers, Henrichs, Daly and Farrell, the present incumbent. The writer is a next door neighbour and is indebted to all of them for their kindness.

The famous T.B. Sanatorium at Kurseong was started by Sri S. B. Dey on the hills over the railway station in 1937 with his large contributions in land and buildings. In 1942, Government granted further land for extension of the institution at a nominal revenue and up to 1951 donated over 5 lakhs of rupees for further expansion. The total amount spent was over 9 lakhs, the balance being secured from the public. To the original 20 beds and subsequent additions in cottages, 111 more were available in a new commodious building. At present there are 172 beds and the long waiting lists show that many more are in demand. Some beds are maintained by public bodies and others by the Sanatorium including 25 free beds, at the instance of the Government, for the poor local patients, who are specially liable to T.B. There are also 7 more free beds and 15 half-free beds; besides help of various kinds is given to sufferers. The patients come mostly from Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts and some from Calcutta. Provinces outside Bengal also send patients. About 300 patients are treated yearly under the competent and undivided attention of Dr. Guha and each patient lives on the premises for 9 months on the average. About 90 per cent fully recover now and the percentage is rising. Most gratefully the patients leave with a new lease of life. Even in this healthy station, fresh and strengthening diet is essential and so the overall expenditure per patient reaches nearly Rs. 100 to Rs. 275 per month. The usefulness of the institution and the necessity of enlarging it should be realised by all, as we constantly hear of the extending inroads of the fell disease.



The Kurseong Industrial School

My friend the late Kiron Shankar Roy was instrumental in starting this institution. I remember an incident in the early years of his life, when he, after referring to the friendship of our two families for three generations, claimed my vote in the Council elections. Shouts of "vote for Kass Roy" from a crowded lorry still ring in my ears.

From Kurseong, we get a good view of the plains, of which the main feature is the Teesta valley. The Teesta starts from Kanchanjangha and flows for over 100 miles through Tibet and Sikkim and then along the boundary of the latter. The little Rangit river, as can be seen from Darjeeling to the West and North, turns round and falls into the great Rangit, north of Darjeeling. The combined waters then run into the Teesta between Darjeeling and Kalimpong, almost east of Darjeeling, on its way south to the plains. The gorge 300 ft. broad at the Coronation

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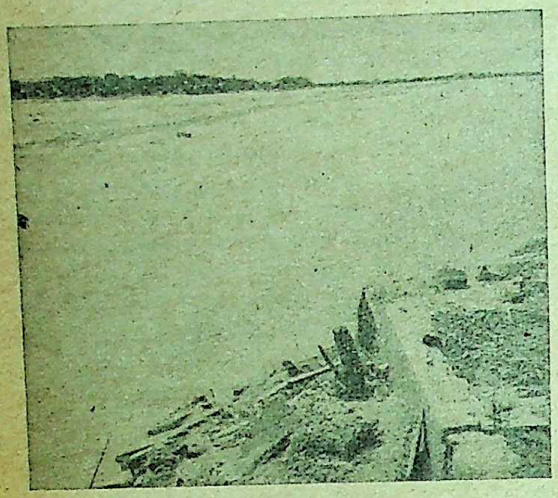
bridge at Sevoke widens to 800 ft. within 700 yards at the new Sevoke bridge and to 4500 ft. or 6 times within a mile from the bridge. The Teesta then divides into several streams and flows south-east to the distant Brahmaputra by Jalpaiguri.



Flood in Cooch-Behar

The name Teesta is derived from *trishna* (thirst) or from *trisrota* (three streams). While a mythological story that it was brought down from the Himalayas by Mahadeva, as was the Bhagirathi or Ganges, to quench the thirst of a demon, one of favourites, fighting with Parbati, is based on the former, the actual course points to the latter. In no distant past, this wide river was frequented in its lower reaches by trading and pleasure boats, when its banks were thriving. Bankim's *Devi Choudhurani* gives some idea of the past prosperity.

There is a railway station called Mahanadi about five miles to the east of Kurseong. The Mahanadi river rises close to this place but instead of running towards the Teesta nearby, to the east, turns west and flows between the new and old stations of Siliguri. It meets the Balasan river a little to the south and west of the situation. From Kurseong is seen the Balasan river before it falls into Mahanadi, running its circuitous course and separating Kurseong and its western hills, just as the Mechi river on the other side of those hills separate Bengal from Nepal. The Mechi also meets the Mahanadi further south above Kishengunge referred to later. Known as Mahananda, it flows by Maldah and falls into the Ganges near Godagari, almost opposite to the source of Bhagirathi as it flows past Murshidabad, Navadwip and Calcutta to the sea.

After spending the night at Kurseong, it was convenient for me to take lunch at the Station and to wait for the afternoon train. Most unexpectedly there arrived my old friend, Mr. Sudhir Sen of Messrs. Sen-Raleigh & Co., and his talented wife from Kishengunge to Siliguri and filling up the

with two foreign experts for a short visit to Darjeel for a glimpse of the snows. They also took th lunch and proceeded upwards. And downwards by t long tortuous railway line along the hill-side I d reached the new Siliguri Station at dusk. The f journey on this line is most fascinating for a visito The waterfall known as Paglajhora excites admirati amongst the varied scenery all along the wa Although eternally in a state of repairs, owing constant landslides during the rains, the road wonderful with several loops and zigzags, by wh considerable amounts of altitudes are negotiate There is a story that the Engineer in charge of fi laying down the line was in despair at a certain poi when he could not proceed further. His wife rat pleasantly said, "why not go back" and this gave t the idea of zigzag. After the glorious snows Darjeeling these somewhat lose their charm.

Before the Partition of Bengal, three nar (2 feet between line) and one broad (5 ft. 4 i railway lines terminated at Siliguri. The narrow l

Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy discussing Cooch-Behar flood

were from Darjeeling, from Kalimpong bridge from Kishengunge (where the former Oudh and hoot line terminated). The other ran straight f Calcutta through present Pakistan. There was another line, the Bengal Doars Railway (constru in 1902) of intermediate width (1 metre, nearly ins.) from the east up to Bagrakot within 22 m from Siliguri, the river Teesta obstructing jun with Siliguri. From the necessity of becoming i pendent of Pakistan, consequent on the sudden p tion of Bengal and for direct connection betwee parts of West Bengal and also with Assam, the pro Assam Link (metre line throughout) was constru in a record time of 2 years replacing the narrow

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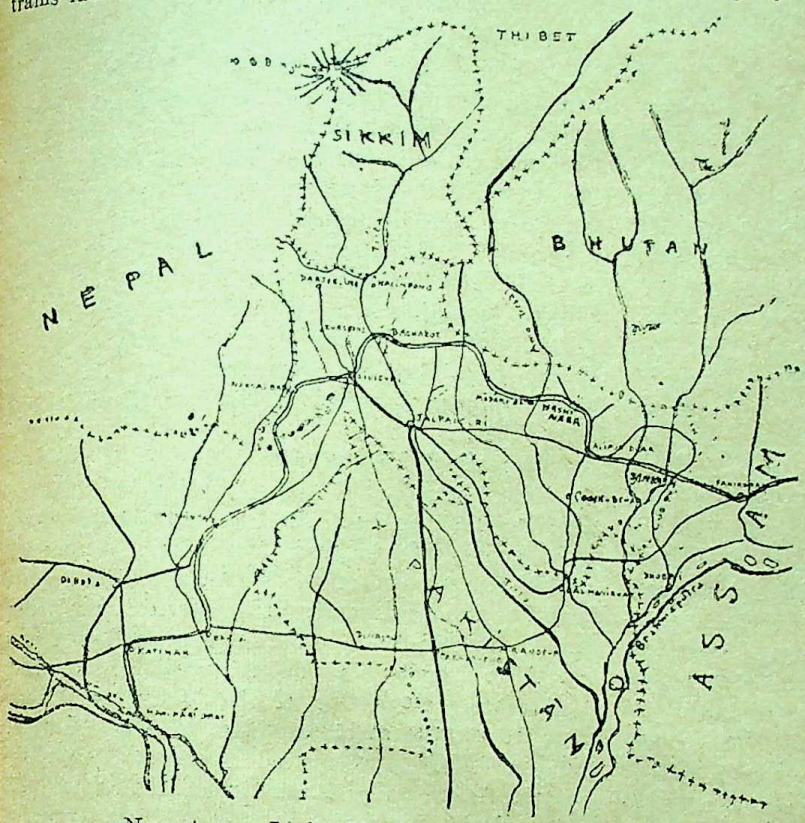
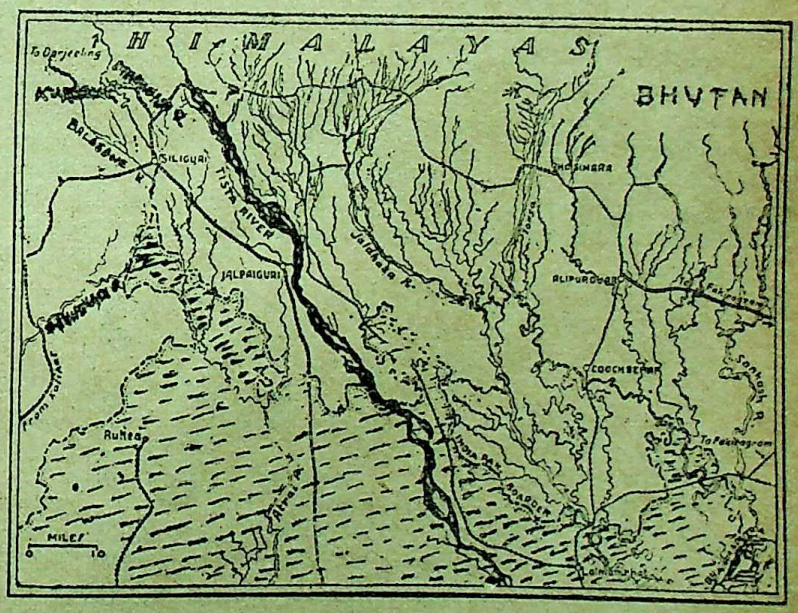
for a direct route to Assam. It was projected towards the end of 1947. Construction started in 1948 and trains ran by 1950. It may be noted that the narrow line to Darjeeling remained as it was and a metre line replaced the old broad line of 25 miles to Jalpaiguri and extended 13 miles to Haldibari on the Pakistan border near Parbatipur. Formerly the route from Bengal to Assam was through Parbatipur and Lalmonirhat and branch lines ran north from Lalmonirhat. One such terminated on one side at Bagrakot already mentioned, near the Teesta, and on the other side at Madarihat on the Torsa (another difficult river for bridging) from Tibet through the Bhutan hills after its 160 miles course. Another branch went through Cooch-Behar and Alipur Doars to beyond Hashimara. The steep banks of the Teesta, narrowing inside the hills, and suddenly widening in the plains made the construction of a bridge difficult. Difficulties and dangers to which the Assam Link Railway is susceptible are: (*i*) Periodical changes in the course of innumerable streams descending from high hills on one side of the line, (*ii*) Geological formation of hills —the fragility of the hills on one side of these hills. With heavy rain on the top of the hills, the streams none too deep, spate over and flow down in terrific velocity washing down earth, trees and boulders causing the disappearance of roads, embankments and bridges. The same was also true regarding "the wild and untamed" Torsa, 60 miles away. Projects for bridges were seriously entertained in 1927 but were not pushed owing to difficulties. A third river Sankosh near the northern extremity of Cooch-Behar at the boundary between West Bengal and Assam was another obstacle. All three and hundreds of small streams had to be bridged over before the Assam Link utilising the existing Bagrakot to Madarihat line (52 miles) and Hashimara to Alipur Doars portion (28 miles) could be joined by new construction to the old line at Fakirgaon (24 miles to the boundary of Bengal and 21 miles further) well inside Assam, to avoid Pakistan territory. Of course, other connections of 13 miles from Siliguri over a new bridge over Mahanadi to Sevoke (Teesta bridge) to Bagrakot as well as 5 miles from Madarihat



New Assam Link. North Bengal under flood



The Tista river

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(Torsa bridge) to Hashimara had to be made to complete the line, which is unique in that within a few miles of most of the line at an elevation of about 400 ft., the lower ranges of the Himalayas rise to 8 to 10 thousand feet high.

The area, 60 miles long and 20 miles broad between Teesta and Torsa at the foot of the hills is known as the Bengal or Western Doars, thriving in tea industry. Owing to the difficulty of access, it is not widely known in Lower Bengal. In this area lies the famous educational centre of Cooch-Behar, the sphere of activity of Professor Brojendra Seal; a place where poor, but eager and meritorious students used to flock for a rather inexpensive higher education.

The population of Siliguri (784 in 1901) numbered 20000 in 1948 and rose to 45000 by 1950. At present it is much higher, the place expanding in various activities.

Among passengers from different directions, *i.e.*, Darjeeling, Assam, Bihar, North and West Bengal, I entrained at Siliguri for Moniharighat. Though my seat was reserved, newcomers without reservation had to be accommodated by negotiation (according to our highest authorities) although after some altercation, at the price of some unwilling self-sacrifice. In the course of the conversation it was soon known that we were all refugees from East Bengal and this aroused considerable sympathy. As the conversation went on, we learnt that not only were we co-villagers but were also relatives. Dispersions from our original homes had made us complete strangers. Now followed an welcome seat distribution at willing self-sacrifice because realisation of relationship endears one creating a desire to please and be pleased. I have had similar experience at least twice in my life when as an official I had to do much travelling. Perhaps, I was over-insistent on my rights in resisting encroachment.

Due West, Bagdogra, the famous airport of North Bengal, was reached after 7 miles and Naxalbari after another 7. This is within a mile of the Nepal border. The line then turns south and after 14 miles passes Galgalia, less than 2 miles from Nepal and after a slight bulge to the east reaches Thakurgaon 7 miles to the south-west. Here the line runs parallel to and inside the boundary of Bihar, now subject to a controversy. Mount Everest is visible from here. Had it been clear and daylight I would have attempted a peep. A branch of the Tagore family is said to have once settled here, whence the name. The place, on a plateau, overlooks Mahanadi in the south. The dense Nepal forests are on the west and the *terai* starts from the north. Thirty-one miles to the south-west lies Kishengunge where as already stated the O. T. Railway terminated. Now all is the same railway. Barsoi junction lies 35 miles below. In pre-partition days the railway connection with Assam, or Central Bengal lay east from Barsoi, 33 miles inside Bengal, through Dinajpur, Parbatipur, Rangpur and Lalmonirhat.

We reached Moniharighat early in the morning. The actual crossing of the Ganges in the steamer takes less than an hour but the transhipment of the mails, goods, etc., involves four hours. This delay forcibly reminds one of the former overnight journey from Calcutta to Siliguri. The steamer was rather crowded but offered a chance for a good wash and tea. After crossing, a fellow passenger, to whom another was complaining of the delay, very appropriately expressed surprise at his eagerness to taste the smoke and heat of Calcutta, instead of the pure air of the Ganges. As, many passengers were bathing in the Ganges, I also had a dip. While not exactly admitting the efficacy of the Ganga bath, I felt much refreshed after the crowded night travel.

Almost along the route taken by Mir Kasim, the last of Bengal Nawabs to leave Murshidabad, I reached Bolpur by 1 P.M. My relation there, previously informed, treated me to a sumptuous meal and once more I paid a visit to Santiniketan to offer my homage to the world poet Rabindranath's place. The evening train brought me to Calcutta and nothing special happened in this familiar journey.

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KUMARI CHANDRALEKHA AND HER ART

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

A new star has arisen on the horizon of South Indian Classical Dance. Kumari Chandralekha, in the course of a few years, has suddenly leaped into fame and is already considered one of the few fine dancers who possess an enviable mastery over some of the most intricate numbers of Bharata Natyam. And the credit is the greater since, while she does not belong to the South she has yet so steeped herself in its culture and its art, that it is difficult, both in her daily life as well as on the stage, to believe that she was not born and brought up in the South and its great traditions.

A rare personality, vivacious and brimming over with grace, she combines high culture with remarkable modesty which have won the hearts of thousands of admirers and well-wishers not only in her own country, but in countries outside India. Besides being an outstanding danseuse, destined for greater and greater achievements with time and continued work, she is a serious student of literature, law and politics, a fine hostess and brilliant conversationalist. But her chief interest in life is the dance which she considers most urgent in the life of the nation. She believes in using her art in the service of her people and dreams of working new creations out of old traditions, dances touching the life and problems of the people and interpreting them. During her tour in China, hardly a year and a half ago, she danced the theme of War and Peace, an item which won great applause from Chinese audiences and which still lingers in their memories. She won a prize two years ago at the International Dance Competition held in Berlin at which a hundred and four countries competed: and her art brought her encomiums from thousands of people in the Soviet Union including artists, painters, musicians and dancers. She received a beautiful gift of old Uzbek jewellery from no less a dancer than the world-famous Tamara Khanoum, in appreciation of her rare art.

Kumari Chandralekha danced at the Rashtrapati Bhavan recently. It was a performance at which the elite of Delhi were present, including the President himself, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister and other high officials of the State. Both her *guru*, Ellappa Pillai, and herself received great praise and appreciation as also medals from the President.

In Kumari Chandralekha's art we see a great tradition at work in its purest form; at no point of her dance do we find any attempt at mixing it with lesser forms in order to make it popular—an unfortunate habit which one finds creeping into the dances of several fine artists who hardly realise the damage they thereby do to classical tradition.

What Chandralekha has already achieved is unique achievement, thanks to her own genius and hard work, as well as to the meticulous training which she has been undergoing under the guidance and care of her *guru*, Sri Ellappa Pillai of Conjeevaram, who hails from a family of well-known Tanjore *Nattuvannars*. Ellappa's *guru* was the famous Kandappan, Balasaraswati's *guru*; unfortunately, he died early in life, but fortunately for him, he has left behind him at least two worthy exponents of his art: Balasaraswati and Ellappa Pillai who, in turn, are doing their best to preserve it through younger artists like Chandralekha who promise to fulfil the ambition of their respective *gurus*. Yet, it is not every day that one comes across genius which is again different from talent. Talent may achieve what the average cannot achieve: while genius achieves what talent cannot. And it is obvious that Chandralekha must be classed in the latter category.

A dancing pose of Chandralekha
Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

There is a difference in style between the Pandanallur school and the Kandappan. The former is represented by Rukmini Devi and Shanta Rao and the latter by Balasaraswati and Chandralekha. In the

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former we see broad movements and severe sculptural poses; while in the latter there is intricate footwork

Another dancing pose of Chandralekha
Photo: Yash Pal Khanna

and rhythm-pattern combined with breath-taking tempo. Both these styles, however, occupy their distinctive places in the great art of Bha Natyam.

Chandralekha's repertoire is rich and varied; dances Alarippu in more than one rhythm, seve Varnams, Tillanas . . . Natanam Adinar is one her most successful and breath-taking numb Padams in Telugu, Tamil and Canarese are rende by her with grace born of individuality. But greatest numbers are Useni Swarajati Varnam Tana Varnam which she renders with almost envi mastery.

Useni Swarajati Varnam was first danced at court of the Chola Kings in the ancient Tanjore st since when it had been lost and forgotten. It revived by Sri Ellappa Pillai and taught to Kum Chandralekha who danced it a few months ago Madras, before a large and distinguished audience artists and critics, including Musiri Subramania Ay E. Krishna Iyer and Balasaraswati who gave unstinted praise and blessings.

Useni Varnam is a long and intricate da number. All told, it covers about two hours covers, as well, the seven difficult *talams* of Carn music, which, with lightning speed, change from to another with the quality almost of a spiri feat! One such number is enough to establish dancer in the realm of the classical dance, and th is no doubt left in the minds of those who had privilege of seeing Chandralekha rendering it, she is already a danseuse who has to her credit achievement and a great future.

———:O:———

SULPHUR SPRINGS OF VAJRESWARI

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

Mineral waters, thermal springs, spas and geysers of Europe, America, New Zealand, Japan, Tibet, India and other countries are of vital interest for geologists, hydrotherapists and millions of patients suffering from rheumatism, arthritis, synovitis, gout, high blood pressure, skin diseases and very many other ailments. Volcanic regions like Japan, New Zealand and Italy abound in mineral springs, hot and cold. Thermal springs are found not only in volcanic and mountaneous regions, but also in icy cold regions like Iceland, Tibet and the snow-capped Pyrenees, Alps and the Himalayas.

The most cosmopolitan thermal spring in the world today is Karlsbad, a city located 116 miles north-west of Prague in Czechoslovakia where over 1,000 doctors go to study and practise balneotherapy every year, and millions of patients throng to receive water treatment for various rheumatic, muscular, cutaneous and nervous affections. When Emperor Karl of Austria visited those hot springs some 200 years ago, it was a negligible village of about persons. But today this classical hydrotherapic cen has a floating population of half a million, permanent population of about 30,000. Pistani spr is the second best in Czechoslovakia.

Although today the word "Spa" is used for hot mineral spring where treatment for diseases carried out, the original "Spa" is situated in Belgi in Leige Province. The French, the Italians, British and the Americans so fully developed th mineral water resources that they usurped the of "Spa" to their own watering centres. Today means any hot mineral spring used for treatment.

India's mineral spring resources, compared to big size and also compared to most other countr are poor. On the Indo-Tibetan border, in the Pun and Sind, in Gujarat and Maharashtra are found mineral springs. But India's No. 1 mineral spring therapeutic use is the two groups of sulphur spr Vajreswari, which is destined to become somet

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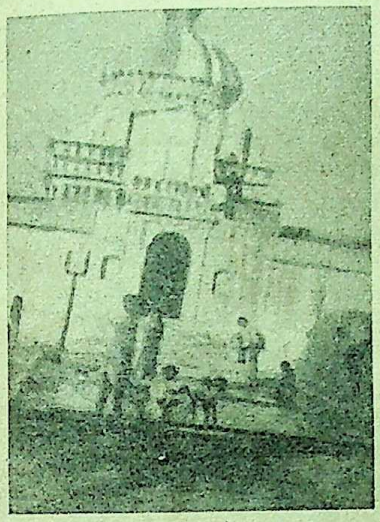
like the Karlsbad of India. This superb mineral spring resource in Maharashtra, lies at a distance of about fifty-three miles north-east of Bombay city, about seventeen miles east of Bassein Road Station on the B.B. & C.I. Railway and twenty-seven miles north of Thana on the Central Railway. From Bassein Road or from Thana one can reach Vajreswari by Bombay State Transport bus. All those who cannot afford the luxury of a private motor car or taxi avail themselves of the bus service to reach Vajreswari. Literally thousands of visitors, sick people, tourists and holidayers throng to Vajreswari at the week-ends and holidays.



Sulphur springs in front of the Vajreswari Temple

Bathing Tanks

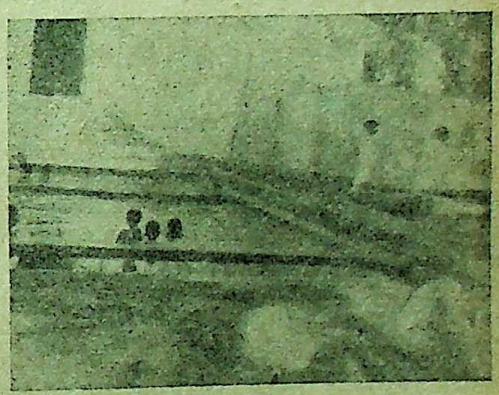
Vajreswari sulphur springs are situated inside or on the banks of the river Tansa which winds round from the Tansa Lake at Vaitarna. If Tansa Lake is the reservoir for Bombay and its suburbs for drinking water, then Vajreswari sulphur springs inside Tansa river is the hydrotherapic healing centre for the whole Bombay State,—nay, for the whole Indian sub-continent, as there are patients coming from distant U.P., Madras, Bengal and other parts of India to undergo water treatment there.

There are eighteen hot springs in the area, eight of which are at Vajrsewari proper, and the other ten at Ganespuri, which is only two miles west of Vajreswari. The hot springs, slow-winding Tansa river and the picturesque hillocks and jungles all around make the villages of Vajreswari, Akloli, Ganespuri and Vajrakund, a nice little holiday resort, a first class Spa and also a place of pilgrimage for devotees. Tansa river is almost dried up in the area of the springs, except during the monsoon when its shallow water begins to swell drowning all the twelve springs in its ravaging rush. During the rainy season only the six springs near the river banks are used for bathing.

The chief bathing tanks are the two large pools in front of the Siva Temples at Vajrakund and Ganespuri, the *Surya-kund*, *Chandra-kund* and *Subhas-kund*, at Vajreswari, and the two large ponds formed

Bathing in Puspa Kund

by the gushing hot waters of the *Agni-kund* on a raised plot of ground, inside the Tansa river, near Ganespuri. The rich and the poor, the sick and the healthy, Indians and foreigners, the young and the old sit around these tanks to bathe. Only the tanks in front of the temples are large enough for about sixty persons to get in and bathe at the same time, as the temple tanks are about 30 feet long and 15 feet wide and 3 feet deep. There are two partition walls of the tank which keeps the same water of the same spring at three different temperatures, the hottest pool



Large temple tanks

in the temple tank being about 110 deg. F. the second tub at 107 deg. F. and the third at 99 deg. F. *Agni-kund* which is the hottest of all the Ganespuri group of springs is 142 deg. F. at the surface, while its temperature at the immersion point is 150 deg. F. It is so hot that one cannot keep his hands for more than a few seconds inside.

The temperature of the springs varies from day to day and from season to season, as also the quantity of the water they give out. The thermal springs range

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from the lowest temperature of 98 deg. F. in *Subhas-kund* to 126 deg. F. in the *Surya-kund* and 146 deg. F. in the *Agni-kund*. Some of the springs give out one gallon of water per minute, while some others give out fifteen to twenty-five gallons of water per minute. The Geological Survey of India on February 7, 1955, estimated that the *Agni-kund*, the hottest among the springs, give out 15 to 20 gallons of water per minute.

Tansa River at the Vajreswari sulphur springs

and that its temperature at the point of immersion, on that particular day, was 140 deg. F. *Surya-kund* which is the second hottest in the group gives out over 10 gallons of water per minute. But both the quantity of water and the temperature are both variable according to atmospheric and lithospheric conditions.

Chemical Analysis

The curative power of the Vajreswari springs, as, indeed, of all mineral springs throughout the world, is derived from its radioactivity, its mineral salt contents and high temperature. German scientists have conclusively proved that the source of all thermal springs could be traced to 15 miles down the earth which has a crust of about 50 miles deep. The temperature at 15 miles is well over 3,000 deg. F. where everything is in a molten state. Some geologists and scientists have tried to prove the link of such thermal springs with some volcano, active or extinct. Certainly, some geysers and concentrated sulphur springs in Japan are definitely of volcanic origin, while thermal springs like those we have got at Vajreswari are outlets from high gaseous and liquid pressure inside the earth, carrying with them waters with radio-active powers, impregnated with mineral salts and high temperature useful for healing purposes.

The medicinal value of the Vajreswari springs is derived from the presence of mineral salts like sulphates, carbonates, chlorides and phosphates of calcium, sodium, magnesium, iron, lithium, potassium, etc. The hydrotherapic clinic, the only scientific water treatment of its kind in India, conducted by Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, after a long experience of the last 25 years, has proved that the Vajreswari and Ganespuri group of sulphur springs are even better than most European 'Spas', because of the better quality of sodium present here. While in all the public tanks and *kunds* at Vajreswari the primitive method of sitting together, at times under unhygienic conditions, continues, it is at the hydrotrerapic clinic of Dr. Kothavala at Ganespuri that one gets purest sulphur water, carefully used into hygienically constructed tubs, each with a capacity of holding 80 gallons of water, with four taps for hot, cold, lukewarm water and for shower bath. Certainly, the pioneering research and experiences of Dr. Kothavala can be of great help when the Vajreswari sulphur springs will be developed by the Bombay Government as is envisaged in India's Second Five-Year Plan.

Any natural thermal water containing hydro-sulphuric acid is generally called sulphur water. Although pure sulphur springs are to be found only in Japan, a certain quantity of sulphuriated hydrogen is found in Vajreswari springs for which reason they are to be classed among the sulphur springs of the

Dr. M. R. Kothavala and Dr. Mrs. J. M. Kothavala, the two Indian pioneers in Hydropathy

world. The very smell of the Vajreswari thermal springs bespeaks of sulphides of sodium, calcium and magnesium which are of great medicinal value when combined with radioactivity. The chemical analysis also reveals that the Vajreswari springs contain gases like sulphurated hydrogen, chlorine and carbondioxide and some other gases which act upon human body as curative elements.

Treatment

Bath treatment or balneotherapy, and water treatment or hydrotherapy, like heliotherapy or sun treatment and dietetic treatment, are all parts of Nature Cure. The specific treatment for all types of rheumatic pains, including, lumbago, arthritis, synovitis, wheth-

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they are of metabolic or of toxic origin, is always bath in sulphur springs at Vajreswari. Many cases of paralysis, neuritis, skin diseases of all kinds, including eczema, gout, high blood pressure, locomotor ataxia have been cured radically or partially relieved at Vajreswari springs. In all organic and functional diseases at least 10 per cent improvement is always guaranteed in hydrotherapy.

As radioactivity of the sulphur springs is the main curative power, great care should be taken to take bath under hygienic conditions. Any contamination or impurity diminishes the medicial quality of the sulphur springs. Even moss, dilution with the river or rain water, and impurities diminish or neutralize the radioactive power of pure natural sulphur springs.

At present the hygienic conditions at the sulphur springs are miserably poor, except at the spotlessly clean scientific clinic of Dr. Kothavala. Instead of allowing patients with infectious or contagious diseases to enter the tank, the spring water should be canalized into bathing tubs fixed in bath rooms, where water used by one patient may not be used by a second person. If the existing eighteen springs of Vajreswari are canalized, there will be enough water for several hundreds of patients to be treated daily in fresh sulphur water.

Ignorant and superstitious people now take bath in the sulphur springs for an hour or two or even more, and that sometimes four times a day, little knowing that prolonged baths in too hot sulphur springs wash away their vitamin deposits from the skin, adversely affect heart and kidneys. Too much of even the best things is always bad. Bath should not exceed 20 to 30 minutes. The temperature should be the body temperature or a little above, up to 100 deg. F. In the cases of rheumatism and allied ailments needing heat application the temperature of the water could be raised to a maximum of 110 deg. F. While for rheumatism two baths a day are sufficient, skin diseases may need three, while high blood pressure need only one. All these mean that treatment of various patients at the sulphur springs must be carried out under medical experts and hydrotherapists, and not to be left to the wild fancy and vague imagination and hearsay information of ignorant patients.

Now that the Bombay Government have taken in their hands the task of developing Vajreswari sulphur springs by building sanatoria, baths, roads and clinics in and around the sulphur springs, we may reasonably look forward when Vajreswari will become the Karlsbad of India, a blessing to the citizens of Free India and a soothing balm for the suffering millions.

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PUERTO RICO EXEMPLIFIES DEMOCRACY

By EDWARD TOMLINSON

Government in Puerto Rico today is an answer to Communist and other extremist charges of American imperialism in the Western Hemisphere. This island of nearly 2,000,000 people, which enjoys more autonomy than any territorial possession of the United States, is an eloquent example of the fact that, given intelligent leadership, this island's people are eminently capable of maintaining self-government and progressing under it.

On January 2, 1949, the Puerto Rican people inaugurated Luis Munoz Marin as their first elected island-born Governor. The island's new chief executive was chosen in a contest that was as democratic and peaceful as a gubernatorial campaign in any State in the United States. Eighty percent of all the eligible voters, men and women, went to the polls and cast their ballots.

In Puerto Rico officials and leaders are out to woo American capital, industries and factories from all parts of the United States. They hold out every kind of tempting inducement. Any maunfacturer who will come to Puerto Rico, establish a business, employ Puerto Ricans and pay reasonable wages will be free of all taxes for 12 years. Puerto Rican banks will help to finance his machinery and equipment. The insular Government will even erect factory buildings and other facilities and rent them to him for a nominal sum. Almost everything is being done to create work and production for Puerto Rico and its people.

The man who conceived and sponsors many of these ideas and policies is one of the most interesting personalities, in the entire West Indies today. Luis Munoz Marin is the son of Luis Munoz Rivero, known as the George Washington of Puerto Rico because he helped to ease the transition from Spanish to United States rule after the Spanish-American War. Munoz Marin, or "Don Luis," as he is known to the jibaros—the mountain folk and little farmers of Puerto Rico—and most of the other people on the island, is a graduate of Harvard University. As a young man he spent most of his time in the United States and went through all the stages of youthful radicalism. For a while he toyed with Marxism, eking out a precarious existence as a radical poet and writer for leftist magazines in New York City's artistic and literary colony, Greenwhich Village, until mental and spiritual maturity set his feet on other paths.

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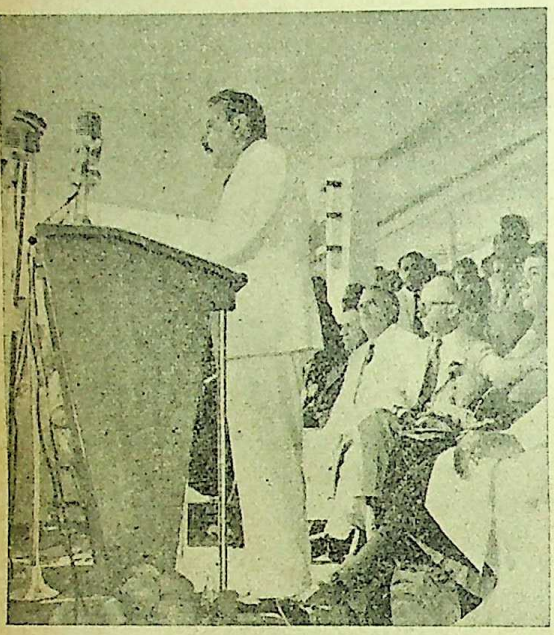
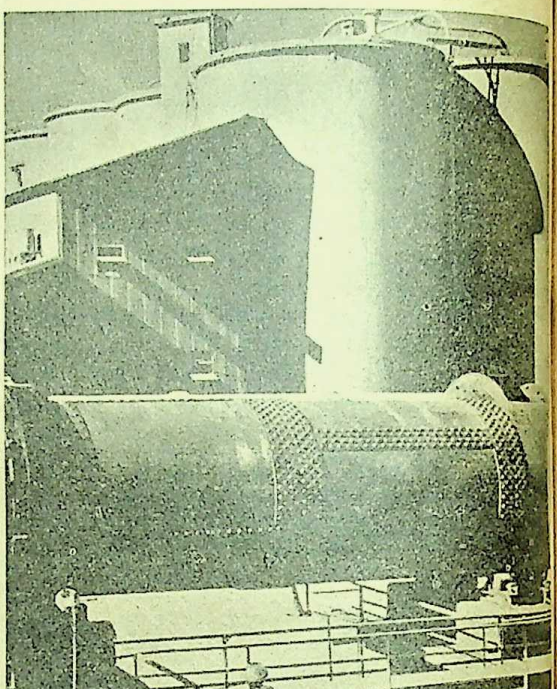
With this out of his system Munzo Marin returned to Puerto Rico and entered politics, or rather into conflict with the old, existing parties, finally building his own political organization in the Popular Democratic Party. Today Munoz Marin is Puerto Rico's leading exponent of a moderately liberal, slightly right-of-center democracy. He is a huge man, with a sagging black moustache, raven hair, an almost dreamy, kindly expression and great patience and tolerance.

Munoz Marin has led the Puerto Ricans through periods of actute economic distress and sheltered them from political extremists of all stripes. Communists tried to bore from within, to infiltrate various labor groups and political parties, including the Popular Democratic Party. Munoz Marin manoeuvered them into organizing their own party and coming out into the open. "There, at least," he said, "we could show them up and make them ridiculous in the eyes of people." In the recent campaign they



Luis Munoz Marin, the first elected Governor of Puerto Rico, who took office on January 2, 1949, addresses an audience in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico



The kilns and storage elevators of the Puerto Rico Development Company Cement Plant in Catano, Puerto Rico

When the writer reached San Juan, the capital city of Puerto Rico, recently, Munoz Marin and his family were up the mountains in the very center of the island, where he was enjoying his first vacation in more than 10 years. As the founder and active head of the Popular Democratic Party and as president of the Puerto Rican Senate, he has fathered and personally championed most of the island's progressive legislation since 1936. Day and night his office in the Capitol Building and his small suburban bungalow in San Juan are crowded with political leaders and jibaros, rich and poor, farmers, carpenters and others from all walks of life. The jibaros often tramp all the way across the island to pour their troubles into Munoz Marin's sympathetic ear, and they are never turned away without an attentive hearing.

To relax and rest for a few days before taking over the governorship, Munoz Marin chose a cottage in one of the most remote parts of the island and on the very top of a mountain. There Munoz Marin talked to the writer of the past, and of his party's plans for the future welfare of the people in his Island Home.

turned their guns against him and the Populares. As Munoz Marin phrased it, "We not only disowned them but made them disown us, which is what we wanted."

Most Puerto Ricans do not want any drastic change in their present political ties with the United States. The recent elections demonstrated that. The two chief opposition parties and candidates asked for clear-cut, definite and immediate action along these lines. One party insisted that the island be made a full-fledged State of the Union, with all the responsibilities and obligations of a State. The other advocated complete independence, and with them voted the Communists. But the people turned both factions down for the middle-of-the-road policies of the Popular Democratic Party and Luis Munoz Marin.

"Why," Munoz Marin asked, "be compelled to accept either independence or complete statehood, instead of something else, say, the status of a commonwealth

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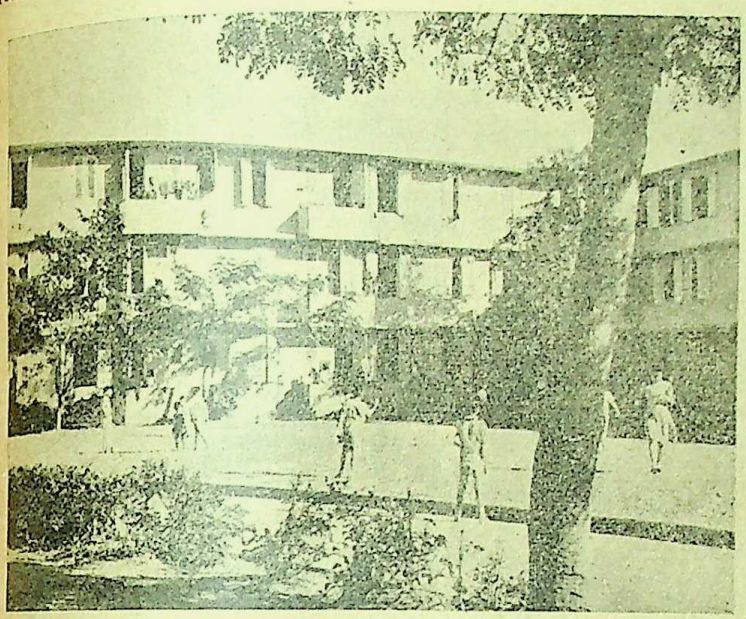
Why not travel a step at a time, making sure of what we are doing as we go along? We are not interested in paper freedom; we want freedom in the everyday lives of people. First we want freedom from fear and want; freedom to think, to say what is in our minds and hearts, freedom to elect our own administrators."



The San Antonio housing project in San Juan

The island has enjoyed steady progress toward political freedom and self-rule. As early as 1900, two years after the Spanish-American War, Puerto Rico was authorized by the United States Congress to elect representatives to the lower house of the insular government. This was followed by the right to send elected Commissioners to the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D. C.

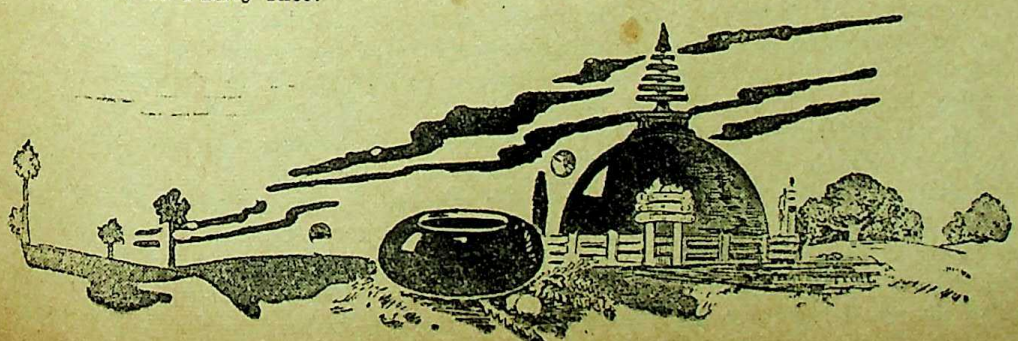
Since 1917 the Puerto Rican people have had their own bicameral legislature, a Senate as well as a House of Representatives. Meanwhile, they were granted the full rights of American citizenship. In November 1948, they elected their own Governor. The democratic processes have been put into practice gradually, until today the only island officials who are appointed by the President of the United States are members of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court and the auditor of Puerto Rico.

Besides granting the Puerto Ricans increased freedom and the right to run their own affairs, the taxpayers of the United States have supported the island generously. Direct Federal aid extend to the island between 1898 and 1945 amounted to $580,000,000. Puerto Rican veterans have enjoyed all the benefits and opportunities accorded those on the mainland. The U.S. Veterans Administration has paid out $100,000,000 to more than 60,000 Puerto Rican ex-servicemen. Thirty thousand Puerto Rican student veterans have received more than $50,000,000 in GI Bill of Rights (Veterans Rehabilitation Act) benefits. Some 50,000 veterans have received medical advice or services, and more than 30 000 have received treatment in government hospitals.

"All this," said Munoz Marin, "the United States has done here in Puerto Rico at a time when Americans were being called political and economic imperialists in nearly every part of the world."

In keeping with his policy of step-by-step self-government Marin asks only one further political concession from the United States at this time: The right of the people of the island to write their own constitution just as any State of the Union has the right to do. Munoz Marin feels that a constitution drafted by responsible Puerto Ricans would differ very little from the present one. "But," he believes, "it would be the people's own constitution. It would be another demonstration of self-government in a community of American citizens."

"We are making progress," Munoz Marin went on. "We are building more schools, gradually extending rural electrification and irrigation. We are bringing about healthier conditions among the people. Vigilance in sanitation is becoming a popular habit. Between 1940 and 1947 our population increased 14 per cent, but our total production rose 30 per cent in the same period. That is a substantial gain anywhere."—From *The (Washington) Sunday Star.*



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ERNEST HEMINGWAY
Nobel Prize Winner

By Prof. P. P. MEHTA, M.A.

The thrice-married tough-guy Hemingway seems to be a man with the proverbial nine lives. From his youngest days to the present day, he seems to have the knack of intentionally walking into tough spots, and still escaping death. During the last days of the First World War he was wounded while he was cycling from his canteen to the frontline trenches. At that time he received two hundred and twenty-seven separate wounds from the mortar, over and above being hit simultaneously in the leg by a machine gun round. He has described this experience when he wrote to his family from Milan :

> "My feet felt like I had rubber boots full of water on (hot water), and my knee cap was acting queer. The machine gun bullet just felt like a sharp smack on the leg with an icy snow ball."

Later on, many years later he wrote :

> "When you go to war as a boy you have a great illusion of immortality. Other people get killed; not you . . . . . Then when you are badly wounded the first time you lose that illusion and you know it can happen to you. After being severely wounded . . . . I had a bad time until I figured it out that nothing could happen to me that had not happened to all men before me. Whatever I had to do men had always done."

Since then he has led a colourful life and many legends have been told about the physical courage and hardihood of Hemingway. There is one told by John Groth which can bear repetition. "On the way back to the farmhouse we stopped at a regimental command post. The colonel was briefing his officers at dinner. With more men and material coming up, the outlook was good. There was warm food; they had been on K rations. It was pleasant inside. Pictures had been enough by Hemingway, and they were being passed around when an explosion batted through the window, breaking it, and cutting loose the lamp from the ceiling. Eighty-eights were coming in. When candles were lighted we were all—officers and correspondent—on the floor, making ourselves small and groping for helmets. All, that is, except one: Hemingway was still seated at the table, his broad back to the window, helmetless, eating."

Thus Hemingway has a habit of poking his nose into dangerous corners. The climax of it came when his aeroplane crashed in the African jungles. A second relief plane which came to pick him up also crashed and for one day the world had taken Hemingway for dead. Some of the papers actually featured stories on his life, but he escaped alright though fairly ba wounded. Thus this tough American has l dangerously and has revelled in dangerous tasks. fact, he is scarred from head to foot.

This rough tough fighting literary man was b in 1898. He was the son of an Illinois doctor. the age of 15 he bade farewell to books and stu led a wandering life and once was a dish-washe a hotel. He has described his boyhood in Mich woods in his first book *In Our Time*. Then he jo the staff of the Kansas City *Star* as a cub repor There also he was a man bubbling with energy. could turn out more copies than any two repor From there he managed to get into an ambul unit in the Italian army and thus served with Italian units where he was wounded. About the of war experience to a writer he writes :

> "I thought . . . about what a great adv tage an experience of war was to a writer. It one of the major subjects and certainly one of hardest to write truly of and those writers who not seen it were always very jealous and t to make it seem unimportant, or abnormal, o disease as a subject, while, really, it was just so thing quite irreplaceable that they had missed.

Hemingway was not so lucky in his career as author as he was in getting badly wounded in I His stories were more or less sent back with reject slips and success like a shy bride was slow in co to him.

These are the days in which so much is be written that it is difficult for a writer to achi distinction in the field of letters. Commonp subjects do not easily attract public attention, Hemingway had cut this gordian knot by putting stories in stupendous and bizarre backgrounds. He avoided, as Mr. Cunliffe says, "the orthodoxies of American scene," has put his characters in atmosphere of war, sometimes in the world war stories and sometimes in the war-torn mountains Spain. Thus his stories have a different flavour, different context and so they have sometimes jarred nerves of the critics.

His earlier stories "In Our Time" (1924); Without Women" (1927); "Winner Take Noth (1933); and others clearly showed his remarkable and so much was his influence upon other wr that many imitations of Hemingway were produ His real break came with his famous novel *A Farew*

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to Arms which really made him world-famous. In this book he had drawn upon his war experiences to provide a background for this story of love and war. "It is a novel of great power by an extremely talented and original artist." (*The Times Literary Supplement*). Its ending is quite unforgettable in its pathos. Its nihilism is a convincing statement of the mood of war of the post-war years. His first important novel is *Fiesta* (1926) in which war is treated as a disaster which nobody cared to talk about. The characters in the book—Jake Barnis or Lady Brett or Rover Cohen or Mike are living mouthpieces of Hemingway who love and hate and treat their disasters in a light way.

In the post-war years Hemingway met Ezra (Pound) and Gertrude (Stein) in Paris. These two had a lasting impression in shaping the style of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a writer who believes in loading his stories with violent love, violent action and very often, violent death. *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) is a story in which the frustration and disillusionment of the lost generation are portayed. *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) and *The Green Hills of Africa* describing big game hunting are full of brave deeds of matadors and hunters. But his most famous novel is *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) in which is described a fine portrait of an American intellectual Robert Jordon who goes on a dangerous mission in Spain and joins the Spanish partisans in the days of the Spanish Civil War. Here he shows himself the master writer, describing gripping situations in a realistic way. Pablo Anslemo and other guerrillas are beautifully portrayed. But a very touching character is the close-cropped girl, Maria, who had a bad time at the hands of General Franco's mercenary soldiers. The powerful end of the story in which Robert Jordon, badly wounded, leans upon the machine-gun and waits for the enemy cavalry to fight and die is a powerful and magnificent ending for the great novel. His clipped dialogue and his treatment of the subject had reached maturity in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Then came a period of relapse for Hemingway. His book *Across the River and Into the Trees* (1950) was poorly received by critics, who began to consider him a back number. But Hemingway does not accept defeats like that. He staged a classic comeback by his short novel *The Old Man and the Sea* which won him the Pulitzer prize in 1953 and Nobel prize for literature in 1954. *The Old Man*, in fact, is a small novel in which Hemingway describes a Cuban fisherman who is a simple soul. His fight with a great fish is an epic of description. It is a work of freshness and perfection. Its plot is quite straightforward and there is only the sub-theme of a fisherman who sailed to catch a giant marlin, but ultimately the sharks ate away the marlin except for its spine and tabe on the way back. It is a struggle in which the old fisherman defeats the great male fish after a prolonged fight. John Arkins considers this little book to be "Hemingway's essay on human understanding."

Once Hemingway had told an interviewer:

> "In writing I have moved through Arithmetic, through plane Geometry and Algebra and now I am in Calculus."

It sounded arrogant at that time, but *The Old Man* has justified his pride. Hemingway does not worry about art or artifice, though he actually submits himself to a rigid professional discipline. He emphasizes clarity, fidelity to realism, authenticity and immediacy in writing. About writing he once said :

> "You have got to see it, feel it, smell it, hear it." "This is how I would do (it). For instance, I knew I always received many strong sensations when I went into the gym to train or work out with boxers. I didn't know what the things were that made the sensations, so I would think when I was wrapping my hands and remember. First there was the smell of wintergreen in the liniment where guys were being rubbed. Then there were the different sweat smells; the smell of the crowd that paid two bits ten to watch the workouts and the smell of individual people like Eddy McGoorty, Tommy Gibbons, Johny Wilson, Jack Dillon, Greb and others. Then the sniffing that tightens the gut that boxers make as they shadow box. Then the noise of the rosin crunching under foot in the corner as you scuffed your shoes on it and the squeak it made against the canvas. When I would get back from the gym, I would write (the sensations) down."

"Clearly he was not merely indulging in comforting talk when he told Don Wright that a writer must see it, feel it, smell it, hear it." (Atkins).

A good writer must know as near everything as possible. He has no sympathy with critics or criticism. It may be that critics have not been very kind towards him and that critics have not given him his due. Once Arthur Koestler said:

> "Don't underestimate your Hemingway. It is banal, but he is still the greatest living writer."

And to-day John O'Hara has called him the outstanding author since the days of Shakespeare. About critics Hemingway says:

> "If they believe the critics when they say they are great then they must believe them when they say they are rotten and they lose confidence. At present we have two good writers who cannot write because they have lost confidence through reading critics. If they wrote, sometimes it would be good and sometimes, not so good and sometimes it would be quite bad, but the good would get out. But they have read the critics and they must write masterpieces. They weren't masterpieces, of course. They were just quite good books. So now they cannot write at all. The critics have made them impotent."

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This certainly is not likely to be appreciated by the big highbrow critics.

All the novels of Hemingway are a great saga of human endurance, human bravery and human courage. Like tragic heroes the characters of Hemingway fight although very often the dies are heavily loaded against them. But they stand unbowed beneath the blows of fate. Death to them is not a very sad experience but is a natural and so a brave epic that is called life. Hemingway thus is a natural man who enjoys bull fights, hunting and war though they may involve death.

Some writers complain that Hemingway is an unsatisfactory alternative because he reduces the human figure to a mascular jelly of principles without values. He is also called an anti-intellectual, an intellectual who has renounced intellectualism.

Hemingway does not like politics and therefore he has no political attitude. He can think of the only political philosophy and that is the philosophy of bread. Everywhere his characters are realists who know that their main concern is "to eat as long as anybody eats." His hero, Robert Jordon fights because he loved Spain and believed that a Fascist victory would make life unbearable for those who believed in the Republic. But he had no political doctrine. Mr. Atkins describes one incident about Hemingway:

> "Anyway, whether Hemingway was an intruder in the dust or not he is said to have raised $40,000 on personal notes to buy ambulances for loyalist armies, and paid for them by newspaper work in Spain."

Such was the generosity of Hemingway. He himself said in an interview:

> "All the contact I have had with it (politics) has left me feeling as though I had been drinking out of spittoons. The self-confessed patriot, the traitor and the regulator of other people's lives, beliefs, etc., and the regimentator all run in a photo-finish. The Senate may develop the picture if they can find a photographer who can photograph a photo-finish."

When Mr. Atkins asked Hemingway something about the future of sensibility, he replied:

> "There is a future for little else except the fundamental conception of individual freedom and liberty and the universal brotherhood of man."

This even today is the opinion of Hemingway.

Hemingway is a novelist who is corrupt in his values to the extent that his age is corrupt. He faithfully tries to represent the modern society with all its defects, its war-weariness and its disillusionment. He proves that many of the poor are vicious simply because they are poor. In his story "To Have and Have Not" he has given a very disgusting picture of society, which is nauseating in general. That novel is an utter picture of "brutality and fear of a society on the edge of an abyss."

Hemingway is lucid, frank and does not hesitate to call a spade a spade. To him money is the only thing without which a man can be in real despair. The following dialogue taken from "A Clear Well-lighted Place" illustrates the point:

> "Last week he tried to commit suicide," the waiter said.
> "Why?"
> "He was in despair."
> "What about?"
> "Nothing."
> "How do you know it was nothing?"
> "He has plenty of money."

Hemingway does not theorise. He merely shows man fighting in action against the enemy, against poverty, against animals and against his own sex lust.

The style of Hemingway is unique inasmuch as it truly carries conviction to our mind. His dialogue is always clipped and witty. We never come across a single dull sentence in Hemingmay's stories. His the descriptions are well planned and there is never any feeling of strain, *e.g.*, in the "Snows of Kilimanjaro" he describes a dying man and says, "Death has come and rested his head on the foot of the bed and he could smell its breath." Here is his amazing imagery that has raised him above his contemporaries. He uses words to bring about subtle effects.

There is one peculiarity about Hemingway and that is that Hemingway can please the learned readers as well as the unlearned readers. John Lehmann writes that you do not need a university education to get full flavour from Hemingway. He writes from the senses and his words make us see and hear.

Hemingway's characters are alive and clearly distinguished. Yet it must be admitted that characterisation has never been Hemingway's strong point. All his heroes talk the language of Hemingway, have the same nonchalance of Hemingway and are prepared to face great dangers, like Hemingway. They are, in fact, Hemingway himself more or less. Hemingway himself admits:

> "When I wrote the first two novels I had to learned to write in the third person. The third person gives you great intimacy in attempting to give a complete sense of experience to the reader. It is limited however and in the third person the novelist can work in other people's heads and in other people's country. His range is greatly extended and so are his obligations. I had prepared myself for writing in the third person by the discipline of writing *Death in the Afternoon*, short stories and especially the long short story of "The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber" and "The Snows of Kilimanjaro." In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" I put in and deliberately left what could have made many novels to see how far it was possible to concentrate in a medium for Hemingway in a smooth running style

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minute things, smells and sees even the colour of clothes—all with the end of breathing the spirit of life into its characters. Hemingway's characters are not averse to sex. He does not believe in love, he does not believe in sex, but he believes in love based on sex. He knows men as they are and does not quarrel with fate because they are not superior or ideal human beings. He is not led away by cheap idealism and allows his characters to have their full quota of sex and love. His attitude to sex is very realistic. *e.g.*, in his story "An Alpine Idyll," a peasant's wife died; the body could not be taken out for burial because of snow. When the farmer worked at nights, he hanged his lantern from the mouth of the dead wife. This may appear horrible to us. The peasant did love his wife but when he wanted to hang the lantern and looked down for a place, it did not occur to him that he was outraging his wife's body by hanging the lantern from her mouth. About love Hemingway makes his characters speak in his story: "To Have and Have Not":

> "Love is just another dirty lie. Love is ergoapiol pills to make me come around because you were afraid to have a baby. Love is quinine and quinine and quinine until I'm deaf with it. Love is that dirty aborting horror that you took me to. Love is my insides all messed up. It's half catheters and half whirling douches. I know about love. Love always hangs up behind the bath-room door. It smells like lysol. To hell with love."

It may be remembered that Hemingway himself was thrice married. He married Hedley Richardson in 1919 and was divorced from her in 1926. In 1927, he married Paline Pfeiffer and divorced her in 1940 and then he married Martha Gellhorn in 1940. Hemingway is not overawed by sex and is not a green lover idolising love. He is a matter-of-fact realist who looks upon love and sex for whatever they are exactly worth.

Hemingway is essentially a writer of war and his novels have given some of the best war literature. It is true that his stories are quite different from a novel like *The Cruel Sea* or *The Young Lions* but if a really big artistic pattern of war is to be seen, we have got to turn to Hemingway's war classics. He has written about war because he loved war, loved the smell of powder, the noise of bursting shells and the thrill of fear that it brings. Perhaps, he also loves war because the real emotions of man come out from under the veneer of civilization, when man is face to face with death. Hemingway thus shows the naked man, the real man, under situations of stress in his novels. That is why his men make love freely, use abuses freely, and fight each other freely. Mr. Bishop has written that Hemingway has portrayed the disappearance of human soul.

> "The chorus of approval reaches its peak with John O'Hara who calls Hemingway 'the outstanding author since the death of Shakespeare.' Without considering that, we may at least consider his status as a literary personality, owing less to his actual written work than to the legend that has accrued. . ."

Hemingway belongs to those few spirits like Trelawney, Wilde, Shaw and Byron whose personal myths have overshadowed their work. A public discussion of Hemingway's work is impossible; unless it is confined to the privacy of the study we are certain to be disturbed by the intrusion of the "Big Game Hunter and War Correspondent." The spread of the legend, resulting in an expanding reputation among people who never read his books, really dated from the Spanish War and came to full status during the World War.

There is one more aspect of Hemingway's work and that is the basic sensation of fear—fear when death is looking straight in one's face, the fear which you would have in the ring with a bull. Fear also is an emotion under which man shakes off every external false feeling and becomes the natural elemental man. It is, like war, an emotion which shows man in his true colours.

Fear and war, the two elements which give the real glimpses of death naturally bring out the best in man and thus stories of such struggles are stories of abounding interest and when such a story is handled by an author of the calibre of Hemingway it becomes classical literature.

Hemingway himself is more or less like his own heroes—brave, fearless, tough guy with a knack of stirring up the hornet's nest. Mr. Atkins has described Hemingway thus:

> ". . . he is a big man with the kind of body that can be used for busting through tough spots. 'His body is enormous and oddly proportioned. Most of his 215-odd points are in his upper torso and extremities . . . His legs are thin to the point of being delicate, but his barrel chest, shoulders and arms are huge. So are his hands: shaking hands with Hemingway is a good deal like bumping into a door.' A boxer named Harry Sylvester with whom Hemingway used to spar told John McCaffery that he was the strongest man that he had ever known. He used to box at 199 pounds. He has become known as a fisherman, not of small fry but of giant marlin and tuna."

In his life he has faced more hazards than the heroes he has drawn. He has been a good boxer and had once his nose broken in a boxing contest. He does not easily despair. In fact, in his teething period as a writer, he had received many rejection slips from various editors to whom he had sent his stories. He enjoys his 'damned good life' and he thus is a great chronicler of the great moments of life.

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In spite of the two air crashes, Hemingway is still strong enough to write and still enjoys life and thus we have reason to believe that many more books of the calibre of the *Old Man and the Sea* will come from his pen. He is reported to have said that he wrote *The Old Man* because he was broker, which may not be literally true. He has already about four novels in stock which he has locked up in the safe deposit vault of a bank. According to his habit, he will polish them and re-polish them before he releases them for his publishers. He is thus an artist who takes pains over his words and sentences. He very often reads out his dialogues to anybody upon whom he can thrust them and very often asks, "Is that the right way to speak?" etc. This is the keynote of the spontaneity, realism and freshness of his dialogues.

It may be argued that most of the novels of Hemingway are the works of the hour and the works of topical interest. This will be a misleading slant on Hemingway's ability. He uses no doubt the events of the hour but they are not trivial events. They a the events like the World War or the Spanish C War or the bull fights where his heroes stare strai in the face of death and out of those critical situatio arise suspense and interest. They are the events great catastrophes in which the fate of nations decided. Thus these events are not topical or te porary but are eternal, if not actually historical.

In the last analysis, even his worst critics ad that Hemingway's stories are powerful, gripping, st ring, stories of breathless suspense. They are sto superbly and artistically told by a man who alm draws from his personal experience and so in spite the critics, Hemingway is great. His novels descr human beings. grappling with death, fighting for l and surely our sweetest songs are those that tell saddest thought. Hemingway is thus a chronicler human greatness, human endurance, and hu nobility.

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WARREN HASTINGS AND THE ADALAT SYSTEM OF BENGAL

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., LL.B., W.B.C.S.

Introduction

The bitter invectives of Burke, the poisoned calumnies of Mill, the cruel extravagance of Macaulay, the arrogant misjudgments of Beveridge and perhaps the inexorable verdict of history have tarnished the memory of the first Governor-General of Bengal almost beyond recovery. The celebrated works of Stephen, Strachey, Trotter, Lyall, Malleson, Forrest and others have by their searching examination of the different aspects of the life of this great 'Man of Action' vindicated him to a great extent, but the over-all picture is perhaps still the same. Through their pages one can see Hastings in all his moods, follow him in almost all his public actions, mark his policy of conquest and aggrandisement and note the events that eventually led to his recall, impeachment and ultimate acquittal; but in none of them can one have a clear and faithful account of his contributions to the law and justice of the provinces placed under his charge.

Law and Justice When Hastings Came

The general practice is to look to the regime of Lord Cornwallis for the beginning of the legal system of modern India. It is difficult to find fault with it, but then justice requires that Hastings' share in its evolution must as well be properly appreciated. The grant of the Dewani in 1765 marked "a turning point in the Anglo-Indian history" not only from the political but also the legal point of view. In that y as many as seven Courts were functioning in Presidency town of Calcutta, but the administra of justice in the Mofussil was in a most wretch condition. Might was right and justice remained w whoever had the power to enforce obedience. T eighteen months of Clive's administration witne no judicial reform; indeed, tackling with such a p blem was no forte of the founder of the Bri Empire in India. The criminal justice in Bengal, Bi and Orissa remained with the puppet Nawab Bengal and, in spite of some sort of loose supervi by the Company's servants, it continued to be managed till 1790 by his deputies and other offi of justice. The Dewani, however, put the civil jus in the hands of the English, since it was closely c nected with the collection of revenue. Yet for the three years nothing was done. In 1768, some wr in the Company's service were appointed 'Supravis (Supervisors) in some Mofussil towns for superi dence of collection of revenue and administration all sorts of civil justice. Their control was, howe not effective. The chaos continued and the Commi of Secrecy found the administration in a deplor condition (1770).

Foundation of the Adalat System

When in 1772 Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal the Company had alre

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announced their intention "to stand forth as Dewan." In order to enable Hastings to carry it into effect a Committee was appointed. One of the results of the deliberation of that Committee, (consisting of the Governor and the four members of the Council), was the adoption of a plan by the Government (1772). The Supervisors of the former administration became the Collectors of the several districts into which Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were divided. In each district there were established a Dewani and a Faujdari Adalat, names which still subsist. The Dewani Adalat was to decide

> "all disputes concerning property, real and personal, all cases of inheritance, marriage and cast (caste) and all claims of debt, disputed accounts, contracts and demands of rent."

It was presided over by the Collector who was assisted by the Provincial Dewan and other officers of the Collectorate. The Faujdari Court tried

> "all cases of murder, robbery and theft, and all other felonies, forgery, purgery, and all sorts of frauds and misdemeanours, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery and every other breach of the peace or violent invasion of the property."

The Provincial Qazi was the President of this Court and Mufti the expounder of law. The Collector of the district was

> "to attend its sittings and see that the decision was passed in a fair and impartial manner, according to the proofs exhibited."

These Courts were placed under the control of two superior Courts, the Sadar Dewani Adalat and the Sadar Nizamat Adalat. The Sadar Dewani Adalat consisted of the President and Council, assisted by Indian officers and was to be the final Court of appeal in all civil suits. The Sadar Nizamat Adalat was to consist of a Daroga appointed by the Nazim and assisted by a Chief Qazi, a Chief Mufti and three Maulvis; its duty was to revise all proceedings of the Provincial Criminal Courts in capital cases and those involving fines exceeding Rs. 100 and "to refer the former with reasoned approbation or disapprobation to the Nazim for sentence."

A Cautious Measure

Hastings was thus careful enough to maintain the authority of the Nazim, although no one knew better than he that the latter wielded no real power having practically abdicated it by the agreement of 1765. This he did out of policy, as any violent change might jeopardise the territorial and commercial interests of the Company. Indeed, he was cautious and would not go very far. The administration of civil justice, too, still remained mostly in the hands of the Indians and the Pargana's Courts, presided over by Head Farmers (Zamindars), were not disturbed at all. Only the general supervision was vested in the Collector of the district. This union of the fiscal and judicial authority in the same officers did not, however, conduce to justice in many cases. In those days of all-pervading corruption, difficult communication and general ignorance of the ways and habits of the people it was next to impossible for the European Collectors to exercise effective control. When in two years' time these functionaries were withdrawn and the supervision of civil justice was vested in the six Provincial Councils set up in Calcutta, Dacca, Burdwan, Murshidabad, Dinajpore and Patna, the condition further deteriorated. Criminal justice was left to the Darogas, Faujdars, Thanadars and the like without any supervision from district headquarters.

Difficulties Encountered

To add to the bewilderment and miseries of the people the Supreme Court of Calcutta frequently directed their processes against these Mofussil Judges whose authority the Court was little disposed to recognise, far less honour. According to the Judges of that Court, the Indian Magistrates appointed by the Provincial Councils had no legal existence and were liable to damage in suits of persons affected by their proceedings. This led to clashes with the executive and the acme was reached in what is known as the Cossijurah Case. In utter consternation the British inhabitants of Bengal sent to the authorities in England a petition, couched in the strongest terms, requesting interference.

> "Unless relief was given," it was said, "the Company would have ports without trade, possessions without revenue and laws without inhabitants."

The relief came in 1781 through the Act of that year (21 Geo. III.c. 70) but before it did, Hastings devised and executed an arrangement for reconciling the differences. Sir Eliza Impey, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was appointed the Chief Judge of the Sadar Adalat on a proposed salary of Rs. 6000 a year. It was thought that this would be the means of lessening the tension and an instrument of conciliation. It was a master stroke of policy but the authorities in England rejected it as being against the very spirit of the constitution of the Supreme Court. Blind adherence to tradition triumphed over reason for the moment but time and circumstances were to show that Hastings was right. For the time being a patchwork was made; the powers of the Supreme Court were curtailed and all civil causes in the Mofussil were made cognisable by the Dewani Adalats whose authority was recognised by the Parliament. Eighteen such Courts were set up in different parts of the country. Except in four districts the functions of the Judges of the Dewani Adalats were separated from those of the Collectors, and even in those districts where the Civil Judge and the Collector were one and

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the same person, they held the posts in distinct capacities. Thus the foundation was laid of the modern Adalat system. Efforts were made in later years for betterment of the system but the basic principle was never abandoned.

Laws Administered by These Courts

When Hastings assumed the reins of government the laws administered by the few subsisting Courts in the Mofussil were very uncertain and perplexing. On the civil side, the Hindu and Mahomedan Laws applied to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Presidency, and the *fatwas* and *vyavasthas* of the Maulvis and Pandits were the only guide of the Judges who were mostly laymen. These opinions were most often unreliable because the sources of law were varied and intricate and to this must be added the natural infirmities of the propounders. On the criminal side, the Mahomedan law was the law for both the Hindus and Muslims and the *fatwas* of the Maulavis were the guide. This law was cruel, antiquated and sometimes inconsistent.

In the Presidency town of Calcutta, the English criminal law prevailed with all its technicalities and age-old rigours and that was extremely galling to the Indians. For example, in 1762, an Indian detected one of his wives in an act of infidelity. He, therefore, punished her by cutting off her nose. When arraigned at the Calcutta Sessions he admitted the fact but pleaded that

> "He had done nothing to offend the laws and customs in which he had been educated; that the woman was his property; that by such custom he had a right to set a mark upon her for the infamy; and that he had never heard of the law by which they tried him."
>
> "Do you believe," he asked, "if I had known the punishment to be death, I would ever have committed what you now call a crime?"

The man was, however, hanged, for "if the Courts possess jurisdiction they must proceed according to the English laws." Six years later Radhacharan Mitra, grandson of Holwell's old enemy, Govindram, was sentenced to death for forgery;

> "but so extravagant did the sentence appear, where experience had never suggested the principle, such was the disproportion in their eyes between the punishment and the crime, that the principal inhabitants of Calcutta expressed their astonishment and alarm in a petition to the Governor and Council and upon a proper representation, Radhacharan received a pardon."

The position of civil law was still more anomalous. The Charter Act of 1753 having declared that the suits and actions of the Indians should be determined amongst themselves unless the parties submitted them to be tried by the Mayor's Court, their civil justice was brought to a stand-still.

Hastings' Legal Reforms

Notwithstanding these anomalies the prevailing opinion of the Europeans was that

> "For the peace and prosperity of the country the laws of England in so far as they did not oppose prejudice and usages . . . should prevail."

Hastings, however, saw the distinct advantage of ruling the Hindus and Mahomedans as far as practicable with their own laws. His plan provided that in the provinces the Hindus and Mahomedans were in certain matters to be governed by their own laws, namely, those relating to inheritance, marriage and caste and other religious usages and institutions. In furtherance of his plan he wrote to the Court of Directors in March, 1773:

> "In order to render more complete the Judicial Regulations, to preclude arbitrary and partial judgments and to guide the decisions of the several Courts, a well-digested Code of Laws, compiled agreeably to the laws and tenets of the Mohametans and Gentoos and according to the established customs and usages in cases of the revenue, would prove of the greatest public utility."

Again in a subsequent letter, covering a specimen of the Hindu Code drawn up at his instance and sent to the Directors, he observed:

> "From the labours of a people, however intelligent, whose studies have been confined to the narrow circle of their own religion, and the decrees founded upon its superstitions, and whose discussions in the search of truth have wanted that lively aid which it can only derive from a free exertion of the understanding and an opposition of opinions, a perfect system of jurisprudence is not to be expected. Yet if it shall be found to contain nothing hurtful to the authority of Government or to the interests of society and is consonant to the ideas, manners and inclinations of the people for whose use it is intended, I presume that on these grounds it will be preferable to any which even a superior wisdom could substitute in its room."

These are pregnant words uttered by one bent upon doing what he felt was in the best interest of the country. The Plan as well as the spirit behind it received the sanction of the Court of Directors.

Acts of Enlightened Policy

It was a momentous step and the substance of this Plan regulates even to this day the greater part of India. Although the principles of English law have since struggled into our Codes it is because these are of the essence of any enlightened jurisprudence. The repudiation of English law brought upon the Governor-General censure of observers like Alexander Dow and John H. Harrington but Hastings stood firm and the wisdom of the step he took was recognised even before the beginning of the nineteenth century, the great Sir William Jones being one of the upholders of his policy.

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Another act of enlightened policy was that the Hindu and Mahomedan laws were placed upon the same footing, a thing which the greater part of India never saw during the preceding five hundred years. In course of time, these laws, found scattered in numberless treatises, were compiled and translated into English for the benefit of the English Judges. Thus there came the works of Baldaeus Halhead, Charles Hamilton and others: though not quite satisfactory they did, yet, make those laws more intelligible than before.

A third act of wisdom was that Regulations were issued from time to time mitigating the rigours or removing the angularities of the Mahomedan criminal law which still, and for many years to come, remained the general law of the land. The uncertain title of the Company made Hastings slow to effect any far-reaching change in the criminal law; but in exercise of the powers conferred on the Governor-General and Council by the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Act of 1781 some Regulations were passed for more "effectual and regular administration of justice" in the Mofussil Civil Courts. Lastly, at his instance, the civil procedural laws for those Courts were framed by Sir Eliza Impey during his short incumbency as the Chief Judge of the Sadar Dewani Adalat. These were in 1781 issued as a revised Code.

Reforms in Police Administration

Closely connected with the criminal administration were the Police in those days, as they are now. Before the time of Hastings the Zamindars were responsible for public safety and maintenance of public roads. This did not prove satisfactory; as a matter of fact, many of the officers of the Zamindars were proved or suspected to be in collusion with the breakers of law; therefore, in 1772, the Faujdari jurisdiction of the Zamindars was taken away and vested in the Adalats. Two years later Hastings divided Bengal for Police purposes into fourteen districts. These were placed under Thanadars and the landholders were directed to assist them. Faujdars were appointed to apprehend all offenders against public peace. A few years' working showed that this system too was a failure. Therefore, in 1781, it was abolished and the Judges of the Civil Courts, as Magistrates, were given the power of apprehending the offenders in their districts. For punishment they were forwarded to the nearest Daroga who presided over the Nabab's Court. By special permission the Zamindars were sometimes vested with similar powers. This arrangement did not last long and, like the Adalat system itself, was remodelled by Lord Cornwallis. It nevertheless shows Hastings' anxiety to maintain law and order by all means.

His Place in Legal History of India

No legal or administrative system is unalterable and has remained unchanged for ever. As society progresses, law tries to keep peace with it. Sometimes it is tardy and then comes the accusation, "Law is the everlasting malady of mankind." But in every progressive society the malady is eventually removed. So it was in India under the Company. In the hands of Hastings' successors his Plan and the Adalat system received all necessary treatments, and their regime is, therefore, justly important in the legal history of India. They had, however, an advantage over Hastings. They were not tramelled by scandalous disagreements of their colleagues in the Council. A Francis, or a Clavering or a Monson could make no history during the times of Lord Cornwallis and his successors; none but the Court of Directors and the Parliament could undo the plans of those Governor-Generals. Such was not the privilege of Hastings who was buffeted by storms from all directions. In spite of that it was he who first knocked at the prejudices of a tottering past and laid a sure foundation of the great edifice of modern law and justice in India. His was the work of a pioneer and it had the inevitable defects of such a work. Even then it was great and deserves being remembered by those who are interested in it.

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ERRATUM

The Modern Review for April, 1955: "Jalianwallah Bagh," p. 298, col. 2, line 2: Read 9th *for* 10th.

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WATER AND THE COUNTRY-DWELLER

By A. SAYOUR,
Director, "Comite Hygiene et Eau," Paris

In France, during the last 25 years, water supply systems have been provided for 8,000 rural communes, bringing to 14,000 the number of those which are as well served as the towns in this respect.

Much however remains to be done, for 20,000 communes with a total of around 12 million inhabitants still have no public supplies. This figure does not include the three million people scattered in remote parts of the country who depend for their water on their own individual installations.

Our time is rich in contrasts. When jet planes bring the most distant continents closely together, it is paradoxical that in the countryside over which they are flying peasants are still engaged in the ancient task of fetching water. The problem of water for drinking has not yet been satisfactorily solved in many rural areas. This situation has many unfortunate consequences especially in the field of public health.

Water and Health

As shown in a study by M. Baccino of the National Institute of Hygiène (France), when the mortality rates from typhoid and paratyphoid fevers in 1913 and 1934, and the general mortality rates in 1913 and 1936 are placed side by side with figures showing the growth of water supply systems, it is immediately evident that the considerable drop in the mortality figures in every department of France is in direct ratio to the percentage of the population supplied with potable water.

Similarly, Dr. P. Chassagne, head of the epidemiological section of the same body, made certain observations following the recrudescence of epidemic typhoid which occurred in France in 1949. Dr. Chassagne showed that out of 7,000 cases of typhoid fever recorded in France during 1949 and preceding years, more than half could be traced to the consumption of polluted water.

Consequently, in order to prevent the return of the epidemic, Dr. Chassagne advocated that

> "Every consumer should be provided with a water supply subjected to frequent and strict bacteriological tests, he should be given a supply suitable for drinking and—another important precaution—for the washing of vegetables eaten uncooked, for butter-making, etc. Indeed, it would seem that more than one epidemic has been due to the consumption of butter washed with contaminated water."

Hydro-geological surveys carried out by the rural engineering service have shown that the mortality rate in a locality without a drinking water supply system is, on the average, two to three per cent higher than the corresponding figure in communes which have been suitably equipped for some years.

Let us now consider the case of India, the main breeding ground of cholera, whence epidemics have spread throughout the world, causing frightful ravages.

We quote below the conclusions of a study published in December 1947 in the periodical *Eau* by Dr. M. Monnerot-Dumaine, of the Institut d'Egypte:

> "A study of the Indian epidemics shows that they proceed upstream along the watercourses and not in the direction of the current. Consequently running water does not play an important part. On the other hand, well-water is dangerous. In villages in the endemic zones of India, the wells which supply the drinking water for the inhabitants regularly contain *koch vibrios*. When wells were dug along the Ganges so that the local inhabitants could draw their drinking water from them instead of from the river, the ravages of cholera rapidly increased, and the wells had to be hastily filled in. One of the conditions favourable to cholera is satisfied wherever the people drink well water or any standing water. On the contrary water which is collected in accordance with the classical rules of hygiene cannot harbour the vibrios."

Another striking example is that of Egypt, where the last cholera epidemic, in 1947, was particularly deadly in the rural areas whose population drinks drinking water from canals and the Nile. On the other hand, the large cities, such as Cairo and Alexandria, supplied with purified water, escaped the epidemic.

* * *

It will be felt, no doubt, that these observations illustrate sufficiently well the importance of a drinking water supply system for the health of the rural population.

Of course, in the more advanced countries a satisfactory water supply represents only a contributory factor, the decrease in mortality being largely due to preventive measures and advances in therapy. Nevertheless, it plays a by no means negligible role.

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In the less developed countries, drinking water supply systems together with vaccination, occupy an important place in the control of epidemic diseases.

The provision of an ever-increasing number of suitable installations will make it possible to reduce mortality rates, as part of the programme of work undertaken by the great international organizations.

The Cost of Safe Water

The health aspect of a rational water policy in the rural areas is not the only one worthy of attention. Mention should also be made of the arguments in favour of such a policy from the economic viewpoint. A supply of safe water may indeed be considered as an essential part of the equipment of a farm, because of the saving in time it makes possible and the improved output, particularly as regards milk production and stock-raising. Although it is doubtless wise not to place too much reliance on statistical estimates, nevertheless the financial benefits which may be expected from the generalization of water supply systems throughout the countryside in France are of considerable interest.

According to these estimates, the increase in milk production would bring in an additional 15,000 million francs per year, and the increase in meat production an additional 22,000 million francs. Thanks to the use of running water in washing out stables and cowsheds, nitrogenous products to the value of 3,000 million francs could be recovered. The increase in market-gardening output would be equivalent to 8,000 million francs. To these sums must be added those resulting from the saving in time from better organisation of fire-fighting measures, and from the development of anti-parasite treatments. All these savings have been calculated and come to a total of 80,000 million francs a year.

If, instead of this overall picture, a single agricultural undertaking is considered, then the results are just as conclusive. Let us suppose that the nearest water point is 30 yards from the farmhouse (an average distance in the case of many farms). Then the water carrying necessary to supply a family of six persons, would involve, in one year, a total weight of 51 tons, a total distance covered of over 95 miles and a loss of eight full working days. As regards livestock, the daily watering of four cows, two calves and two horses would result in the loss of 36 working days per year.

When it is remembered that it is the wife who must generally fetch the water for the family it will readily be seen that the removal of this burden would enable her to devote more time to the children and to look after them better, without mentioning the additional comfort for all the occupants of the farm.

Water and the Community

These above considerations logically bring us to the third aspect of the water problem, namely, the social aspect.

It is clear that by improving the living conditions of the country-dwellers water supply systems play a large part in maintaining the balance of population between town and countryside and slowing down the exodus towards the cities. This balance cannot but foster increased exchange between industry and agriculture, and contribute to the general prosperity which is a feature of socially privileged countries. In addition to this, a rural population in good physical and moral health is a factor in maintaining the vitality of a people.

The Place of Health Education

At the conclusion of this brief outline of the problem of water supply in the rural areas, the question arises as to how the present position can be remedied, and how collective water supply systems can be improved.

It is here that the importance of health education becomes clear. Not a day goes by without some mention of the investments necessary to put new life into the national economy. Part of these investments are devoted to building, in which water supply finds a place, unfortunately an all too modest one.

Public opinion must be convinced that this policy is sound. This requires appropriate civic education, stressing the part which the rural water supply systems must play in a balanced economy.

Although such health education is already given by many bodies on the international or national level, even greater efforts are called for. In particular, fruitful work could be done in the country by social workers, who are specially qualified to inculcate healthy and hygienic habits among the rural inhabitants.

People should also be made to understand that nothing can be achieved without paying for it and that a financial effort is necessary, either by direct participation of the users through a loan, or by a tax, or by paying a fair price for the water.

In short, what is required is a substantial effort in information and propaganda work. This cannot fail to reinforce the universally expressed desire of country-dwellers for better conditions, more comfortable and healthier housing, and the lightening of needlessly burdensome household tasks. It should not be forgotten that in the many surveys carried out the women questioned were almost always the first to be in favour of a domestic water supply.

Everything possible should be done to develop and multiply the water supply systems, which help to improve hygiene, to give a fresh impulse to agricultural production, to raise the living standard of the farmer and to attract workers to the land.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY (Vol. IX, Parts I—II, 1952-53): *Edited by V. L. Devkar. Published by V. L. Devkar for the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda. March, 1955. Pp. 96. Price not stated.*

The present number of this well-known periodical maintains the high standard of the previous issues. Among the seven papers comprising this number the place of honour belongs to the very valuable article of Dr. H. Goetz entitled *The Early Oudh School of Mughal Painting: Two Albums in the Baroda Museum*. Introducing his paper with a short critical account of the evolution of Mughal painting from the "Classic Age" through the "Aurangabad period" to the times of the later Mughals, the author describes two sets of miniatures originally forming as many albums with separate book-covers which "shed a most revealing light just on the critical transition period from the last years of Muhammad Shah to the reign of Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh." The description consists of a detailed examination of the miniatures under two heads namely, the older miniatures and the copies and the miniatures of the early Oudh type arranged in five groups, and it concludes with a survey of the general characteristics of the pictorial art of the times. "The Oudh School under Shuja'-ud-daula," the author sums up, "represents the last Golden Age of Mughal painting, a late, second-hand mannerism but of a greater decorative effect than the classic style of the 17th century, and with a genuine contribution both in the symphonic composition of complicated scenes and in the romantic interpretation of nature. The Baroda albums show its genesis . . . its flourishing . . . and even its decay." In another paper, Dr. P. H. Pott of the Ethnological Museum, Leyden, gives us a bird's eye view of the Tibetan and Nepalese collections of the Baroda Museum, dividing his subject-matter under six heads, namely, the Tibetan painted scrolls (*thangkas*), the three-dimensional Mandalas, the bronze figures of gods, saints, and demons, the sculptures in stone, wood and ivory, the industrial arts, the decorative panels from Nepal. A set of the Ramayana illustrations of the Pahari School representing scenes from the Rishya-Sringa legend which agree curiously enough with the Bengali version of Krittivasa, forms the subject of another interesting paper from the pen of Sri O. C. Gangoly. A group of seven Jaina bronzes unearthed from a site in the Panch Mahals district is dealt with by Sri U. P. Shah. Of more general interest are the papers of Sri V. L. Devkar entitled *A Scheme for the Municipal Museum of Amreli* and of Sri B. L. Mankad called *Different Modes of Exhibiting Coins in Museums*. These are followed by the report on the working of the Baroda Museum for the year 1952-53. In between the last two we have a list (which is singularly inappropriate for a first-class journal of this nature) of the opinions of visitors as well as those of scholars and the Press on the activities of the Museum. The frontispiece and the concluding pages are adorned with a number of superb illustrations which add greatly to the value of this issue.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LAND REFORM IN NEW CHINA: *By Dr. N. Ganguli. Published by Ranjit Printers and Publishers, Delhi. Price Re. 1-8.*

People's China has been making history almost from its birth in October, 1949. The Agrarian Reform Law promulgated on June 30, 1950, is one of its most remarkable achievements. The Law does not abolish landownership as such. It abolishes "the land-owning system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class" (Article I). China's land policy is not a blind imitation of Soviet Russia's. Fortunately for the former her new rulers are not lotus-eaters. They are, on the contrary, matter-of-fact realists endowed with sturdy common sense. They "seem to be anxious to avoid blind mass action which had led to economic chaos and dislocation and destruction of property, agricultural equipment and livestock in the Soviet Union."

Land reform is but the first step towards the reorganisation of agriculture. The peasantry must pass through various stages "in order to reach higher and higher levels of per capita productivity as the result of more and more intensive co-operation." These stages are those of (1) Temporary Mutual Aid Association, (2) Permanent Mutual Aid Association, (3) Agricultural Producers' Co-operative and (4) Collective Farming.

Surplus agrarian population is the basic problem of China's rural economy. The problem is being tackled by (*a*) the removal of technical handicaps of progressive agriculture, (*b*) the creation of better employment opportunities, and (*c*) the absorption of the surplus agrarian population in the tertiary sector of the economy and in occupations which offer supplementary employment to farmers. Results obtained are encouraging.

Prof. Dr B. N. Ganguli, the author of the volume under review, has placed the reading public under a deep debt of gratitude by producing a readable volume on New China's land policy, its character and its goal.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI

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THE BOATMAN BOY AND FORTY POEMS: *By Sochi Raut Roy. Published by Prabasi Press, 120-2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. December, 1954. Pp. 158 + x. Price Rs. 6.*

It is only poetry that can stir the hearts of people. Gandhiji was a poet, not of words in the usual sense of the term but of action. And it is because he was a poet that his words which came out of the depth of his heart could call forth response in the breasts of the millions.

We have seen a movement of modernism in literature. It is a reaction against the ideas and ideals of the nineteenth century, against the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorian period. The modernists are in revolt against romanticism and idealism. They try to be objective and realistic. Their approach to any subject is more or less intellectual.

This movement of modernism has found its way from West to East. The modernists of India are almost a replica of those in Europe, though the condition of the country at the time modernism was imported into India was very different from that of Europe. India has indeed suffered tremendously from, but was only indirectly hit, by the world-wars. A great revolutionary movement was in the offing and India was trying to break the shackles of a tyrannical foreign rule.

As a result of the two world-wars, there was almost a complete change in the outlook of life. The modernists were cynical and satirical. They were against tradition. They were against social evils. They were against the social system that tended to oppress the poor and the down-trodden. The old order of society must be changed, and they were speaking of new values in life and literature. The modernists of India were up against everything, but the strangest part of it was that the political struggle that was going on in the country and reaching a climax could not arouse any corresponding feeling in their heart. The literature that the modernists produced at the time, with some rare exceptions, will bear witness to the fact. It was rather the romantic poets who sang of the wonderful revolution that was going to make India free and establish her in her pristine glory.

Sochi Raut Roy hails from Orissa. "He has spent so many years of his creative life in Bengal that he is a veritable adopted son of Bengal." Dr. Kalidas Nag writes in the Introduction, "Raut Roy is interpenetrated with the genius of Bengal while he remains the outstanding Oriya poet of the new age." Sochi writes in the language of the people, in Oriya, the language of Orissa. He also composes poems in Bengali. Dr. Nag observes, "Such bilingualism is very rare amongst modern writers." As is evident from this book of verse, Sochi also writes in English. Hence, he may be said to be trilingual.

There is also an introductory note to the first section of the book. "The Boatman Boy," by Harindranath Chattopadhyay, under the caption of Translator's Notes. Sri Chattopadhyay holds some strong views about poetry and the mission of modern poets. Wordsworth had his opinion about poetic diction and the subject-matter to be dealt with in poetry. Wordsworth was a great poet in spite of his theory. His theory has been exploded but his poetry remains. Harindranath Chattopadhyay has his own opinion about the new values and false values of art. Whatever views and opinions he may have of art, he is a real poet. The poet-leader, as Dr. Kalidas Nag calls Harindranath in the Introduction, greets Sochi as "a young bugler of art."

The shooting and bayonetting of Dhenkanal boatmen, who were carrying on a peaceful and non-violent agitation for the assertion of their elementary civil rights, took place in 1938. Baji Raut, a boatman boy of barely twelve, born in the Native State of Dhenkanal, Orissa, fell a victim to British bullets. Sochi sang of this young martyr, and "this song," in the words of Harindranath, "caught on—even as flames catch on in a forest—lighting up all the night with its lurid glare."

The poems celebrating the martyrdom of the Dhenkanal boatmen from Roy's books *Bañ Raut* and *Abhijan* were rendered into English by Harindranath Chattopadhyay. The volume published in 1942 under the name *The Boatman Boy and Other Poems* introduced Sochi Raut Roy to the wider public of India. These poems form the first section of the book. The poems included in the sections 'Pandulipi,' 'Abhignyan' and 'Apocalypse' were rendered into English by B. Sinha, and two other poems were translated by Protap Bonnerjee. The book under review contains Raut Roy's original poems in English as well as these translations.

Growing up in an age of disillusionment Sochi Raut Roy speaks in the accent of modern times. He breathes the modern spirit, but he is not wholly a modernist, even as Harindranath Chattopadhyay is not wholly a realist. The latter sees the vision of a new humanity, and an idealist must have an undercurrent of romanticism in his poetry. It is good that a poet should identify himself with the common suffering man, but it is the way he expresses himself that makes him a poet. It is not because he deals with such subjects as 'Bread,' 'Food,' and 'Gallows' that Sochi Raut Roy is a poet, but because he writes such lines of poetic intensity as the following that he is a poet:

I stand and dream of the day to come
When men shall rise out of martyrdom,
Rise in the dawn of freedom when
A new red sun and my poet's pen
Shall sign the charter of Man for Men.

In his 'Ode to Man' he sings:

All hail!
Greetings of the Dawn.
I sing the epithalamium of darkness and light,
To man I inscribe my muse.

His ardent love of man and nature makes his poems instinct with beauty. In 'Overture' he writes:

Over distant tree-tops
come the sweet strains of the new rains;
In sudden bursts of the crashing drums,
cymbals untold, clanging,
an overture that tugs at the heart.

'A Crossing Over' is a poem with beautiful imageries:

We are a shooting star,
From earth catapulted
Faster and yet faster
. . . .
To a new horizon,
A bigger life,
A dream unravelled.

The poet brings in a new vision of life in 'Cloudburst.' In 'Apocalypse' he says:

I wait for the diapasonal word,
The Signature—
Soham.
I am He and Everything,
The origination and the end,
The seed, the fruition eternal,
Alpha and Omega.

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Symbolism is a trait of his later poems. Like other modern poets Roy makes use of symbols very skilfully. His poetic philosophy of life and death has been expressed through symbolism. His love-poems border sometimes on the sensuous, sometimes on the sublime. His emotive power makes his poems pulsate with life. His phrases are sometimes very exquisite. He does not generally twist language to make his phrases vivid.

The liquidness of diction and the rhythmical throb in such lines as

The angling merlin's silver call
drops from the dark blue heaven
Like pearls falling into a deep dark well,

Or

In the ballet of moonlight and midnight-shade
The tree murmurs,
Whispering notes in low octaves.

will easily enchant the reader's heart.

Such pieces as 'A Crossing Over,' 'Apocalypse,' "Cloud-burst,' 'Cloud-symphony,' 'The Fisherman,' 'Overture,' 'Music of the Spheres' and 'The Joy of Living' have poetry enough in them to satisfy any fastidious connoisseur of poetic art.

Sochi Raut Roy is already regarded as a leading poet of Orissa. Through these verses he will find an international recognition of his poetic talent.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW

TALKS ON JNANAYOGA: *By Swami Iswarananda. Published by the author from Sri Ramakrishna Ashram, The Vilangans Trichur, Cochin. Pp. 123. Price Rs. 1-8.*

Swami Iswarananda is a learned and thoughtful monk of Sri Ramakrishna Mission and the present President of the Mission Centre at Trichur. Many years back we lived together for a pretty long time as members of the Philosophical Study Circle at Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Mysore. There we noticed that he is very fond of philosophical thinking and values thinking much above reading.

The book under review is his maiden work and contains a series of talks on the rational interpretation of the Jnanayoga. The author confesses in the Preface that he presents the Upanishadic Brahma-Vidya shorn of the mystical and theological accretions. There is a school of thinkers in Mysore and other parts of South India who hold that *mula avidya* or original nescience ceases to exist in *sushupti* or dreamless sleep. The present author belongs to this school and attempts to show in this book that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are identical and supports his statement by suitable quotations of the Upanishads with commentaries of Shankara thereon. The Brihadaranyaka, Chhandogya, Taittiriya, Prasna and Mandukya Upanishads are repeatedly quoted to prove that *sushupti* and *samadhi* are similar states of non-dual experience of the Absolute or Brahman.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains twenty-one expository talks on the subject and the second one supplies profuse quotations from the five Upanisads mentioned above. The quotations are given in original Sanskrit followed by English renderings to enable the readers to understand the texual significance. There is an aphoristic statement in the Chhandyogya Upanishad which means that the philosophy of deep sleep is the key to the realisation of Brahman. In the lengthy introduction to my English translation of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad published by Sri Ramakrishna Math at Madras, I have clearly shown that Sankara and his worthy disciple Sureswara both hold that ignorance does exist in deep sleep in the seed-form.

We may or may not agree with the author, but we must admit the novelty of his interpretation and the boldness of his presentation. Even the orthodox scholars will hold their breath to challenge him and will hesitate to contradict him. It is left to the readers to read the exposition and speculate for themselves. The book is sure to stimulate philosophical thinking in a quite new way.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INTRODUCTION TO CIVICS AND POLITICS: *By S. K. Lahiri and B. N. Banerjea. Published by A. Mukherji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is the sixth edition of the book with additional sections based on the Constitution of Free India and the Charter of United Nations. Civics and politics are now very popular subjects with the students of our Universities. Many text-books have been written on these subjects. The present book unlike ordinary text-books deals with the subjects in a manner suitable for studies by persons other than students as a preliminary study to understand and interpret current poltical trends including international affairs. The book contains twenty-three chapters and touches about all aspects of political thought and theories from individual and society to world order—the United Nations. We would commend this book to the public interested in politics.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

DESHER KATHA: *By Bimal Chandra Sinha. Published by Apurbakrishna Chatterji, 59, Barrackpore Trunk Road, Calcutta-2. Pp. 174. Price Rs. 3.*

The author in six chapters, *viz.*, 2nd October (Mahatmaji's Birthday), 26th January (Independence Day), Congress Bengal and the Bengali, Our Draft Programme of Work and Gandhism, and Hindu-Muslim Problems, discusses various burning topics of the day. India today, particularly West Bengal, has a good many problems to tackle and solve but many attempts have failed to arrive at solutions. But there must be solutions if the nation is to survive and march ahead with other progressive nations of the world. Although a Congressman, the author is not blind towards the faults of the Congress, be it ideological or organisational, but he deprecates any attempt which confines its activities to criticism only. He discusses every problem as a realist and wants people not to be satisfied with adverse criticism of the present but to apply themselves to work and activities so as to improve the condition of the masses. He tries to bring an impartial mind to discuss and decide all burning political and economic questions now facing the country and its people. The author, though young, has already taken his place among the builders of Free India and his contribution to literature is happy and the present book maintains his popularity and reputation as a thinker of young Bengal. Printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

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GUJARATI

PRALAYA: *By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 438. Price Rs. 5-8.*

Shri Ramanlal Desai has two dozen novels to his credit. The one under notice adds one more to it. It is concerned with the coming annihilation of the world (*pralaya*). The first Global War of 1939 gave him the idea and his imagination based on National and International Policy—he calls it Idiocy—leads him to forecast wholesale destruction of humanity if we are to proceed at the present rate. The International background is a new element introduced in the novel-writing craft of Gujarat. Whether it takes on or not is a question, as few writers study these matters so well as Shrijut Desai has done.

BRAHMA ATITHI: *By Prof. Hasit Buch. M.A. Published by Jayadev Brothers, Baroda. 1947-1950. Paper cover. Pp. 42. Price Re. 1.*

Prof. Buch has struck out an original path in honouring the Kavi Nanalal, the premier Poet of modern Gujarat who died a short time ago. He portrays a conference of souls of all writers of eminence, old and new, in the court of Brahma, where Nanalal is sent for twice, but the messenger returned with the message that he said that he had yet to complete his *magnum opus* and is not ready to come to Paradise. The third call, however, was successful and he came to the conference, never to return. It is a promising and a unique work for a beginner and deserves great credit.

K. M. J.

GITA-PRAVOCHANO: *By Vinoba Bhave. Published in translation from the original in Marathi by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 12 + 292. Price: Unbound Re. 1, Bound Re. 1-8.*

Vinoba has sought, as none else except Jnaneshwar, to reach the Gita to the common man. And he has succeeded eminently. His is a commentary for the lay man. But none the less original, none the less erudite. He has avoided scriptural terminologies as far as has been possible without sacrificing the scriptural approach. Vinoba has given *vikarma* a meaning other than the accepted one. All the recognized commentators have interpreted *vikrama* as *pratishiddha karma* or prohibited work. Vinoba interpreted *vikarma* as *vishesh karma* or tuning the inner man with the external action. The interpretation is unique as it is revealing.

Take Slokas 24, 25 and 26 of Chapter VIII. "This allegory baffles many," writes Vinoba and then proceeds to give an illuminating commentary. It satisfies reason. It gladdens heart. Vinoba's key is not tuned to a particular note. Life to him is not a single-stringed harp. He does not subscribe to *keval-vad* or 'Only'-this view. He says, "I don't like subscribing to the view that regards life only as action, only as devotion or only as realization. . . . I would rather say, "What is action is devotion, and what is devotion is realization"—Chapter XVI, paragraph 11.

I may not multiply such instances. That is for the curious to seek, find and enjoy or reject. The book is nowhere heavy and reads like a romance. It gives the soul peace and tranquillity—lasting peace and tranquillity. A great book. The translation is faithful and printing tidy.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

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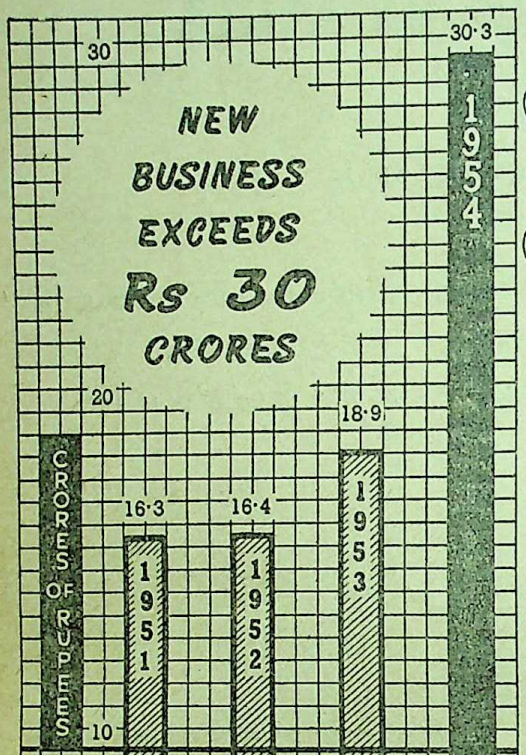

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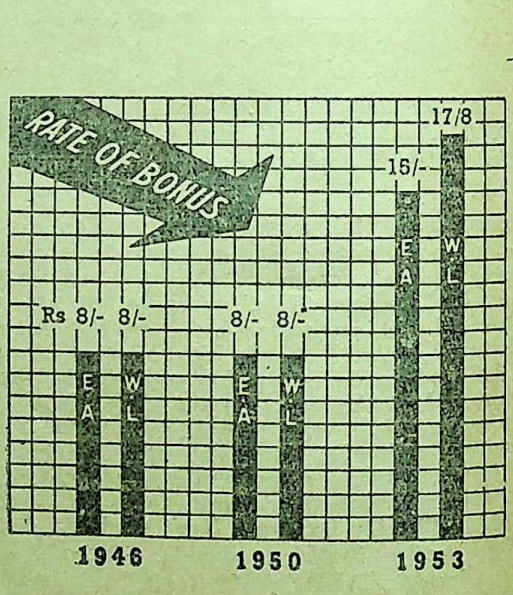

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Jagaddala Monastery

A Seat of Learning in Mediaeval India

Mahesh Kumar Moondhra writes in *The Indian Review* :

Taxila, Nalanda, Valabhi, Vikramsila, and Jagaddala were some of the most distinguished seats of learning in ancient and mediaeval India. Having a reputation for their high academic activities in the contemporary world these monasteries attracted the students and scholars from every nook and corner of our vast country. Even the students from abroad also visited these institutions.

The rulers of the Pala dynasty of mediaeval Bengal and Bihar were great patrons of art, literature, and education. They patronised a large number of monasteries of the Buddhists which included, apart from Nalanda and Vikramsila, Traikutak, Devikota, Sannagar, Phullahai, Pattikeraka, Vikrampuram, Jagaddala and many others.

In the year 1897, the late MM Pandit Haraprasad Sastri discovered in Napal the manuscript of *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi. This work was written during the reign of Madanapala Deva, the second son of Ramapala Deva. It helps us to know the history of Bengal and Bihar between the years 1070 and 1120 A.D. Sastri edited the manuscript for the first time and the Asiatic Society of Bengal published this work in 1910. Afterwards in 1939 a new edition of it was published with English translation and notes under the joint editorship of three competent scholars, *viz.*, Drs. R. C. Mazumdar, R. G. Basack, and Pt. Nanigopal Banerji, by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

According to Sastri, Jagaddala monastery was situated in the town Ramavati. But other scholars hold that according to *Ramacharita* (8/7) the monastery was at Varendri. It has been maintained that Ramapala Deva, the famous ruler of Pala dynasty, had established this monastery. As regards the period of his reign scholars hold different views. The date which is now generally accepted by the authorities is that he ascended the throne in the year 1077 A.D. and his death occured in the year 1120 A.D. when he was about seventy years old. Thus he ruled for nearly forty-two years.

The Palas were the followers of the Mahayana sect of Buddhism and had close relations with Tibet. The art and literature of this period is stamped by the Tantrism which prevailed in the land of the Lamas. Scholars of both the countries crossed the frontiers frequently. The Jagaddala monastery under the royal patronage became one of the centers of gravity for the scholar and the student alike who wanted to study the Mahayana philosophy and Tantrism specially. Many books were translated in this monastry from Sanskrit into Tibetan.

The scholars of Jagaddala were famous for their writings on various subjects. Among the large number of professors who worked there four names are outstanding—Danasila, Vibhootichandra, Mokshakar Gupta, and Subhakar Gupta. Their fame was not limited within the frontiers of our country but it spread far and wide. These scholars earned a great reputation even in Tibet. Short sketches of the activities of the four great pillars of Jagaddala monastery are given below :

(1) Acharya Danasila : Acharya Danasila was a resident of Bhagal in the eastern part of India. Mahapandit Rahula Sanskrityayana, a modern scholar, holds that Bhagal was the modern Bhagalpur. The mediæval writer Taranath in his famous work *History of Buddhism in India* has expressed that Danasila hailed from Kashmir and was a contemporary of Mahipala. However, it is beyond doubt that he lived and worked at Jagaddala. He was honoured by the titles of Mahapandita, Upadhyaya, and Acharya. He had a good command over Sanskrit as well as Tibetan. He is said to have translated nearly sixty books into Tibetan which had greatly influenced the Buddhist religion in that country. His translation also included a small book named *Pustak-Pathopaya* in which was shown the way of starting reading.

(2) Mahapandita Vibhootichandra : He was another famous scholar at Jagaddala. He received the famous book named *Jnan-chakshu-sadhan-nama* from Sakya Sribhadra, the reputed logician of Vikramsila, who after the destruction of that monastery sought refuge at Jagaddala. Having stayed there in the monastery for a short period, he went to Tibet, probably accompanied by Vibhootichandra who had a good knowledge of Tibetan language. Vibhootichandra translated many important works into Tibetan.

(3) Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta : He had to his credit the titles of Bhikshu as well as Mahapandit. He was at home in logic and wrote a book entitled *Tarka-Bhasa* in Sanskrit which was translated into Tibetan later on. Perhaps this Bhikshu Mokshakar Gupta is the same person who had annotated *Doha-Kosha*, an Apabhransa book.

(4) Subhakar Gupta : He is said to have been the teacher of Sakya Sribhadra. He worte *Shiddhayaka-vira-tantratika* which was rendered ino Tibetan also.

The successors of Ramapala Deva could not enhance the cultural activities any more. About 1203 A.D. the monastery was destroyed by the Moslem invaders.

Thus we see that Jagaddala monastery could continue its activities nearly for a century only. But the work done by its giants and jewels which it produced are more than enough to maintain the glory of the monastery in the annals of Indian letters and culture.

African Cultures

Possible Links Between Indian and

The concluding portion of the suggestive article of N. Ccurt in *The Aryan Path* is published below :

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Students of anthropology believe that in early times the Negroes lived in southern Asia, between Indo-China in the east and Persia in the west. They were agriculturists by occupation. As time went on other people notably the Aryans—of the great white race who came from the Middle East—entered the area, bringing with them that culture which is still, except where it is affected by Dravidian influences, the heritage of India. Hindi and many other Indian languages are related to European ones, Sanskrit being accepted by many philologists as the mother tongue, as it were, from which the languages of the West—Teutonic, Celtic, Latin and Slavonic—are derived. It is also believed that there is a strong link between English and Hebrew, and Welsh and Hebrew, especially the latter.

The Negroes, or rather their remote ancestors, were pushed out to east and west, when the great Aryan drive southward took place. One branch, it is believed, proceeded to Melanesia (the Islands of the Black People) in the Pacific Ocean and to New Guinea; the other, to Africa. Were these people Dravidians or pre-Dravidians? I am inclined to the belief that they were pre-Dravidians who had for some considerable period lived in a Dravidian environment. This is evident from a study of comparative religion in India, where we observe that pre-Dravidian theology or mythology, call it what you will, became absorbed quite naturally into the Dravidian culture. After the Aryan invasion, this new combination, which in the course of centuries had become blended as it were, wedded itself to the faith of the conquerors to produce the Hindu system as it is today.

In support of the Indian (pre-Dravidian) origin of the African we have a fair amount of ethnic proof, *e.g.*, little groups of Negro-like people known as Negrillos and Negritos in Malaya and the islands in the Indian Ocean exist as separate and distinct entities to this day. This fact alone ought to set us thinking.

I would state here that two significant facts indicate the non-African origin of the Negro, namely, that there is not extant among the paintings of the Bushman or pre-Bushman peoples of Africa one single portrayal of the Negro; and it is known that, before 3000 B.C., there were no Negro burials except in Egypt, where the body of one, said to have lived 5000 B.C., was discovered by the side of a lake. It is believed that groups of Negroes became mixed with the Mediterranean peoples living in north Africa, giving birth to the Bantu (the name means "The People"), who, moving gradually south, broke up into tribes, until they met and clashed with the early European colonists in the Cape territory.

In the folklore of the Southern Bantu people there are several very significant animal personalities possessing divine or devilish potentialities. One of these *Impundulu*, a bird which, besides its sadistic inclinations, is alleged by Africans to be the most powerful carrier of witchcraft. Having the ability to change its appearance at will, it is also able to make itself invisible on occasion. It often, more often than not, associates with Tikoloshe, the god of witchcraft, described as a dwarfish little man with short limbs and a powerful, thick-set body. This mythical creature is said to ride through the sky on *Impundulu's* back, carrying in his hand the *Ingumbo* (evil snake) and the *Ugatya* (charmed snake), collectively called *Inyoka* (snake).

Now, it seems that *Impundulu* is the counterpart of the Indian divine bird *Garuda*, the attendant of Narayana, on whose back Vishnu rides. *Garuda* belongs to that older and more "childlike" mythology of the earlier inhabitants of India, a culture steeped in symbolism, in which the animal largely figured. *Garuda* seems to have been either Dravidian or pre-Dravidian in origin. In Indian sacred art, which I deeply appreciate, *Garuda* is portrayed as a man-bird in which one hind claw is grasped the snake. As Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is spoken of in *Psalms* 18, 10 and 104, 3 as moving on the wings of the wind, the great God of the Hindus, Vishnu, "clad in yellow robes, bearing mace, discus and conch," is described in the *Ramayana* as riding upon *Garuda*.

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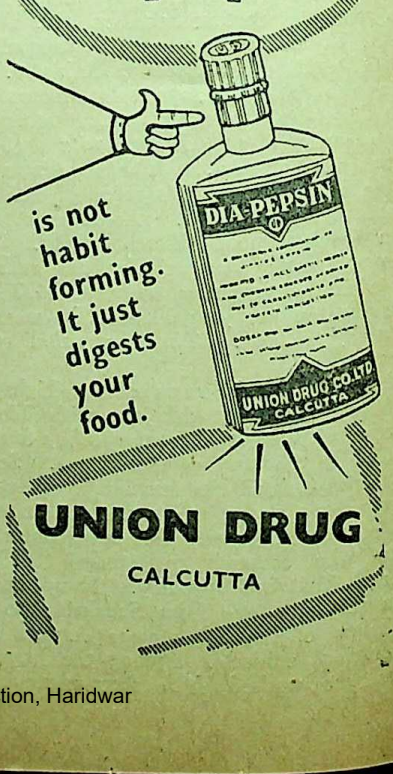

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In *The Secret Doctrine* (I, p. 421, a likeness between Vishnu and Jehovah, the Lord God of Israel, is brought out. Madame Blavatsky in Vol. II, p. 253, asks the pertinent question:

"Were the highly philosophical and metaphysical Aryans—the authors of the most perfect philosophical systems of transcendental psychology, of Codes of Ethics, and such a grammar as Panini's, of the Sankhya and Vedanta systems, and a moral code (Buddhism), proclaimed by Max Muller the most perfect on earth—such fools, or children, as to lose their time in writing *fairy tales;* such tales as the Puranas now seem to be in the eyes of those who have not the remotest idea of their secret meaning?"

Vishnu's and Krishna's vehicle, the great bird *Garuda*, the cherub of Jehovah, the *Impundulu* of the Bantu, have a significance of universal application.

Now, the Secret Doctrine furnishes a key which reveals to us on indisputable grounds of comparative analogy that *Garuda*, the allegorical and monstrous half-man and half-bird,—the *Vahan* or vehicle on which Vishnu (who is Kala, "time") is shown to ride—is the origin of all other such allegories. He is the Indian phoenix, the emblem of cyclic and periodical time. . . . (*The Secret Doctrine*, II, p. 564).

The Bantu "dowry" system known as *Lobola* establishes the truth that the woman is loved and cherished by the African. In India the Mother Cult is well known, and I shall refer to it presently in another connection.

The rite of circumcision amongst the Bantus, knows as the *Abakweta* or Male Initiation Ceremony, has elements of Hamitic and Semitic customs as well as those of the ancient Phallic religions known as the Nature Cults. But curiously enough a link with pre-Aryan India seems to be indicated in the *ubulungu*, a necklace made from the long hair of the cow's tail which is placed round the neck of each initiate. It is regarded as a charm against evil because it comes from the cow, the emblem of purity, health and virility. As the cow is symbolic of motherhood also, the Bantu believes that the possession of this token will ensure his sexual potency when at this ceremony he reaches manhood. Need the writer mention in much detail what the cow means to the Hindu? All the world knows this. By many millions God is worshipped as the Mother and all these worshippers speak of God as She. Says Shankaracharya of her with whom Shiva seeks shelter:

It is She,
Whose words are sweet,
The Destructress of ills,
Ever and in all places pervading,
Tender creeper of intelligence and bliss.

The Mother exceedeth a thousand fathers in the right to reverence, and in the function of teacher. (*Manu*)

Whosoever has seen the feet of woman, let him worship them as those of his teacher. (*Kubjika Tantra*)

In both the Hindu-Indian and the Bantu-African cultures, then, women are regarded as worthy objects of respect and reverence.

I am quite unaware whether or not any other exposition of this theory has ever been put forward, but that Africa is as much linked to India as western Europe is, is my conviction based on a study of ethnology, mythology and comparative religion for many years. I present it for what it is worth, dedicating it to my Indian and African friends.

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

by

PROF. K. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.T.B. College, Surat.

Foreword by

Dr. M. R. Jayakar,
Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona

Page 372 :: Price Rs. 9-8

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Mountainous India

C. Vishwa Nath writes in *Careers and Courses* :

The mountains in India can be classified into (1) mountains of Peninsular India, and (2) mountains of Extra Peninsular Region. The mode of origin in either case is different. Starting from the south let us go ahead in our survey.

Ranges of Peninsular India

The mountain ranges of the Peninsula comprise the following :

(1) The Western and the Eastern Ghats,
(2) Aravalli mountains,
(3) Vindhyan ranges,
(4) The Sethpuras.

The *Western Ghats* flank the western shores of India, and run in an unbroken range of hills to the south of Malabar, where they merge with the Nilgiris. Their mean elevation is 3,000 feet above sea level and are formed out of the Deccan lavas which foured forth over nearly half a million square miles towards the close of the middle ages, or about the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history or about the same time when the Himalayas were first uplifted from the bed of the sea. These hills present a "ghat-like" or landing-stair aspect and build flat-stopped hills so generally seen in Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere.

They have a very important influence on the climate of the western shores of India. They help to precipitate most of the moisture present in the south-west monsoons blowing from the Arabian Sea during summer. Consequently, this coast has very heavy rainfall and its forests therefore are evergreen. The plateau of the Deccan, which is situated on the leeward receives much less rainfall, just enough in certain places to support grasslands.

Eastern Ghats : They flank the eastern coasts of India and are a much lower range of hills which are broken at places and are irregular. These, unlike their Western counterparts, have a broad coastal plain fringing the hills. The lowly region is, however, more than fertile, where groundnuts, rice, cotton, tobacco and other crops are grown creditably. In fact, on this plain depends the prosperity of the States of Madras and Orissa.

Aravalli Mountains : The Aravallis are three-fold mountains which were elevated to existence in the early ages of the earth's history. They stretch towards north-east for about 400 miles in Rajasthan. Their general altitude ranges from 1,000-3,000 feet above the sea, the highest peak being Mount Abu within an elevation of 5,650 feet lying in the south-west extremity. These hills are generally bare with scanty population. Large areas, that is, the intervening valleys are covered with sandy deposits. Rocky ridges are to be observed near Alwar, Jaipur, etc. Their northernest extension is to be found in the low isolated quartzite hills seen in the environs of Delhi.

Vindhyan Ranges ; The Vindhyas form an interrupted range of hills 2,500 to 4,500 ft., in height. They go to form the northern part of Madhya Pradesh and separate the gangetic basin from the plateau of Deccan. On the west they rise in Gujarat and form the southern edge of the Malwa plateau. They extend further in the Kaimur range and terminate in the Ganga Valley near Banaras. They are composed mainly of sandstones of red and other hues, which are largely used in architectual structures of all dimensions in India. The beds are a little disturbed ; on some plateaux they are almost horizontal.

The Satpuras : The Satpuras literally seven hills form a range of hills between the Tapti and the Narboda in Central India. The high plateau of Amarkantak is the starting point and the range continues in a westernly direction along with the West Coast. The average elevation is above 2,500 feet above sea, but the Amarkantak plateau is 3,500 feet high above sea. Some of the places however, are still higher. The rail line from Bombay to Jabalpur runs through a break in the range just east of the famous hill fort of Asirgarh, the range here is as low as 1,248 feet above sea level. They are about 600 miles long and are composed partly of Deccan lavas and partly of granite etc.

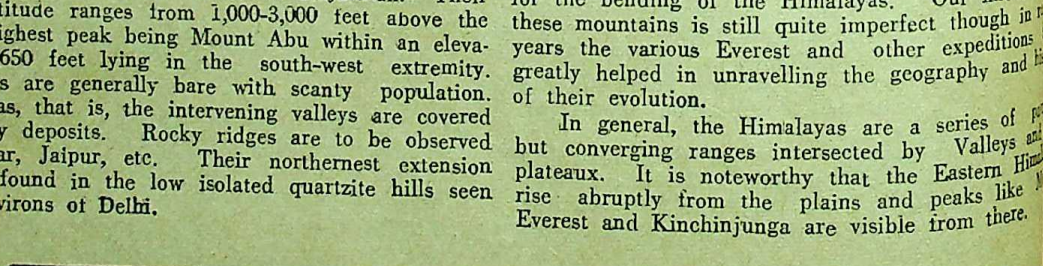
The Himalayas

Starting from the Naga and Lushai Hills in the east and ending in the Baluchistan range of hills in the west is indeed one mighty chain of mountain ranges.

They are not a mountain chain in the ordinary sense of the word. Immediately to the north of the plains of India, there rise the highest ranges of the world. The southern position of this mass is represented by the Himalayas, while Keunlun represents its northernmost range. In between these mountains is enclosed the bleak plateau of Tibet, about 15,000 to 16,000 feet above sea.

The Himalayas proper are a mighty chain over 1,500 miles in length and 150 to 200 miles in breadth. It has already been remarked that this chain of mountains was first upheaved towards the beginning of the later ages of the earth's history. These mountains were raised by stresses acting from the Tibetan plateau in the north. The slopes of the mountains facing the plains are therefore steeps, while those facing Tibet are gentle. These stresses in the form of waves were checked by the Deccan Plateau, the Aravallis and the Salt Range. These ranges actually have been responsible for the bending of the Himalayas. Our knowledge of these mountains is still quite imperfect though in recent years the various Everest and other expeditions have greatly helped in unravelling the geography and history of their evolution.

In general, the Himalayas are a series of parallel but converging ranges intersected by Valleys and plateaux. It is noteworthy that the Eastern Himalayas rise abruptly from the plains and peaks like Mt. Everest and Kinchinjunga are visible from there.



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The Western or the Panjab Himalayas rise gradually from the plains and the high peaks being so distant, are hidden from view.

The Himalayas are geographically classified into :

(1) *The Great Himalayas* :—This chain comprises the highest portion of the Himalayas with an average elevation of 20,000 feet. It is therefore, always snow-covered. The highest peaks in this region include the Mount Everest (29,040 feet,) ; Godwin Austen (K 2), Kinchinjunga, etc.

(2) *The Lesser Himalayas* :—The Lesser Himalayas or the middle ranges, which occur below the great Himalayas comprise the ranges whose elevation does not exceed 15,000 feet above the sea.

(3) *The Outer Himalayas* :—This range of hills, lying between the Lesser Himalayas and the plains, is also called the Siwalik hills which form low foot-hills of the Himalayas, 3,000 to 4,000 feet in elevation above the sea level.

It is very remarkable that the Himalaya possesses a great variety in climate, vegetation and natural products and its inhabitants include different, interesting and varied hill-tribes possessing customs, manners and cultures of their own.

4. *Trans-Himalaya* :—A fourth size still, that is the Trans-Himalaya, is recognised by some geographers. It was discovered by Sven Hedin in 1906 and its central part is 140 miles in width which lessens to about 20 miles at the eastern and western ends. Its length is 600 miles. S. Hedin stated that the mountain ranges are ill-defined and confusing. This region forms the watershed draining into the Bay of Bengal and those flowing to the north into the enclosed drainage depression. It is crossed by a number of high Passes, their average altitude being 17,500 feet, although Ding La is higher than 19,000 above the sea.

Watershed

It may be noted that the highest peaks occur on the southern side of the watershed between India and Tibet and are about 100 miles from the plains. The average elevation of the watershed is more than 18,000 feet above sea, whilst the passes linking India with Tibet about 16,000 above sea level.

Himalayan Valleys :—The Himalayan chains are separted by longitudinal valleys, sometimes hardly 3,000 feet above sea. Thus from the valleys at about that altitudes almost with tropical heat to cross with perpetual snow exceeding 25,000 feet above sea level, is stretched a complete range of vegetation of the world from the tropics to the polar regions. From these valleys a panoramic view of some of the stupendous peaks of the Himalayas, about 25,000 feet or more in elevation and unexcelled in the whole world, is to be had. Two valleys, in this connection deserve special mention : (1) The beautiful vale of Kashmir, and (2) the valley of Kathmundu in Nepal. They are extensive fertile valleys both in length and breadth, and especially in the case of Kashmir it is surmised that it originally represented a lake, the waters of which have desiccated in recent times the shrunken remnants of which are represented by the Wular and the Dal Lakes.

Regions of the Himalayas

Sir Sidney Burnard has sub-divided the Himalayan range into the following four regions :

(i) *The Assam Himalaya* :—from the Tista to the Brahmaputra river. This comprises the region between the peak of Namcha Barwa, 25,445 feet above sea in the Mishmi country, where the Brahmaputra forms a bend to cut across the Himalayas and the Tista river. It is 450 miles in length and includes the Kula Kangri group of peaks 24,784 feet above sea and the Chano Lhari, 23,997 feet only. The geological and structural features indicate that the Himalayas extend beyond Namcha Barwa and take a sharp turn to continue southwards into Burma. It is noteworthy that the Assam Himalayas have a very rapid rise from the plains ; the foot hills are narrow and the Sub-Himalayan region is comparatively lower than in the west.

(ii) *The Nepal Himalaya* :—This region extends for a length of about 500 miles and represents the portion between the Tista on the east and the Kali on the west. It includes some of the notable peaks like Kinchinjunga (28,146 feet). Mount Everest (29,040 feet). Makabe (27,790 feet). Annapurna (26,492 feet). Gosainthan (26,291 feet) and Dhaulagiri (26,795 feet) above sea level. It is noteworthy that the Great Himalayan range has a southward curvature and Kinchinjunga makes the southern most point of the Nepal Himalaya trend to the W.N.W. while to the east of it, the bend of the Assam Himalaya is E.N.E.. At the Brahmaputra, the trend almost becomes north-easterly. Near Dhaulagiri the range bends and bifurcates and a branch extends towards the north. Near Nampa there is another bifurcation of the ranges. It may be stated that in all the other Himalayan bifurcations, the more northerly extension has been considered as the continuation of the great range, but in this case, the southerly branch with the peaks of Nanda Devi and Badrinath has been regarded as the Great Himalaya, while the northerly branch with Kamet and Riwa Pharyul has been called the Zanskar range.

(iii) *The Kumaun Himalaya* :—The region has a length of 200 miles and is bounded by the Sutlej on the west. The range bifurcates at Badrinath and at the Sutlej, and the highest peak is Nanda Devi, 25,645 feet in altitude. It includes the well-known districts of Naini Tal, Almora and Garhwal. It is said that once this region had about 360 lakes, some of which have completely or partially desiccated. There certainly seems to be some truth in the legend because even today, a number of well-known lakes like the Naini Tal and Bhim Tal occur. Some of the well-known peaks of this region comprise Nanda Devi 25,645 feet. Badrinath 23,190 feet, Kedarnath 22,770 feet, Trisol 23,360 feet, Mana 23,862 feet, and Gangotri 21,700 feet above sea level. The Dhauladhar range constitutes the southernly bifurcation of the Kumaun Himalayas. It is in this region that some of the noteworthy and sacred rivers of Northern India like the Bhagirathi, the Yamuna, etc., take their source.

(iv) *The Punjab Himalayas* :—This portion lies between the Sutlej and the Indus and is about 350 miles

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in length. Owing to curvature the Kumaun and the Punjab Himalayas do not follow the same trend. Towards the west of the Sutlej the altitude of the range diminishes. To its east there are peaks like Kedarnath and Badrinath, both 22,000 feet in altitude. The Sutlej cuts across the Himalaya at its southernly branch named the Pir Panjal bifurcation to follow its course in the plains. There are few peaks exceeding 20,000 feet in altitude in this portion and the Zoje La Pass is only 11,300 feet above the sea. It is noteworthy that the northern slopes of this range are bare and rugged and enclose plateaux with lakes while the southern slopes are covered with forests and do not enclose any high plains. The Punjab Himalayas are comparatively much dry and consequently the snow-line is much higher. The Jhelum, after following through a very deep gorge, cuts across the Himalayas and follows a somewhat remarkable southerly course through the Potwar plateau. The Himalayas appear to end here in the Indus Valley, but recent researches have shown that they continue across the Indus into the ranges of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The formation on either side of the bend, too, prove the same.

The Snowline—The snowline is a summer isother of 32° F and marks the lowest limit of perpetual snow. Its height depends on (i) temperature and (ii) amount of precipitation, *i.e.*, the greater the snowfall, the lower the line. The study of the snowline is important because it is the snow which replenishes glaciers, and they are economically important to mankind.

The height of the snowline in differtnt parts of the Himalayas facing South is given below: (A) The Napal Himalaya 14,700 feet. (B) The Kumaun Himalaya 17,500 feet (C) The Punjab Himalayas 17,000 feet.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HIMALAYAS

It is certainly true that if these mountains had existed the Indo-Gangetic plains, which constitute of the richest parts of India, would have been a d It is the Himalayas which intercept the moisture-l winds coming from the sea and bring about the pre tation of moisture in the form of rain and snow. latter gives rise to gigantic glaciers which constitute source of some of the important rivers of Northern I and make them perennial. For the same reason snowline on the southern slopes is much lower than the northern slopes of the same mountains. Very snow will be found in the summer even at an alti of 20,000 feet on the northern slopes as the air is dry that no snow can be precipitated, while on southern slopes the altitude of snowline varies f 14,700 feet in the Eastern Himalayas to about 1 feet in the Western Himalayas. But for these mounta the economic geography of Northern India would been entirely different. In fact, it would not at all inapt to remark that just as Egypt is styled the gift the Nile, the Indo-gangetic plains may be called gift of the Himalayas and its rivers.

Except on the north-west, the Himalayas form p tically an impassable barier between India and th of Asia. With the exception of the north-west, Himalayas have offered protection to India along lengthy frontage of about 2,000 miles. Without Himalayas, the bitterly cold winds blowing from plateau of Tibet and Central Asia in winter, w happens to be one of the coldest regions of the earth this time of the year, would have swept over the pl of Northern India. Had it not been for the Himala India would have experienced an extremely cold cli in winter.

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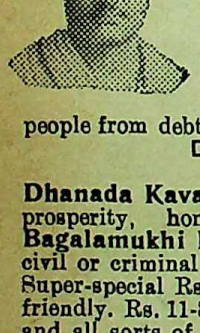

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Problem of Evil

Leo Hirsch gives the reader ample food for thought and reflection in the following article in *Unity*, January-February, 1955 :

Why should there be evil in the world ? Why should there exist evil impulses in the human heart ? Why should the world be the playground of good and evil forces ? We know that there is kindness on this planet but there is also cruelty. The important question is : what can we do about it ? Criminologists tell us that many a person commits evil and does it deliberately, knowing that it is evil; that the most wicked crimes are committed with a full realization of the horrible consequences to the victim.

Man, from the time he attained reason and conscience, was deeply concerned with the problem of evil. All the old scriptures have remarkable examples of how seriously man probed and studied this problem and tried not only to find an answer to that riddle but what humans could do about it.

The classic tragedy of Job is an outstanding portrayal of a man who suffered all the tortures of physical pain, loss of material treasures, and the pain of spiritual confusion and instability. He could not understand the loss of health, of his earthly goods, and the loss of children and friends. Job, as interpreted by orthodox thinkers, is a man who was tormented by Satan at God's behest, so that he would larn something about life and, in the end, be rewarded for his suffering. There are passages in the Book of Job that go deep into the soul because they express with magnificent finality thoughts about evil that have always harassed the mind. During his anguish he cursed the day of his birth and complained of life in general. It was not until he clearly realized the challenge of evil, accepted life with all its conditions and responsibilities in a spirit of humility and reverence that he was able to emerge into a state of wisdom and faith.

Christ gave us new insights in regard to evil in man's nature. Christ warns his disciples to be humble and harmless ; to avoid offenses and not to despise little offenses. He taught them how to deal with offenders when they offend us and how to forgive them. To him, forgiveness was a supreme virtue.

There is nothing more despicable than the evil displayed by a person who deliberately and coldly betrays his country or a benefactor or a friend.

Much of evil in man's nature can be explained by a lack of development of his spiritual faculty. When man will be granted the fullest freedom of thought and expression and equal opportunity in his political and economic life, then much of that recalcitrant nature will be eliminated.

Euripides, the great Athenian dramatist, wrote tragedy because he saw the eternal conflict between good and evil in the lives of men. He expressed his faith in man by his belief that man in the very nature of his being had the ability to conquer the evil in his breast. In probably one of his greatest choruses he symbolized that faith by "the appletree, the sunshine, and the gold."

In all periods of great crises, evil is brought to the surface and becomes more violent. We see cruel types of characters and situations, human and social relations, which appear abnormal and subhuman. These events and the men who dominate them generally end in catastrophe.

Men of genius and spiritual insight who lived in these soul-trying times invariably made some contribution to bolster the morale of mankind.

The finest minds in every period of man's life on this planet were concerned with the problem of evil and bore a kind of prophetic relation to the situation of the time. These spiritually minded men recognized as clearly as we do that at times evils multiply in our world and threaten from moment to moment to engulf us—the evils of violence, tyranny, persecution, hatred, bigotry, lust.

From this we may readily infer that the moral order, as we know it, was not revealed to man as the myths of religion declare. Man found his way to the moral order haltingly, by the stern method of trial and error. He discovered through his experience that there are lines of conduct which are good insofar as they made for health, happiness, and life, and other lines of conduct which are evil insofar as they create disease, disintegration, despair, and death. It is through trial and error, through infinite painful experience, that we have learned the intrinsic importance of the individual, of human dignity, the conception of human freedom, the conception of spiritual and moral values. From these hard-won concepts, we have learned that evil in its ethical meaning is to offend against the worth attached to human beings. To deny this worth in man is to deny religion, democracy, and the moral law.

The moral law in the spiritual world, like the law of gravitation in the physical world, is the law which reigns throughout the spiritual universe and is universal in its jurisdiction. Our duty as human beings is to apply more and more the universal spiritual law in our human relations and thus enlarge our destiny and our culture.

In the United States there have been many leaders who were deeply concerned with the problem of evil.

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Some attacked evil in the religious field and some attacked evil in the political and economic areas. Such men as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, William Ellery Channing, Wendell Phillips, Lincoln Hawthorne, Henry George, Veblen, and others made valuable contributions to this perplexing problem. Phillips and Lincoln had a profound influence in destroying the institution of slavery. Henry George, through his *Progress and Poverty*, left an indelible impression on the American mind for the need to remove poverty from the democratic scene.

Then, too, we must not forget Herman Melville. In *Moby Dick*, Melville took the problem of evil and placed it within the environment of nature and within the framework of industry. He recognized that there were certain cruelties in nature that disregarded the worth in man and that there were certain dictatorial types of men in industry that made of human relations a hollow mockery.

As against these positive forces that have combated evil, America has produced a paradoxical religious movement which denies the very existence of evil. I refer to the Christian Science Movement whose central thesis is that sin does not exist, that there is no such thing really as moral evil, that moral evil, too, like bodily disease, is mere appearance, a mere illustion, and that it, too, can be expunged by stout negation. The same position which the mental healer takes with regard to sickness he likewise takes with regard to sin or moral evil.

If this faith were to spread, it would prevent the mitigation of moral evil in the world, just as their attitude toward disease would prevent the possible cure of physical ills. We ought to recognize that just as there is a medical science based on the assumption that physical disease has physical causes and that these causes may be known and understood, so there is a moral science basd on the conviction that moral evil has causes and that by scientific investigation these causes may be ascertaind and thus removed. The mental healing method would lead to the abandonment of the medical profession as well as of the social sciences, and to the ignoring of this causal side and it would hinder the most important efforts that can be made for the moral betterment of the world. It is not right to say that moral evil does not exist. Moral evil does exist; it is real, as matter is real, and you cannot ged rid of it by denying it.

The cure of the evils of the world, the evils of the slums and poverty, racial discrimination, the religious bigotries, the hatreds, the lies and cruelties cannot be achieved by denying their existence. The Christian Science Movement denies what to me is undeniable: that matter is real and that moral evil is real, and hence all such religious movements are socially dangerous, unproductive, and sterile on the side of social reform and impede human progress.

We live today in a period which has much in common with the Dark Ages—with its chaos, ceaseless wars, its nightmarish fears, its unbelievable cruelties, its horrible bigotries, its homeless men, women, and children. In one respect we surpass the horrors of the Dark Ages because man has succeeded in creating the most fiendish weapon of destruction in the history of man. It is the therefore of the greatest importance to know and understand who generated the enmity, the hostility that poisons the atmosphere in which we live and is deliberately aimed to destory the democratic way of life that has been won over a long period of time and at tremendous suffering and sacrifice.

The defiant, self-proclaimed enemy thus far has been the Soviet Communist party. Under Stalin's regime, he was the supreme, absolute ruler, and the Politburo was the principal source and channel of the decisions which

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demanded and commanded the blind obedience of the hard core of loyal Communist Party members everywhere in the world. These Communists have absolute despotic political power in Russia and in other parts of the world through their fifth columns. Their method and technique thus far to achieve world domination have been fraud, terrorism, violence, the big lies, and any other diabolical means to promote their ends. Stalin's recent death brought a new dictator into power, viz., Malenkov. He and his advisors have decided on a new course and a new strategy. They have launched new peace gestures. Are they sincere? We have to take these peace gestures at their face value until we ascertain what they mean by them. To the writer they seem to be booby traps deliberately set so as to lull the democratic peoples into a sense of security and thus entice them to lower their guard, decrease their defense measures and their aid to the allies, and thus create a world-wide economic depression that will enable the Russians to deal a death blow. A leopard cannot change his spots and Communism will not overnight change its plans to destroy democracy. The Russians are the victims of their dogmaisms, their cruelties, their crusading fanaticism, and these cannot shed easily. The habit of men's indoctrinated minds is not easily changed and everturned. Nothing short of a cataclysmic upheaval from within can bring about the drastic changes that will bring world peace.

Soviet Russia is our enemy without. Within our nation we have plenty of enemies who threaten to destroy our way of life by ignoring individual rights and concentrating their activities mainly on material privileges and profits.

In the recent steel strike, we have had evidence of the power of these disintegrating and disorganizing elements. They showed a complete indifference to our boys fighting in Korea, to the stability of our economic structure and to the welfare of our citizenry. From the very beginning, it was known that the major issue in the strike was the price of steel. Management for months pressured the government and its stabilization agencies to accede to industry's demands for higher prices, regardless of the fact that the increase they demanded would let loose another spiral of inflation. They cared little what effect such a strike would have on our economy and our defense program.

Management also created the false issue of the union shop. The union shop was the issue on which the steel magnates chose to hold ground until they had received the assurance of higher prices. Labor and government fell into this trap.

Labor, too, is not entirely guiltless; they, too, ignored the rights of millions of other workers by forcing them into unemployment. They, too, were indifferent to the survival of our economy or the welfare of our soldiers. They could have passed up their demand for the recognition of the union shop until a calmer and more favorable atmosphere prevailed. So the steel strike was lost by labour, by the government, and by the consumers, and won by the superior power and shrewdness of the steel magnates.

As long as labor and management distrust one another, so long will collective bargaining fly out of the window. Labor through its economists realizes that management is opposed to labor organizations and is unwilling to have labor accountants or government accountants go over their books to reveal to stock-holders, workers, and government the exact situation so as to be able to determine profits, prices, and wages. As long as all accountants are not placed under government license, so long will accountants fail to abide by ethical standards. Prices, wages, and profits must always be in equilibrium. When profits are made paramount at the expense of wages and prices, so long will you have strikes and discord. The same applies to labor when it demands a wage at the expense of fair profits and the additional cost to consumers. Human relations must be made the paramount issue.

A democratic labor organization must repudiate its right to paralyze a whole industry and the entire nation by coercive measures. The paralyzing power now exercised by the union should not be possessed by any minority group. That holds true with management as well. In a democracy, ownership and management must not be permitted to paralyze the entire industry because it is determined to force labor to accept its arbitrary decree. In the final judgment, the 160 million Americans ought to decide what is right or wrong in industrial relations.

The democratic idea demands that we distrust great power, whether of an overwhelming majority or an aggressive minority, or the power of an overwhelming concentration of wealth. The democratic idea demands that justice must be the basis of the good life. Enlightened Americans recognize that a new era in industry must replace the traditional conflicts of the past; that strikes and ceaseless warfare must be replaced by co-operation and teamwork.

Strength does not come from physical capacity or material power. It comes from an indomitable spiritual will to do the right. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. It is this permanent, spiritual element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full ethical expression in our human relations. It is because Soviet Russia recognizes no such spiritual nature in man that it completely ignores moral law. To them the material world is primary. To them individuals have no inalienable rights, and the individual personality has no sacredness. Dictatorship in the modern world is a monstrous, hideous evil, whether it resides in the Politburo or industrial management or in undemocratic labor organizations. Distatorship rests on a sea of blood, an ocean of tears, and a world of suffering. How can fear, force, lies, and misery

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make a better world? Morality consists, above all, in respect for means, man, and truth.

Another enemy within our borders is the racist, the isolationist, the hater of a foreign people. This enemy respects neither law nor life. He rejoices in seeing people of different color segregated and compelled to accept low standards of living. He fails to recognize the sacredness of human life and its interdependence. Such individuals cannot by any stretch of the imagination be Americans or internationalists or advocates of world government based on law.

To state these evils does not mean that we must become pessimistic or fatalistic or to assume that nothing can be done about them. In a world where "cold" war is exterminating human liberty and where "hot" war might be waged with atomic bombs, fatalism or complacency is criminal. The recognition of these evils should act as a challenge to urge us to the utmost effort to counter and control them.

To meet Soviet Russia's challenge, we must become and remaim militarily strong and at the same time have faith in our spiritual resources and work with the utmost dedication to strengthen the United Nations.

At present, we are aiming at an intensive preparedness to m[illegible]t the emergency and then hoping to relax that effor[illegible] It seems to me that it would be wiser to have a military program that could be maintained indefinitely without in any way undermining our economy or our basic freedoms. All this does not mean a third World War but it does mean convincing Soviet Russia that a third World War could not be won by anyone; that it is beyond the strength of any nation to conquer, subjugate, and annex the entire world; and that such an attempt would only mean the annihilation of the civilized world.

Russia's political rulers are deadly afraid of the spread of the democratic idea among her people, and they need the constant prodding of the U.N. to aid them to do away with totalitarianism; and we of the democratic West need to see ourselves in the false and exaggerated eyes of the Russians to keep us up to the mark of our democratic ideals.

So, in the final analysis, evil' whether on the international or domestic scene, is the compelling force that challenges us to create finer human beings and thus build a nobler civilization. To the individual, evil is a foil that develops and sharpens his moral fibre, his spiritual nature. Good affirms itself through evil.

It has been said that man is born into trouble, as the sparks fly upward. Humans are so constructed that they cannot grow and develop without suffering, without sorrow and frustration, without the challenge of evil.

Man's effort to overcome evil with good is simply an effort to project the infinite into the finite; an attempt to substitute the perfect for the imperfect; an attempt to fulfill the moral law and thus to carry out the spiritual relations in finite terms. The spiritual gains thus achieved are incalculable and make way for spiritual freedom.

BBC Records Wild Life

Now that the recording of the voices of wild birds and animals has become almost a commonplace, people can stay comfortably at home and listen to the res[illegible] of other men's labours in the field. In Britain this [illegible] is ably done by the BBC's Natural History Record[illegible] Assistant, Eric Simms, and his accompanying engin[illegible] Bob Wade, and the two of them have lately experimen[illegible] with a new method of recording.

Sound recording of the voices of birds and anim[illegible] is comparatively new and really began for B.B.C. lis[illegible]ners when Ludwig Koch introduced them to his recor[illegible]ings. He used the wax disk method, far more laborio[illegible] than the modern techniques now adopted, and took [illegible] heavy gear into a selected spot and waited there for [illegible] subject to turn up, cutting numerous disks, each lasti[illegible] from four a half to five minutes, while he waited, som[illegible] times for days. On some occasions the bird was oblig[illegible] but often it failed to co-operate and Koch had [illegible] start work all over again somewhere else.

The next method was to use the magnetised ta[illegible] which recorded every sound a bird or animal ma[illegible] over a period of thirty minutes, and if nothing of va[illegible] had been 'said' the tape could be quickly demagneti[illegible] and used again. The tape recorder worked fr[illegible] batteries in the recording van which lasted for [illegible] maximum of two hours but when it was possible [illegible] link the van to a mains supply of electricity record[illegible] could go on indefinitely. A length of cable had to [illegible] run from the microphone to the van and four hund[illegible] yards was the maximum that could be safely used, [illegible] drawback which greatly limited the choice of site.

The newest method of all is to broadcast the bir[illegible] voice by means of a portable transmitter and record [illegible] broadcast in the B.B.C. van, either using the batteries [illegible] linking it to the mains. With a small portable transmi[illegible] strapped to his back Simms recently broadcast the so[illegible] of his own voice to Wade, who recorded it in the [illegible] at a distance of two hundred yards. The second [illegible] was made when he took the transmitter over sever[illegible] badly waterlogged fields to where wild geese were fly[illegible] in to feed: a magnificent broadcast of their cries [illegible] recorded in the van nine hundred yards away. The th[illegible] experiments was to broadcast the sound of a mixed flock [illegible] finches and buntings to the van lying more than a mile [illegible] With three successful recordings made over progressiv[illegible] greater distances the time has now come for Simms [illegible] take his transmitter to many places that were pre[illegible]ously unapproachable and the B.B.C.'s library [illegible] recorded sounds of wild creatures should be proporti[illegible]ately increased.—*B.B.C.* London Letter.

Circulation of French Daily Newspapers

The circulation of the French daily newspapers [illegible] not as large as those in Great Britain or the Uni[illegible] States, but it is still very large. The following figu[illegible] indicate the average circulations between June, 1945 a[illegible] June of 1954.

Aurore; 425,811; Le Croix; 152.153; Figar[illegible] 476,641; France-Soir; 1.072,526; France-Tireur: 158.[illegible] Humanite: 168.056; Liberation: 126,801; Le mond[illegible] 167,820; Parisien Libere: 652,042; Paris Presse: 158,[illegible] —*News from France.*

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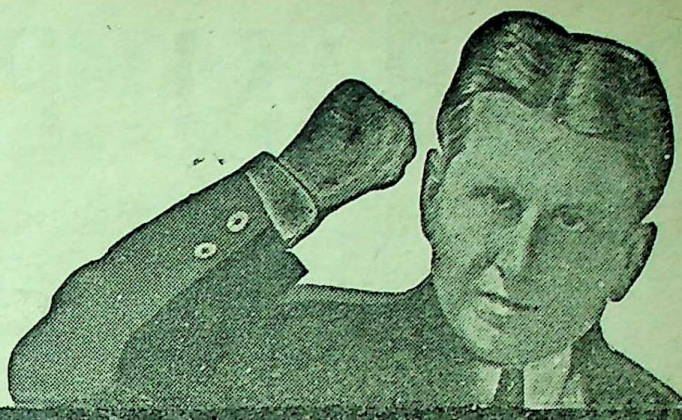

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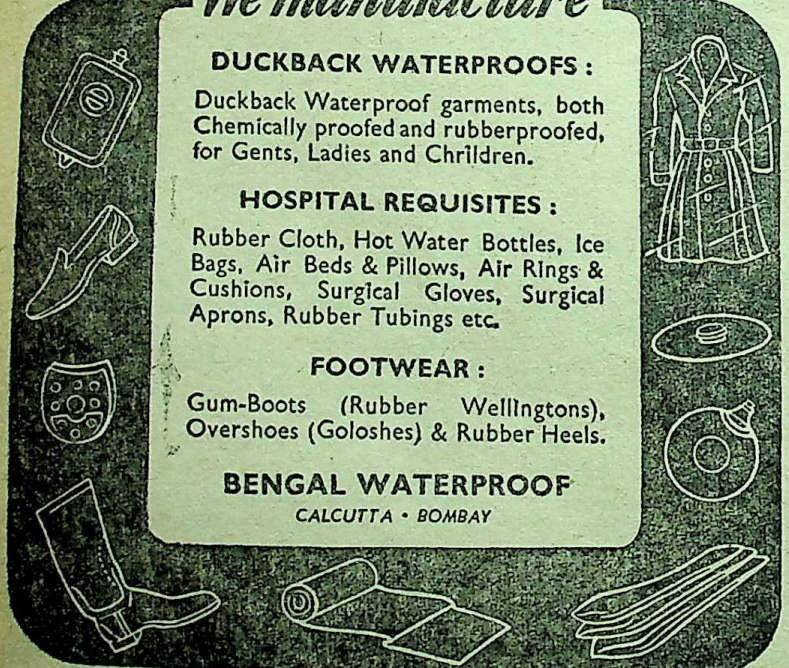

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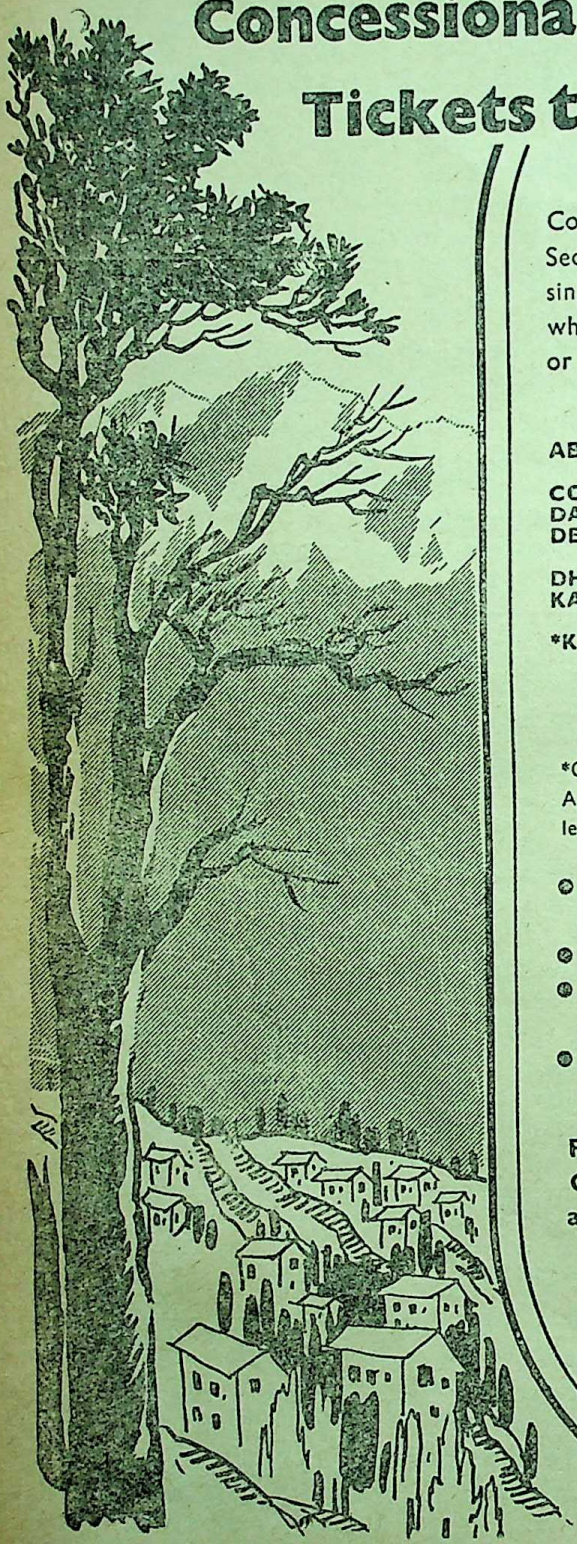

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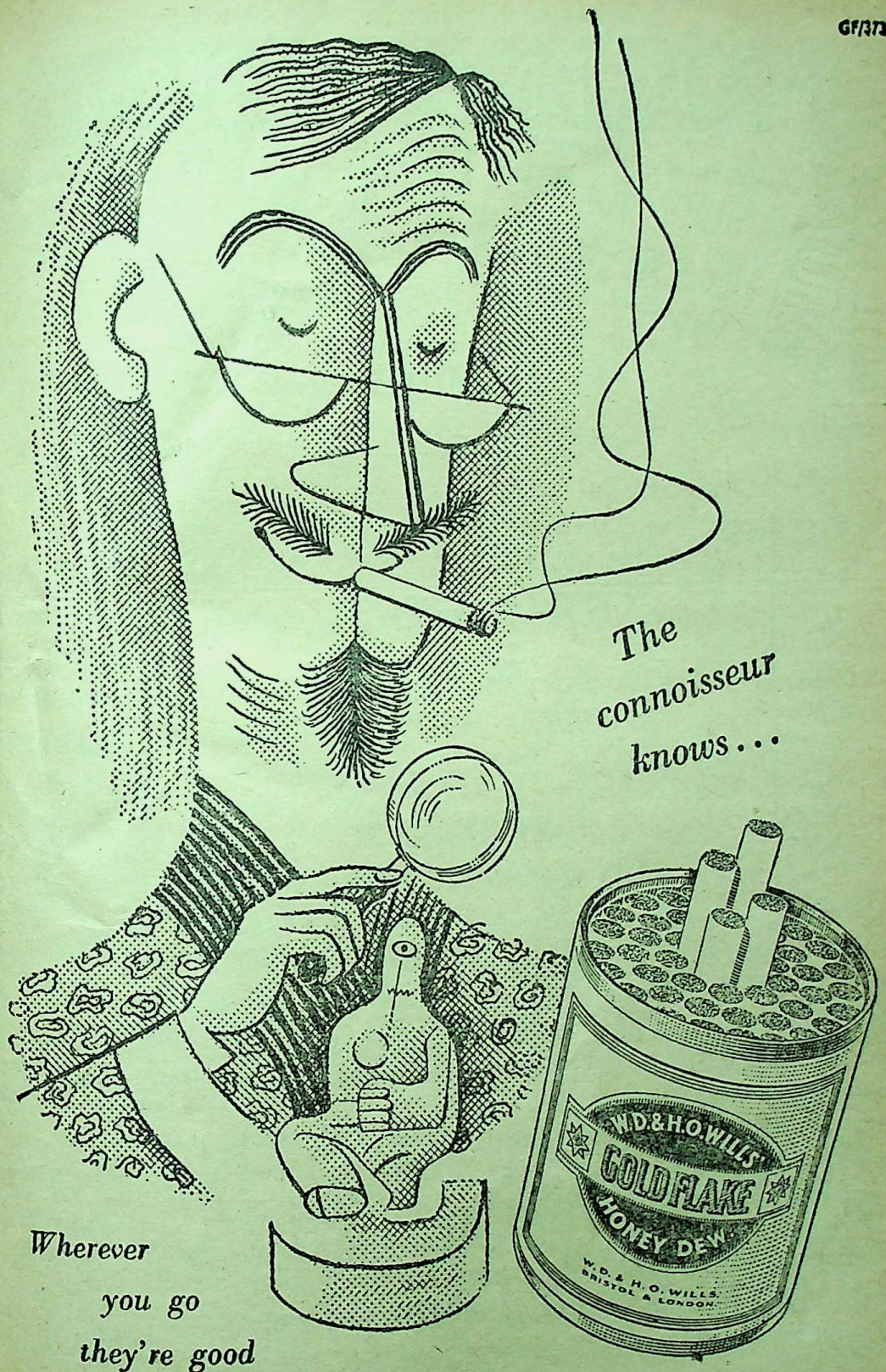

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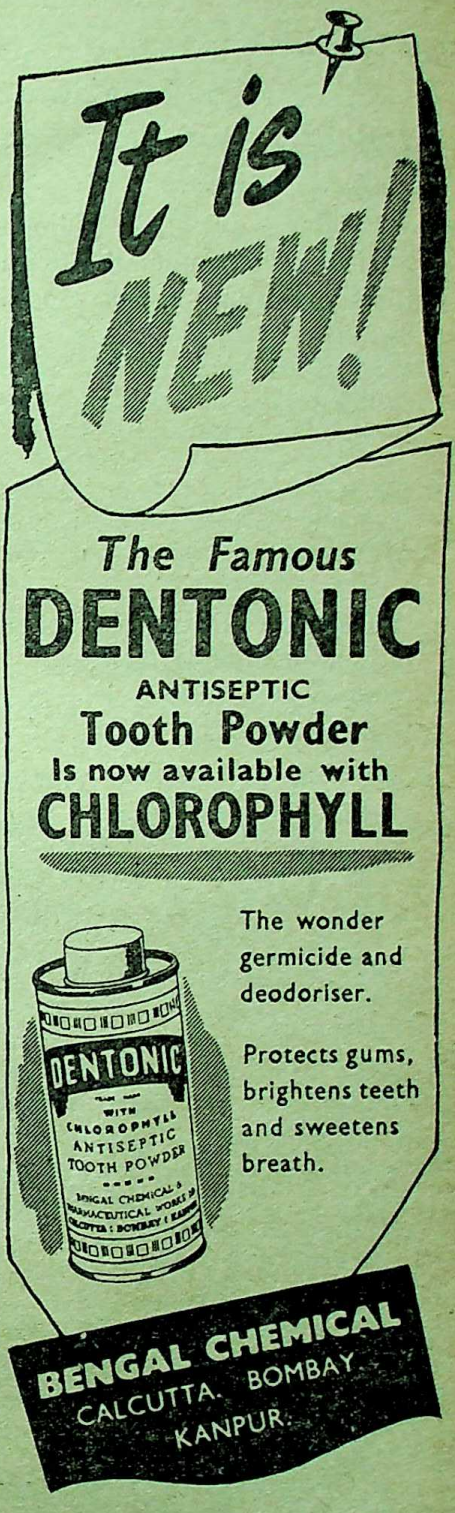

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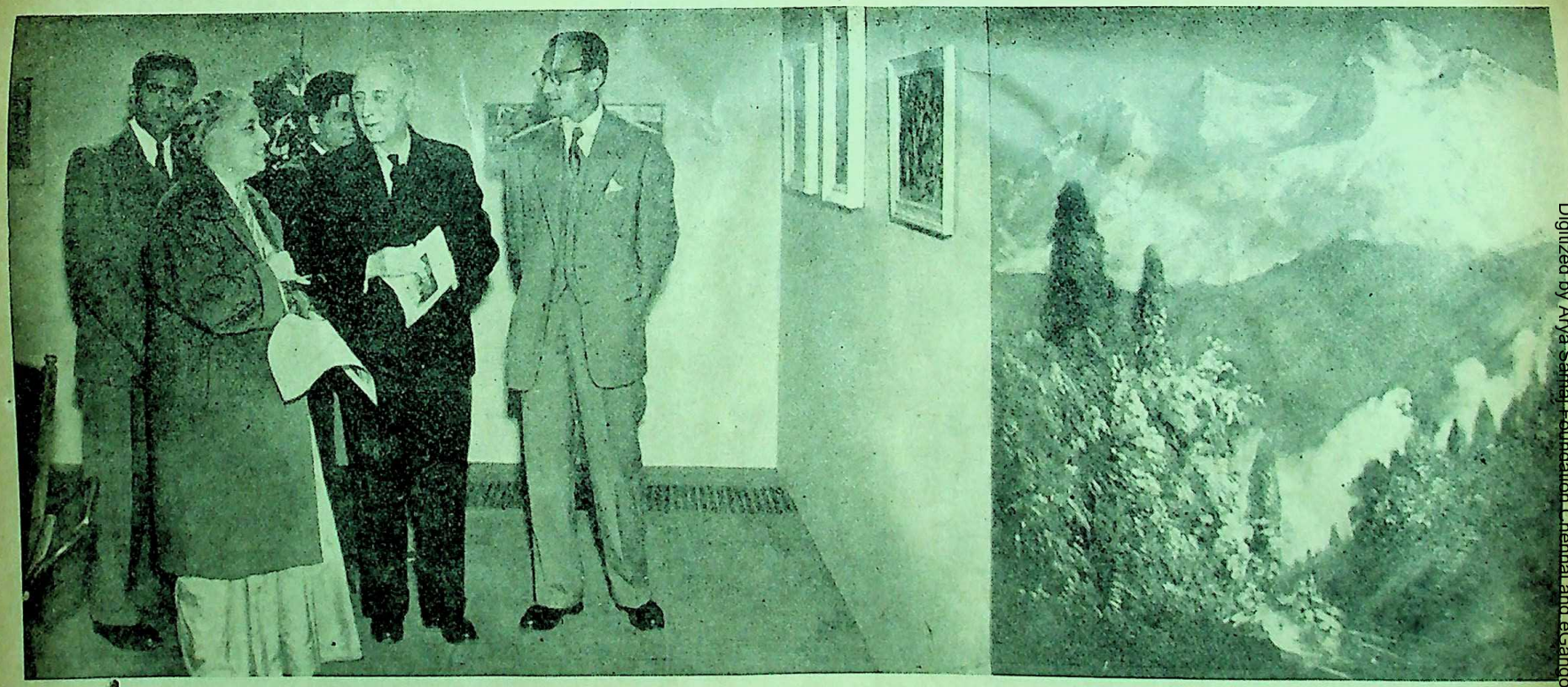

The opening ceremony of an Exhibition of Paintings by Sri Niren Ghosh at the Imperial Institute of Art Pavilion in London

Left: L. to R. Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, who opened the Exhibition; Sir William Barton and Sri Niren Ghosh

Right: *Morning Hue on Mount Everest*, a painting by Sri Niren Ghosh, on display at the Exhibition

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1955

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NOTES

Planning for the Future

The First Five-Year Plan is coming to a close and there is a great deal of active drafting for the Second Five-Year Plan.

Much has been said about "substantial achievements" in terms of progress of the First Five-Year programme, and masses of statistical figures have been put forward in support of that claim.

But measured in the terms of relief to the suffering masses and in the lowering of the strains on the man in the street, the results as yet are lacking in concrete substance. The index of cost of living—in itself a deceptive and illusory figure—does not show any substantial decline, nor do the vital statistics show any hopeful signs. Unemployment has increased very substantially, which is the most disturbing factor in all assessment of progress.

In the terms of yards, tons and cubic yards of ferro-concrete, and likewise in the astronomical figures of money spent, we are asked to accept the tokens of progress. That is all very well for those who can afford to live in "Ivory tower" isolation, away from the misery that is apparent on all sides, and from the ignorance that is permeating the very soul of the masses, resulting in the lowering of moral values all round. We cannot afford to do so.

The First Five-Year Plan has meandered along, for four years and more, amidst blunders, waste and muddle and has come at last near its very modest, inadequate and disjointed targets. Much of the muddle and waste has been sought to be justified on the grounds of lack of statistics and survey facilities on the one hand and tremendous pressure on the Government's time and resources due to acute shortages of vital necessities.

In reality most of the blunders were due to ignorance on the part of those who were at the head and slackness, dishonesty or inexperience on the part of the senior executives. As a result very moderate progress can be recorded up to now. So moderate that the common man can hardly feel the effects thereof.

The Plan, or plans, for the next period is still in a nebulous state. Rough approximations have been made to date, regarding the balances of supply and demand for electricity, coal, steel, cement and heavy chemicals. In all other items there is nothing more than guess-work. That such approximations and guess-work do not constitute real planning, need not be emphasised. On the face of it, it is apparent that if the targets be blurred and misty, the actual work would be erratic, wasteful and inefficient.

Then comes the question of the actual plan of work. So far the Planners have exercised their brains—and that along hypothetical or rule-of-thumb methods—on the question of money, and money alone. From all sides it is apparent that this Plan is also an exercise in theoretical economics, lifeless, soulless and abstract. If anything comes out of the nebulae, it may be taken as a gift of the gods.

Are the Planners taking the Nation along with their schemes, on the upward path of progress? No, most emphatically no! The man in the street and the man in the field, with their families and dependants must wait and see. If the Planners succeed, after ten years of blundering, then, like good little children who have taken the castor oil of patient suffering, they might have the sweets. The unemployed might become unemployable, factory labour might become even more inefficient, ignorance might assume catastrophic proportions, but we must possess our souls with patience and hope for the miracle.

As yet we see no Second Five-Year Plan, in concrete shape, nor do we see the assemblage of knowledgeable persons who constitute the body that could get on with the actual work.

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Nehru in Moscow

An editorial with the above caption appears in the *New York Times* international edition Weekly Review of June 12. We append a fairly full extract as being indicative of sober American opinion :

"Moscow has never gone in for public demonstrations for foreign statesmen. Visiting dignitaries generally are whisked from the airport to their official residence in a Zis limousine through back streets. The populace often learns about the visit only after it is completed.

"Last week Moscow drastically changed the script. Huge throngs greeted Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as he rode through the capital in an open car at the beginning of a two-week State visit. Children deluged the Indian leader with flowers, trained white doves wheeled overhead, bands played, and the entire top hierarchy of the Soviet Government turned out for the occasion. While it was evident that careful planning had preceded the demonstration—for example, school children and factory workers had been given time off to attend—Moscow observers said the enthusiasm for Mr. Nehru as a symbol of hope for peace was unmistakably genuine.

"The Kremlin's efforts on Mr. Nehru's behalf were clearly a new chorus in the serenade it has been playing lately to the 'neutrals.' But the Russians quickly made clear that it also had significance beyond that. At a dinner for Mr. Nehru Thursday night, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin paid special tribute to the Indian leader's efforts to mediate between the United States and China in the Far East. He said:

> 'The Government of the Chinese People's Republic together with our Government is taking all possible measures to ease tension off the east coast of China. . . . Lately the news has come to us of the representations made by the Indian representative Krishna Menon. Let us hope that our joint efforts ease the tension.'

"This fresh evidence of close co-ordination between Moscow and Peiping on Far East policy underlined some of the problems that may soon face the United States in that area. The Formosa Strait conflict, which less than two months ago seemed on the point of explosion, has become stabilized. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said at a press conference last week that it was fair to describe the situation in the Formosa Strait as a *de facto* cease-fire. He said further that this may be the most that can be achieved in the way of a settlement at the moment and that 'things might best be left as they are'."

The Nehru-Bulganin Declaration

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* commented as follows, regarding the joint declaration:

"New Delhi, June 23.—By laying emphasis on economic co-operation, the Five Principles, admission of China to the U.N., the importance of the Bandung Con- ference and the need for disarmament, the joint dec- tion, signed by Mr. Nehru and Marshal Bulganin, o- ply with the views already expressed by both P- Ministers.

A few phrases of the text, released simultaneo- here and in Moscow this morning, indicate, how- that the Soviet Government has pledged itself to n- inteference in more specific terms than had b- anticipated.

The principle referring to non-interference in e- other's internal affairs has been significantly amplified 'for any reasons of an economic, political or ideolo- character.'

Though few observers here believed the reports an explicit abandonment of the Cominform would be cluded in the declaration, the express assurance ideological non-interference can be interpreted in way."

The following is the full text of the joint statem-

At the invitation of the Government of U.S.S.R., Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minist- India, has paid visit to the Soviet Union. Durin- stay in Moscow he had several talks with M. Bul- Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and other me- of the Soviet Government.

The relations between the Soviet Union and In- happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship a- mutual understanding. The Prime Ministers are re- that these relations shall continue to be informed a- guided by the following principles :

(1) Mutual respect for each other's terri- integrity and sovereignty ; (2) non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs for reasons of an economic, political, or ideological cha- ter ; (4) equality and mutual benefit ; and (5) pe- ful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these p- ciples, which have lately received an increasing mea- of recognition, are capable of wider application and in the observance of these principles by nations in conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hop- banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and of lowering world tensions.

The wider acceptance of these principles enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confi- amongst nations, and pave the way for greater national co-operation. In the climate of peace created it will become possible to seek peaceful sol- of international questions by the methods of negoti- and conciliation.

Both Prime Ministers recognize that in various of the world there is, on the part of the smaller weaker States, a vague and possibly unreasoning fe- bigger Powers. They feel that it is essential to d- this fear in all possible ways. Here again the remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of existence enunciated above.

The Prime Ministers acclaim the results o-

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Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April last. The conference was of historic importance as being the first of its kind at which independent nations of two continents with differing political and social systems, met together for the common purpose of devising ways and means of achieving fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

The results of the conference have been noteworthy and are of deep significance not only to the participating countries themselves but generally to the cause of world peace. The Prime Ministers wish to commend in particular the declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the conference, which embodies and elaborates the concept of peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers recognize that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation. In particular they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the keener and more general appreciation, now discernible everywhere, of the dangers of war in an atomic age. Nevertheless, in large areas fear and suspicion dominate the minds of men and nations and vitiate international relations. In the Far East while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes of tension still remain.

It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. At the same time the Prime Ministers wish to reiterate their conviction that the continued refusal to admit the Chinese People's Republic to the U.N. lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere.

They consider it essential that the Chinese People's Republic should be given its rightful place in the U.N., whose role as an authority would thereby be enhanced. They also think it important that all States qualified for membership in terms of the Charter should be admitted to the U.N.

The Soviet Union as the country which provided one of the two co-chairmen of all three international commissions in Indo-China has undertaken special responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These agreements constitute a notable example of the use of the method of negotiation for solving international conflicts and the degree of success achieved in the practical implementation of these agreements will be regarded as a measure of the value of the method of negotiation as a means of resolving international disputes.

The Prime Ministers, therefore, gave special consideration to the situation in Indo-China. In spite of difficulties which have occasionally been of a grave character, the implementation of the agreements has on the whole so far been satisfactory. The progress of implementation is now in some danger of being obstructed by new and unexpected developments.

The Prime Ministers desire to exhort the Governments concerned with the carrying out of the provisions of the agreements, to do their utmost fully to discharge their obligations so that the purposes of the agreements may be completely achieved. In particular they would strongly urge that where elections are to be held as a preliminary to a political settlement the efforts of the Governments concerned should be directed to the full implementation of the provisions of the agreement.

Of the international question of deep concern to nations, none is more pressing or fraught with graver consequences to the issue of war and peace than that of disarmament.

The tendency to build up arms and armaments, conventional as well as atomic, has increased the prevalent fear and suspicion among nations and has had the effect of diverting national resources from their legitimate purpose, namely, the uplift of the people.

In the opinion of the Prime Ministers nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation, and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war. At the same time they consider that there should be simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained. To implement such disarmament and prohibition in this connexion, the recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to peace.

The Prime Ministers believe that under the aegis of the Five Principles enunciated in the statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between their two States. The fact that each country is following a system which is moulded by its own genius, tradition and environment should be no bar to such co-operation.

Indeed, the essence of true co-existence, in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that States of different social structure can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good. Already aided by a trade agreement concluded some time ago there has been a marked development in co-operation between the two countries in the cultural and economic spheres. The recent agreement in regard to the construction of a steel plant in India with the assistance of the Soviet Government is a notable example of such co-operation.

The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such co-operation, will seek to promote and strengthen the relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields, as well as in that of scientific and technical research.

Both Prime Ministers are gratified at the opportunity they have had of personal discussion and exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to them and are confident that the results of their talks and the friendly

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contacts which have been established will further strengthen and develop the relations between the two countries and their peoples and will serve the interests of world peace.

Signed by: Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., and Prime Minister of India.

The "Kashmir Princess" Sabotage

The long-awaited statement of the Hongkong Government, has been released, regarding the sabotage of the ill-fated Indian air-liner.

Mr. A. C. Maxwell, the Police Commissioner of Hongkong, said in an official statement issued today: "It has been established beyond doubt that the 'Kashmir Princess' met its end through an explosion caused by some form of time-bomb. It is regrettably almost equally certain that this time-bomb was placed aboard the aircraft in Hongkong.

"No effort is being spared to bring to justice the perpetrators of this ghastly crime which must offend the conscience of all humanity.

"The Hongkong police are dealing with this case as one of carefully planned mass murder. All our investigations, which we have been patiently and steadily pursuing ever since news of the loss of the aircraft first reached us, point this way. We have now arrived at a stage when we must ask the help of the public to complete our investigations. We believe that there must be members of the Hongkong community who, if they will only come forward, can assist the police in their inquiries.

"I am therefore asking anyone who thinks he has any information, no matter how seemingly trivial or unimportant, which may throw light on the case to let the police have it.

"A personal letter addressed to myself or the Director of my special branch, will be treated entirely confidentially."

The Hongkong police today offered a reward of $ (H) 100,000 (about £6,250 or approximately Rs. 83,000) for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person responsible for the crime. The offer of the reward and Mr. Maxwell's statement is being advertised in all Hongkong newspapers tomorrow under the heading "Sabotage."

Usually reliable sources said the police have established that the disaster had been caused by a sabotage ring working in Hongkong. The police believed the person (or persons) who put the time-bomb in the Constellation was not the "brains" of the ring but probably a lowly worker of little intelligence who might not have realized the implications of what he was doing.

One police theory was that the sabotage ring included a People's Chinese informer. They said this might explain how the Chinese had two days before the disaster been able to warn the Hongkong Government vaguely of the plane's possible sabotage.

The absence of specific details in the warn... appeared to indicate that the informer was not... important member of the ring and knew few deta...

One unconfirmed report said that after the dis... a Chinese stowaway on an airliner had reached For... This report has been denied by the K.M.T. Go... ment.

What Asians Ask

In the *New York Times* international edition... June, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, the noted Phili... leader, gives a very clear exposition of the pro... facing Americans regarding their attitude to As... and Africans:

"To see Asia through Asian eyes and Africa thr... African eyes—that is the prime requisite for Amer... policy toward Asia and Africa. You cannot ass... that a policy which works satisfactorily in Europe ... work equally well in Asia and Africa. Nor, on ... other hand, can you do one thing in Asia and ... and then cancel that by promptly doing some... contradictory in Europe. There must be a judi... adaptation of methods and parallel planning thr... avoid discrimination, confusion and waste.

"The American tendency to brand any nation... movements whatever in Asia and Africa as commu... rests on another of those assumptions which urg... need to be examined. There are unquestiona... nationalist movements in Asia which are Communis... or which are abetted by the Communists. But this ... does not necessarily invalidate the intrinsic quality ... the genuine nationalist movements in the region.

"What has often happened is that those movem... though originally sprung from a people's na... aspirations to freedom, were subsequently taken away ... the politically sly and ruthless Communists from ... hands of the timid and confused liberals who la... prompt and effective support from their friends in ... United States and the rest of the Western world. ... lose battle this way by default, and will continue lo... them until we stop condemning all those move... indiscriminately and dissociating ourselves from th...

"Time has assuaged the bitterness which colonia... has bred among the Asian and African peoples. ... Bandung conference has shown that.

"It is also true that we of Asia and Africa w... rather keep our old friends than risk new ties w... strangers. The peoples of Asia and Africa mus... shown, however, that the old friends are friends in... And they must be shown this against the background ... the irreversible march of nationalism in Asia and Af... and against the insistent clamor of their peoples ... more decent standards of living."

How the lower type of American thinks ab... these problems is clearly indicated by the follo... piece of special news to the *New York Times*. ... concerns a "brave" murderer of Africans fighting ... their birthright:

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"Nairobi, Kenya, June 7—An American who has been fighting the Mau Mau terrorists of Kenya is under State Department pressure to return to the United States.

"William W. Baldwin, 28 years old, has been told by United States Consular officials here that his activities have caused the United States Government considerable embarrassment. They want him to go home. So far he has not gone.

"The State Department has informed Mr. Baldwin, and its representatives have announced publicly here, that his membership as a combatant in the Kenya Police Reserve 'must be classed as unwarranted participation in the affairs of another State'."

Communist Organisations in Vienna

The Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has caused the Austrian Government considerable embarrassment (according to agency reports from Vienna) by applying for legal registration as an association.

The WFTU set up its headquarters in the Soviet sector of Vienna in 1952, after its expulsion from Paris. But the move to Vienna was made without Austrian consent. The present application for registration has, presumably, been made in order to legalize the WFTU's position in view of the imminent end of the occupation of Austria.

London observers note the Austrian Government's fears that its neutrality might be prejudiced by the continued presence in the country of an organization whose real intention is to promote labour discontent, and that if other international Communist-dominated organizations (similarly established in the Soviet sector of Vienna without Austrian consent) follow suit, the Austrian capital might remain a centre for Communist propaganda.

Other organizations with headquarters in Vienna are: the World Peace Council, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and the World Congress of Doctors. All are active, London observers point out, the World Peace Council being the organizer of the "World Peace Assembly" now meeting in Helsinki, Finland.

The Future of Indian Shipping

The scheme for the expansion of Indian Shipping in the Second Five-Year Plan, was given *in extenso* by Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri in his speech before the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association at Bombay. We append the full report for record:

Bombay, June 21.—Mr. L. B. Shastri, Union Minister for Railways and Transport, today told the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association here that the Government of India was confident of achieving its target of a million tons for Indian shipping in the second Five-Year Plan.

Mr. Shastri said: "There can be no two opinions about the imperative need of a far more rapid pace of tonnage expansion, specially in the overseas trade.

"Planning must, however, take into account financial resources and the time factor necessary for the consolidation of new routes."

The Minister said that the recommendations of the study group appointed by the Consultative Committee of Shipowners were well balanced and could be attained. He hoped they would be included in the final framework of the second Plan.

The study group, he said, contemplated a net addition of 72 ships totalling 445,000 tons gross of shipping at an estimated outlay of Rs. 80 crores. The private sector would contribute Rs. 10 crores and the balance would be advanced by the Government.

Mr. Shastri assured the shipowners that the Government would give the fullest consideration to the question of making attractive loans to shipping companies to ensure the targets are achieved.

On overseas trade, Mr. Shastri said that the completion of the first Plan, India's overseas tonnage was expected to reach 280,000 tons. The second Plan envisaged a net addition of 37 ships totalling 270,000 tons gross to this fleet.

He said: "Fears have been expressed about the possibility of securing full employment for the increased tonnage to be acquired. Apart from loans at a concessional rate of interest for the acquisition of new fast ships, Government assistance has taken the form of sponsoring the companies for admission to various conferences, of helping them to secure a reasonable share of cargoes owned and controlled by the Government and of providing suitable clauses in trade agreements with foreign countries to ensure that a proportion of cargo arising out of such agreements moves in Indian ships."

He said that although Indian shipping companies have been operating in the overseas field for only about seven years, these companies had gained a "stable footing" in important overseas routes.

He, however, expressed disappointment at the decision of "one of our oldest companies" to withdraw from the India-U.S.A. trade and passenger-*cum*-cargo services on certain other overseas routes. He hoped that this company would reconsider its attitude in regard to these services and re-enter them with more suitable tonnage for which, of course, "it can legitimately expect the Government to grant it necessary loans."

"I am also, hopeful that our Indian companies will not only be able to give more regular and faster services on existing routes but also expand the area and scope of their activities, and I wish to take this opportunity of extending the assurance that the Government will continue to render all possible and necessary assistance and support towards the achievement of these objectives."

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"Flag Discrimination"

On the question of Government cargoes and flag discrimination, he said that the Government would continue to assist Indian overseas ships by allotting to them as much Government cargo as feasible.

"I am aware that in foreign shipping circles, this assistance has been sought to be dubbed as 'flag discrimination.' The same circles have also taken exception to our trade agreements under which we seek to assist Indian companies to secure part of the cargoes that are exported or imported under such agreements.

"I feel there is a genuine misunderstanding of our position regarding this matter, and the misunderstanding arises entirely from the difference in approach as to what constitutes 'flag discrimnation.' Throughout, our attitude has been that the Government of India does not favour any form of flag discrimination against foreign ships. The Government cannot, however, forego its right to nominate ships for cargoes moving on its own account—a right which is enjoyed by all shippers.

"We do not accept the proposition that the exercise of this right is an instance of flag discrimination, nor can the clauses in our trade agreements be characterized as constituting flag discrimination. Our ports are open to ships of all flags and they receive the same treatment and facilities as Indian ships.

"No one can accuse us of resorting to any devious methods to put foreign shipping in a disadvantageous position as compared with Indian shipping. It is somewhat surprising that, leading maritime nations which carry, or aim to carry, 50% or more of their national trade in their own ship, should complain of unfair practices by India when our shipping carries less than 50% of the country's overseas trade, in spite of the so-called discriminatory measures.

"On the other hand, Indian companies have just cause for complaint that commercial conferences discriminate against them in the matter of participation in various intermediate sectors in the routes over which they ply their ships."

He hoped that the various foreign shipping conferences catering to the overseas trade of this country would take a realistic view of the aspirations of the Indian shipping industry. They have held a dominating position in the trade of this country for decades, and they may continue to do so. "We do not wish to place any impediments in their way, and all that we seek is the opportunity to carry a reasonable share of the trade from and to this country in our own ships."

Referring to discriminatory freight rates charged by foreign shipping lines, the Minister said that serious allegations were made from time to time by Indian shippers that foreign shipping followed a discriminatory policy and charged higher freight for cargoes shipped from Indian ports than for similar cargoes to the same destination from other countries. Several instances were cited to prove these charges.

The Government of India has appointed a special officer to study the specific cases of alleged discrimination.

"If these investigations do establish that there is any substance in the charge, the Government will have to take serious notice of the position and to devise measures to combat this unfair practice."

On the question of imposition of surcharges threatened by overseas shipping conferences, Mr. Shastri said the Government felt it was not right that responsible bodies like shipping conferences should threaten to come forward with threats of surcharges on freight rates at a time when the Government itself was taking all possible steps to improve working conditions in ports.

He was glad to note that the India-U.K. Conferences had since decided to call off the surcharges while the U.S.A.-India Conferences had merely deferred consideration of the matter until July 15.

Award on Bombay Port Labour

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* gives the following report on the first part of the award given by the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to go into the disputes relating to the Bombay dock labour. It is of very great significance, being fully illustrative of the attitude of labour unions regarding the responsibilities of labour.

"New Delhi, June 13.—The failure of the existing wage and incentive bonus scheme to secure a fair output and quick turn-round of ships in Bombay Port due to various factors, such as indifference of labour to work, unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours, a tendency on the part of workers at times to work on two shifts or excessive overtime instead of turning out adequate work in one shift, and the system of paying "speed money" to certain workers.

This is the conclusion of the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to adjudicate on disputes relating to the Bombay docks. The first part of the award was announced today, and Mr. M. C. Meher, President of the Bombay Industrial Court, who constituted the one-man tribunal, proposes to deal with the question of providing amenities for dock workers in the second part of his report to be published later.

"Go-Slow Policy"

The Tribunal has concluded that there was strong evidence that Bombay dock workers had been going slow and, at times, they adopted and "intensified the slow policy." The contention of the trade unions that the fall in production was due to such factors as congestion in sheds, defective cranes, change in the wage system and delays in customs examination had little substance in view of the fact that new sheds had been erected and conditions in the docks in regard to storage and clearance had greatly improved.

The Tribunal maintains that a large number of electric tractors, mobile cranes, electric cars and forklifts have been installed and the equipment of the

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has been improved to facilitate quick loading and unloading of cargo.

It rejects the unions' argument that lower production and unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours was due to the absence of adequate amenities like canteens. It agrees with the Bombay Port Trust that the time-rate system of payment has resulted in slowing down work.

As regards wages of Port Trust workers, the Tribunal is of the view that it would not be justified in increasing the time-rate. But assuming that, under a piece-rate system, workers would be reasonably efficient and punctual, the Tribunal has processed piece-rates on the basis of an increased time-rate and has fixed piece-rates for various categories of workers.

Adequate safeguards have been laid down while fixing the piece-rates. Payment would be made on the time-rate basis in case labour was rendered idle on account of circumstances beyond their control. Workers reaching 90% of the datum line would be entitled to payment at not less than the time-rate. For production in excess of the datum line, payment would be at double the usual rates. Besides, certain minimum wages at a rate higher than those provided by the Minimum Wages Act have been guaranteed ; workers, whose output could not be measured, would be paid at these rates.

The Tribunal hopes that with the increase in wages given in this award and the opportunities for earning premium under the piece-work system, the method of paying "speed money" to crane drivers and certain other categories of workers would eventually disappear.

It has directed the appointment of a committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, with an independent chairman, for the proper administration of the piece-rate system and for the settlement of disputes. It has also recommended that the Port Trust Act should be amended to provide for such a committee. Until the Act is amended disputes should be settled mutually or by reference to the Central Conciliation Officers.

The Tribunal has rejected the demand of the Transport and Dock Worker's Union for the framing of a scheme for the decasualization of workers in the lines of the Bombay dock workers' (regulation of employment) scheme which is at present applicable to stevedore workers only. The matter will be examined by the committee appointed by the Central Government for the purpose."

Rehabilitation of E. Pakistan D.P.

The following report appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for June 28. We append a comprehensive extract below, as the problem is exceedingly complicated. We do not think it will ever be solved unless the authorities concerned take a firm attitude towards the disturbing elements, consisting of rapacious and dishonest fake refugees, who have been making capital of human misery all these years. However the scheme in itself is intrinsically sound :

An objective approach in assessing the magnitude of the rehabilitation problem in the eastern region, while keeping in view the sporadic nature of the influx from East Pakistan and the element of uncertainty inherent in the situation in dealing with an essentially human problem, was advocated by the Central Rehabilitation Secretary, Sri C. N. Chandra, in his presidential address at the two-day conference of Rehabilitation Secretaries of six Eastern States which commenced in Calcutta on Monday.

Sri Chandra revealed that the Rehabilitation Ministry had already succeeded in securing nearly 5,000 acres of cultivable land in a compact area with fairly congenial climate and surroundings in Hyderabad State, by the side of the Godavari river, where nearly 1000 Bengali displaced families would be rehabilitated on a planned basis.

In addition, Sri Chandra stated, a large number of displaced families would also be settled on land near Chota Nagpur in Madhya Pradesh when the land was made available for development. Displaced agriculturists would also be resettled on a huge block of land covering an area of nearly fifty square miles in the Araku Valley in north Andhra and South Orissa. Government were also exploring the opportunities available for locating lands in Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and certain other States. State Governments, he added, were fully co-operative in these negotiations for making the planned dispersal programme a success during the next year.

This was the result of a decision taken by the National Development Council to send a team of officials representing the Planning Commission, the Union Rehabilitation Ministry and the West Bengal Government to discuss the question of dispersal of Bengali refugee families in other States outsdie West Bengal, and to create congenial surroundings with agricultural and empolyment opportunities for them in colse co-ordination with local authorities. This team, consisting of Sri S. V. Ramamurti of the Planning Commission, Sri A. D. Khan, Relief and Rehabilitation Secretary of the West Bengal Government and Sri C. N. Chandra, had already visited Hyderabad and will be visiting other States towards the end of July.

Outlining the mode of estimates of expenditure to be incurred on rehabilitation during the Second Five-Year Plan, as initiated by the Central Rehabilitation Ministry, Sri Chandra referred to the difficulties in drawing up a plan with precision in view of uncertainties inherent in visualising the exact nature of developments after a few years. There were many fluid factors connected with influx, dispersal, administration and the psychological set-up, with the result that the outlines of the structure of financial involvements had to be drawn up with the utmost care and objectivity, while taking into account all relevant factors and the

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over-all urgency of speeding up physical as well as psychological rehabilitation of the three million refugees who had already come from East Pakistan.

Sri Chandra said that the changing pattern of the blue-print of rehabilitation programme was indicated by the fact that they had urged the Planning Commission to make more provision than of Rs. 10 crores in the Second Plan for setting up new industries in order to absorb displaced persons and to stimulate subsidiary economic activities for expanding employment opportunities, especially in refugee townships and colonies. Again, in the matter of house construction also a policy of direct construction of tenements as well as Government-sponsored colonies was being increasingly favoured.

In conclusion, he hoped that it would be possible to prepare workable estimates of the expenditure involved in getting under way the various schemes of rehabilitation in the eastern region during the second Five-Year Plan period, for holding high-level consultations with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance at a later stage.

Rise in Industrial Production

The year 1954 witnessed a substantial increase in India's industrial production. The general index of industrial production, which stood at 135.3 in 1953, rose to 145 in 1954, while the general index of prices dropped from 399.6 in January 1954 to 367.8 in December 1954. In cotton textile and cement industries, the target set out in the Five-Year Plan was exceeded. Steel production reached an all-time record of 12,26,000 tons of finished steel. The only major industry which recorded a decline in production was sugar. In the engineering industries, 56 out of 62 industries achieved a substantial rise in production. The chemical industry recorded an all-round increase in production. In 1954, 110 licences were granted under the Industries Development and Regulation Act for the establishment of new industrial undertakings and 226 licences for the expansion of existing ones or the taking up of new lines of manufacture. In 1953, 182 licences were granted for the setting up of new undertakings.

Special measures were adopted for the development of small-scale and cottage industries including the production of Khadi. Following the recommendation of the Ford Foundation Team, four regional institutes of technology for small-scale industries were set up. A Marketing Service Co-operative and a Small-scale Industries Corporation have also been set up. A Small-scale Industries Board, under the chairmanship of a Development Commissioner, has been set up to co-ordinate the activities of these institutions and also to carry out a programme of development.

In 1953, controls over distribution of cotton textile industry were lifted and prices were decontrolled. As a result, the industry returned to a state of normalcy, and production continued to rise progressively. In 1954, the total production of cotton textiles was 5,000 million yards of cloth and 1,560 million lbs. of yarn. The production of cloth by the handloom and power loom industries in 1954 was placed at about 1,600 million [illegible] giving a total availability of over 6,000 million [illegible] Consumption of textiles increased considerably and also the exports thereof. Exports of cloth continue to be freely licensed and in 1954 805 million yards mill-made cloth were exported as against 593 million yards in 1953. The UK is the largest single buyer Indian cotton textiles. In October 1954 a Cotton Textile Export Promotion Council was set up with a view to promoting exports of Indian textiles, studying markets abroad, laying down quality standards, etc. scheme has been introduced by the Council for inspection of textiles for export. Many of the [illegible] textile mills are handicapped with worn-out machinery and as a result they suffered loss and some of them had to close down. The Working Party on the cotton textile industry had taken a survey of the obsolete machinery in the textile industry and stressed on the need to rehabilitate old machinery. In order to compete with world market, rationalisation on modern lines is imperatively needed, but the Government of India is still undecided on the point.

The production of paper has gone up by nearly 50,000 tons over the past four years. The production of paper in India in 1954 was 1,55,328 tons, as against 1,08,907 tons in 1950. The requirements of paper in this country have been placed at 2,00,000 tons per year and the balance has to be imported from abroad. In the near future, however, India is going to be self-supporting in paper production. Following the implementation of the expansion schemes of existing units and the setting up of new ones, the capacity of the paper industry will exceed 2.87 lakh tons by the end of 1956. The paper industry at present employs over 20,000 people, including 2,100 as technical personnel. The block capital invested in the industry is estimated at Rs. 21.72 crores. A further capital of Rs. 14.3 crores is going to be invested with the implementation of new schemes and the expansion of the existing ones. There are at present 21 paper mills in India; seven of these are in South India, five in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh, three in the Punjab and UP area and six in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A paper and pulp expert of the FAO, Mr. Sundelin, recently came to India and surveyed the industry. He has estimated that the demand for paper, including newsprint and board will increase to 4,81,000 tons by 1961-62.

The Indian jute industry had a stable year in 1954. The demand for Indian jute goods in world markets improved and exports reached up the high figures of 8,42,000 tons as compared with 747,000 tons in 1953 and 736,000 tons in 1952. By the export of jute manufactures, India earned Rs. 120 crores of foreign exchange in 1954. In order to meet the growing overseas demand for jute goods, the working hours in the jute mills in the membership of the Indian Jute Mills Association were raised from 42½ hours to 48 hours a week. The output of jute manufactures increased [illegible]

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9.05 lakh tons in 1953 to 9.49 tons in 1954. But on account of increasing offtake, stocks with mills considerably decreased. The USA continued to be the largest single consumer of Indian jute goods by taking over 180,000 tons. Although Argentine curtailed her purchases of Indian jute goods, our exports to the UK, Canada, Australia, Indonesia, Burma, Cuba, Egypt and Nigeria considerably increased. A notable feature of the export trade in jute goods is the higher offtake of sacking. But India need not be over-complacent over her jute exports on the present prospects. Japan is coming out as a formidable rival in this respect and she is already challenging the supremacy of Indian burlap in US markets. The manufacturers in France, Holland and Belgium have formed a federation of European Jute Manufacturers and Germany is also expandnig the capacity of her jute industry. The Government of India and the Indian jute industry are, however, alive to this danger and they are taking appropriate measures to maintain India's overseas markets. Two representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association have already left for the USA with a view to retaining existing markets in that country and developing new contacts.

Chemical industry has made a considerable headway in recent years. The installed capacity of heavy chemicals—as for example, sulphuric acid, soda ash and caustic soda, fertilisers, sheet glass and dyestuffs, was increased in 1954. Sheet glass (10-12 oz. gauge), penicillin, chloromycetin, glacial acetic acid and acetic anhydride and bismuth salts were produced for the first time in this country during the past year. Efforts are being made to manufacture chemotherapeutics and dyestuffs from basic raw materials rather than from intermediates. A scheme for the manufacture of sulphuric acid from gypsum made progress during the last year.

As regards the small-scale industries, the National Small Industries Corporation was set up in February 1955 with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs, divided into 10,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 100|- each, to be subscribed entirely by the Government of India. For its working capital requirements, the Corporation will receive loan from the Government of India. The main objects of the Corporation will be to assist, promote, finance and protect small-scale industries. Industries ordinarily employing less than 50 persons working with power, or less than 100 persons working without power, and having capital assets not exceeding Rs. 5 lakhs, will come within the scope of the Corporation. It will secure a reasonable share of Government orders for small-scale units by accepting contracts from procurement departments of Government and issuing sub-contracts to small-scale units. The small-scale units will receive loans and technical assistance from the Corporation for the purpose of fulfilling such orders and for the manufacture of articles of the type and standard required.

The tariff policy played an important part in promoting industrial developments, either through increase of import duty on foreign articles competing with indigenous products or through reduction of duties on imported raw materials and components utilised by domestic industries. During 1954, consent was given for the issue of capital aggregating Rs. 94 crores, and of this Rs. 84 crores related to industrial companies. Of this amount, non-residents have been permitted by the Government of India to invest Rs. 26 crores.

What we would like to emphasise is that the consumer in India has not benefitted an iota as yet, in spite of all this expansion. Paper has been taxed in a most inconsiderate fashion, to the serious detriment of all educational schemes.

Investment and Financial Resources

In the first Five-Year Plan, two concepts were used to denote the size of the Plan, namely, net investment and developmental expenditure. Thus, the net investment in the public sector was expected to be of the order of Rs. 1600 to Rs. 1700 crores, whereas the developmental expenditure which includes outlay of a capital as well as current nature was initially estimated at Rs. 2,069 crores. Since outlay on the Plan included only a portion of the outlay on certain developmental heads such as health and education, an additional concept of total developmental outlay, (as distinguished from that included in the Plan) has also been used at times to indicate the size of the Plan. In the case of 42 organised industries in the private and the public sectors, the first Plan considered the requirements of gross rather than the net investment, inasmuch as allowance was made for part of depreciation, replacement and modernisation. Similarly, the requirements of working capital were taken account of in the case of industries, but not for other sectors.

The tentative framework for the second Five-Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission envisages total outlay of Rs. 5,600 crores for the achievement of the targets. This estimate is made up by aggregating wherever possible, the capital requirements of the individual targets. However, this procedure cannot be adopted uniformly for two reasons, because the targets do not cover all the items of production. And in several important sectors, particularly in agriculture, investment is multi-purpose in the sense that only a complex of products can be related to a complex of investment.

Non-monetised investment is not, therefore, included in investment by the Planning Commission. In a predominantly rural community of self-supporting persons, a significant amount of investment must be done by the application of personal labour and by using locally available materials. With the efforts to mobilise voluntary labour for various nation-building activities, such as flood control, investment in non-money terms must play an important part. In view however of the highly con-

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jectural nature of the imputed value of such investment the Planning Commission proposes to disregard it at this stage.

There are two distinct aspects to the question of raising financial resources needed for the second Five-Year Plan. First, the savings needed for the capital formation envisaged must be available in the aggregate. Secondly, the financial resources must be available and utilised by each sector and for each purpose in accordance with the priorities set out in the Plan. This second aspect requires a policy of directioning investment.

If net investment of the order of Rs. 5,600 crores is to be realised over the next Plan period, savings of the same order must be forthcoming. With increased incomes, the volume of savings is bound to increase. For initiating a process of higher investment and higher incomes by fuller utilisation of unemployed and underutilised resources, it is not necessary that savings come first and only these are invested later. Credit has to be taken in advance for the additional savings that are likely to arise, as incomes and investment increase. Some initial credit creation, therefore, is an essential part of a development programme. The Planning Commission is however cautious and warns that if planned investments are to be realised without generating serious inflationary pressures, the initial credit creation must be limited with reference to what savings are likely to be available, or can be created by suitable policy measures.

An investment programme of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan cannot be carried through without a considerable increase in the rate of savings in the community. Assuming that sterling balances can be drawn down by some Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 crores and foreign assistance of the order of Rs. 500 crores is available during the second Plan, domestic savings of the order of Rs. 5,000 crores must be available. The Taxation Enquiry Commission has estimated that total savings in India in 1953-54 and total net investment (at home and abroad) amounted to some 7 per cent of national income. Their concept of net investment is not strictly comparable to the one used by the Planning Commission in arriving at the net investment of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan. Thus, unlike the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the Planning Commission has excluded non-monetised investment. At the same time, the Commission has made some allowance for investment in stocks and in small enterprises which have been disregarded by the Taxation Enquiry Commission. Again, a sizeable increase in public investment is expected for the last two years of the first Plan. On the other hand, the Taxation Enquiry Commission's estimate of net investment abroad of Rs. crores in 1953-54 must be regarded as rather exceptional. Normally, the Planning Commission would expect a deficit in our current balance of payments (not including credit for donations), with the result that the total investment in the country must be higher than domestic savings. Taking these considerations into account, it is reasonable to expect that, comparable to the figure of Rs. 5,600 crores or the second Plan, net investment in the country in 1955-56 would be of the order of 7 per cent of national income and corresponding domestic savings of some six per cent of national income. On this basis, the growth in investment and savings over the second Plan would have to be somewhat as follows, suggests the Planning Commission :

The phasing over the five years of savings and investments given below is intended to be illustrative. The essential point is, says the Planning Commission, that in order to achieve a total investment of Rs. crores, the rate of investment must increase from per cent of national income in 1955-56 to 11 per of national income in 1960-61, and domestic savings from 6 to 10 per cent over the same period. If foreign resources are not available on the scale envisaged, the savings effort at home would have to be correspondingly greater.

Whether an increase in the rate of domestic savings from 6 per cent in the beginning of the next Plan period to 10 per cent by 1960-61 is likely to take place in response to a voluntary increase in savings resulting from additional incomes cannot be judged in advance. The increase in savings envisaged here is very large in relation to the rates achieved in other countries. But considering the current low rate of savings and the large margin of unsatisfied needs, the Planning Commission assumes that savings of the order required would not be forthcoming without strong and persistent effort at restricting consumption through fiscal and other devices.

In an underdeveloped economy, where there are idle resources, increased investment need not imply reduction in current consumption, according to the Planning Commission. It would however imply austerity, that is, preparedness to hold down consumption especially of luxuries in the face of rising incomes. A check on the consumption of non-essential commodities, domestic as well as imported, is necessary in order to release additional resources for the production of essential goods. Shortages of essential goods

(In crores of rupees)

	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	2nd Plan 1956-57 to 1960-61
National Income	10,800	11,300	11,825	12,375	13,000	13,700	62,200
Net Investment	730	810	930	1,060	1,300	1,500	5,600
Domestic Savings	650	680	800	930	1,170	1,370	4,950
Foreign Resources	80	130	130	130	130	130	650

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dealt with better in this way than by direct limitation of consumption. However, if resources released through restriction of luxury consumption are not of much use for increasing the supplies of essential goods, controls over consumption of essentials would become unavoidable. The Planning Commission thinks that the question of controls must in other words, be judged in terms of the particular real resources, which are in short supply. Foreign exchange resources have to be conserved with particular care, in that they can be converted into whatever commodities became scarce within the country. In the present world situation in regard to food and cotton, the Planning Commission hopes that a plan of the magnitude contemplated can be seen through without having to impose controls on necessaries like food and cloth.

The above contentions of the Planning Commission have much fallacious premises and may give rise to much misgivings. How could they assume that reduction in consumption would automatically lead to larger investments? There are many slips between falling consumption and rising investments. The falling consumption may lead to the rise in price level, in so far as austerity will be enforced by rationing and price control. With the dreadful memories of rationing and price control during the war period and thereafter, one should most certainly be reluctant to think that a reversion back into the hands of the black-marketeers and profiteers could again be contemplated by the authorities. In that case they would be playing into the hands of the anti-social elements, as they did until recently. The simple truth should not be overlooked. The huge amount that is going to be spent in the period of the second Plan is bound to generate inflationary conditions and unless consumption goods are available in a rising proportion, inflation will take away much of the expected savings. One man's expenditure is another man's income and forced savings imposed by compulsory curtailment of consumption will compel the larger money incomes of the community to run after the limited supply of consumer goods, resulting in an upward spurt in the price level. Higher prices would automatically increase the cost of investment and so also the cost of Planning. Increased consumption will encourage larger investments, both in consumption goods industries as well as capital goods industries. Unless consumption is stepped up, industrial prosperity cannot be expected to rise, notwithstanding much vaunted expenditure on Planning. It is another fallacy to distinguish between essentials and the so-called luxuries. What is a luxury to one, may be an essential to another. There can hardly be any clear distinction between these two types of needs, saving a few ones.

The Planning Commission admits that up to a point, the emergence of some isflationary pressures or a sellers' market is necessary, since the object of the Plan is to push ahead as far as possible in the direction of utilising our resources. Essentially, inflationary pressures—or insufficiency of savings—arise as a result of inelastic supplies of goods against which people direct their demand. The elasticity of supply is not equally great in the case of all commodities. With effort and organisation, it can be altered favourably at least in selected sectors. The Planning Commission thinks that if we are to stop at the first bottleneck in supplies for fear of a rise in prices in that sector, even though supplies in other sectors are elastic to some extent, we are likely to stop short of the full potential for expansion of the economy. Short supplies in some commodities shall have to be tackled, and in doing so, whether we would be able to prevent a general and cumulative rise in prices depends, obviously upon the measure of shortage and the organisational efficiency in dealing with it. In an expanding economy, the sufficiency of savings cannot be predicted in advance, but, since the overall suggested by the Planning Commission is not excessive and is required for making an impact on employment, the practical problem is one of watching overall economic trends and of correcting, through fiscal and other measures, any shortages in resources in particular sectors as they rise.

From the standpoint of finding resources for the public sector of the second Plan, the Planning Commission observes that it is necesssary to consider not only the outlay on the Plan but also on the total outlay. Expenditure outside the Plan has an obvious significance to the realistic appraisal of the financing of the Plan. The outlay on the Plan in the public sector includes, first of all, all expenditures which result in the creation of new capital assets (directly in the public or indirectly in the private sector). In addition, it should include that part of the current expenditure on specific developmental heads which represent an increase over the level reached at the end of the first Plan. This would give a clear idea of the lift the authorities would give to the developmental effort during the next Plan. This is the concept which has been kept in view in arriving at the Plan outlay of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector. As a rough approximation, the budgetary position of the Centre and the States combined may be outlined as follows :

(*In crores of rupees—estimates*)

	1955-56	1960-61	Over Second Plan 1956-57 to 1960-61
Outside the Plan—			
Non-developmental	625	725	3,400
Developmental	200	225	1,100
Sub-total	825	950	4,500
On the Plan	600	1,100	4,300
Total	1,425	2,050	8,800

It is assumed that public outlay on the Plan will increase from Rs. 600 crores or so in 1955-56 to Rs. 1,100 crores in 1960-61, that is by about 80 per cent in order to make up a total of Rs. 4,300 crores over the Plan period. Expenditure outside the Plan is assumed to increase by 15 per cent over the five years

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or by Rs. 25 crores every year. The total outlay on developmental heads is envisaged to be of the order of Rs. 5,400 crores—Rs. 4,300 crores in the Plan and Rs. 1,100 crores outside the Plan. The question is how a total Government outlay of Rs. 8,800 crores (Rs. 4,500 crores outside the Plan and Rs. 4,300 crores on the Plan) is to be financed. Assuming that the Government takes some 8.5 per cent of national income in taxes and in non-tax revenue as has been the case on an average over the past four or five years (7 per cent in taxes and about 1.5 per cent in non-tax revenue) the total revenue receipts would amount to about Rs. 5,200 crores. Borrowing from the public may possibly yield another Rs. 1,000 crores (about Rs. 600 crores from loans and Rs. 400 crores from small savings). Contribution from railways may be put at Rs. 200 crores over five years. These items aggregate a total sum of Rs. 6,400 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores.

As against the gap or deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores, the Planning Commission assumes credit for some Rs. 400 crores of foreign assistance. (In addition, foreign assistance of Rs. 100 crores is envisaged for the private sector). The remaining gap of Rs. 2000 crores cannot be filled up by deficit financing or creation of money. As a first approximation, the Planning Commission assumes that such money creation can be resorted to to the extent of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores by Government. Allowance must also be made for credit creation by banks for the needs of the private sector, say, Rs. 400 crores, or so, bringing total credit creation from Rs. 1,400 to 1,600 crores. A part of this credit would be withdrawn from the system as our accumulated sterling balances would be used up. Making an allowance for a decline in our foreign exchange reserves by some Rs. 150 crores, the Planning Commission assumes that even then, total money supply in the economy might increase by some Rs. 1,300 crores during the second Plan. A larger money supply will be needed as the monetised sector expands relatively to the non-monetised sector. Even then, with a 25 to 27 per cent increase in national income, an increase in money supply by some Rs. 1,300 crores on a base of some Rs. 2,000 is regarded by the Planning Commission as a sort of outside limit. If then, for the reasons just stated, deficit financing by the Government must be restricted to some Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores, it would be necessary to raise at least Rs. 800 crores by increased taxation, or by compulsory borrowings, or through increased profit of Government enterprises. In fact, a combination of all these will be called for.

Water Supply in India

Reports of acute distress caused by the shortage of drinking water which pour from all parts of our great country remind us of the utter inadequacy of water supply in our country. According to the statement of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Minister for Health, only 10 per cent of the total number of towns in India had protected water supplies and only 6.15 per cent of the total population of [illegible] or 48.5 per cent of the urban population. About per cent of India's population lived in the rural [illegible] and they relied mostly on an unpiped water [illegible] from wells, tanks, springs and streams. As could expected under such circumstances, cholera, dysen and diarrhoea, which were mainly water-borne dis claimed annually 220,000 lives in between themse The total number of deaths from all causes in 1 was 38 lakhs.

The much appreciated recommendations of Environmental Hygienic Committee appointed the Government of India went largely unimplemen on account of financial stringency. In April, 1954 Health Ministry put forward a proposal for National Water Supply and Sanitation Progra which was approved in principle by the Plan Commission. Both the urban and rural parts of programme were eventually sanctioned and com nicated to the State Governments by September The Union Government sanctioned a loan of 12 of rupees for the urban schemes and an outright of 6 crores to meet 50 per cent of the cost of tioned urban schemes of the State Govern Most of the schemes sent in by the State Gov ments were approved by the Union Governme

Commenting on the condition of water supp India and the Government of India's policy in regard "M.P." writes in the *Harijan*, June 11:

> "Is this not one of the items of top priority in the eyes of our planners? It is a m of national shame indeed to learn that India u Swaraj does not still provide clean potable w to her citizens. Big talks of bunds and ele fication pale into insignificance before this of affairs."

West Bengal Municipalities

Sri Biswanath Basu, General Secretary of West Bengal Municipal Association, discusses number of problems facing the municipal adm trators in the State in his report to the 18th se of the West Bengal Municipal Conference, held Calcutta on April 16 and 17, 1955, shortly after passage of the Bengal Municipal Amendment Bill the West Bengal Assembly.

Referring to the passage of the West Be Municipal Amendment Bill he regretted the fact while introducing vital reforms in the constitutio the local bodies Government had not thought proper to consider the views of the Association only representative body of the Municipalities of State. The passage of the bill, Sri Basu said, had good-bye to the "elementary democracy that still existing in these local bodies." Moreo although in the statement of objects of the reference had been made to the financial diffi

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faced by the municipalities "no attempt whatsoever was made in the Bill to solve these difficulties."

Sri Basu then proceeded on to examine specifically some of the charges commonly levelled against the Municipal Administration, one was the charge of poor collection. Of course, the percentage of collection was poor if the total demand was taken to include arrear demand as well. "But the percentage is not really unsatisfactory when the annual demand alone is considered." Even the Government could not always maintain a record of good collection, Sri Basu pointed out and added that "as regards Income-tax and Sales-tax where only the richer section of the community are concerned, the percentage of collection on the total demand does not, in any year, exceed 50 and often as low as 25." The Municipal ratepayers were mostly members of the poorer section of the community. "So," Sri Basu said, "such default in payment is due to our existing financial crisis, low purchasing power *and national character as well.* With increasing purchasing power, education, self-consciousness, and growth of the community spirit, things are bound to improve."

Sri Basu partly admitted that in some cases there might be low assessment but for that it would be wrong to put all the blame on the Municipal Administrators. "Let our national character rise and municipal finances improve and these evils will vanish."

Another charge against the municipal authorities was that expenditure under conservancy exceeded the receipts under that head. "It is actually so and will remain so as long as the present Act endures and labour conditions continue. Amenities in the shape of conservancy service are peculiar to the municipalities and constitute the most expensive part of the administration costs. Even then, the amenities actually offered to the rate-payers are far short of what these should be. Let our well-wishers examine the matter fully and try to solve the problem in the right way," Sri Basu said.

Out of a total population of two-and-a-half crores in West Bengal about one crore or forty per cent of the people lived in the congested municipal areas. But Government spent very little for their welfare. Much of the apparent inefficiency of the Municipalities could be properly ascribed to their poor financial conditions. The Local Finance Enquiry Committee had also admitted that Municipalities in West Bengal suffered mainly from bad finances due to meagre sources of revenue. The Committee's recommendations for allocation of shares of certain State revenues such as from Sales-tax, Electricity duty, Amusement tax, etc., to the Municipalities had however remained unimplemented. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also had made recommendations on the lines suggested in the recommendations of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee.

There was the case of the Motor Vehicles tax. Out of several crores of rupees realised as M. V. tax, a sum of only about rupees one to two lakhs was distributed amongst the eighty-two municipalities in West Bengal. "It is curious indeed that while the municipalities bear the burden of maintaining and improving the roads, all revenues that are realised from vehicles using these roads and damaging the same are taken over by another authority," Sri Basu pointedly said pleading for a just re-allocation of the tax between the Government and the Municipalities.

In the matter of the establishment of Free Primary Schools also the municipalities had failed to get just treatment from the Government. "Even the few free primary schools which had been started in some municipal areas under 'Biss Scheme' with the assurance of fifty per cent State aid, are, at present receiving not more than thirty per cent of the actual expenses and thereby a heavy burden is thrown upon the municipalities concerned . . ." Moreover, it was another regrettable fact that no portion of 2300 crores of rupees spent under the First Five-Year Plan had been allotted for the development of municipal areas. The West Bengal Municipal Association had submitted to the State Government some schemes for the development of municipal areas but none of them had been forwarded to the competent authorities for inclusion in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The settlement of refugee colonies in municipal areas without consultation with the municipal authorities came in for sharp criticism in the General Secretary's Report who said: "How injudicious has been the selection of the colony areas by the authorities concerned will be apparent from the fact that in Hooghly-Chinsurah, Government acquired a portion of the municipal trenching ground without even the knowledge and consent of the municipality and thereby stopped further trenching in that ground without making or helping to make any alternative trenching arrangement. The consequence of such indiscreet action on the part of local officers can be well realised and needs no description."

Sri Basu then referred to the unusual attitude displayed by the State Government in rejecting the representation made by the people in some municipalities, where the river Bhagirathi had been causing damage to municipal and other public and private properties by erosion, for Government help for protection of the river banks, on the ground that no Government property was involved.

Sri Basu also referred to the desirability of reducing red tape by doing away with undue insistence on trivial technicalities in urgent and important matters. He referred to complaints received from certain municipalities that schemes for augmentation of water supply initiated in accordance with plans and estimates prepared by competent Government Depart-

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ments, and approved by Government, could not receive the statutory financial assistance on the 2:1 basis on the flimsy pretext of technicalities having not been observed in full.

He also urged for the appointment of a few liaison officers between the Government and the local institutions with a view to improving their mutual relations. He also appealed for a change of mental attitude on the part of Government officials and pleaded for greater co-operation with the municipal authorities.

At the same time the Municipal Commissioners also were reminded of their great responsibility.

We would like to know the standpoint of municipalities in other States, regarding the points raised by Sri Basu.

Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was formally inaugurated on the 29th March, 1954 with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru as its President. The importance of establishing an institution for a systematic study of public administration had been recognized for many years by academicians and administrators. With the advent of independence, and the inauguration of the constitution necessitating wide transformation of the administrative set-up, and the introduction of national development plans, the need for such a systematic study became all the more urgent. Under the circumstances the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, convened an informal meeting on the 29th October, 1953 in which decisions were taken to establish in India an institute of public administration. Professor D. G. Karve, the well-known economist, was chosen as the Director of the new institute.

The principal objects of the Institute were to provide for the study of public administration and allied subjects by organising study and training courses, conference and discussion groups; to undertake research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government; to publish periodicals, research papers and books on Indian administration; and to serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences and a clearing-house of information on public administration in general.

The Institute's membership was open to all actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration. The minimum annual subscription for individual membership was Rs. 25/-. There was also provision for corporate membership.

From the first annual report submitted by Prof. Karve, the Director of the Institute, it appears that the Executive Council of the Institute approved of the broad outlines of a scheme of a School of Public Administration providing a two-year course to students admitted on the strength of a qualifying degree and an entrance test.

The membership fees of the Institute were approximately Rs. 12,500. The Government of India sanc... a total grant (recurring and non-recurring) of 7.71 lacs for the year 1954-55, thereby consid... easing the financial difficulties of the Institute. E... were being made to obtain support from State G... ments and private endowments. The Ford Foun... agreed to donate a sum of $350,000 over the first ... years. The first year's instalment of $166,666 ... received. The total expenditure over the first ... years was likely to be about 50 lacs of rupees incl... the cost of land, building, initial library and the e... lishment of the School of Public Administration.

The Institute formulated a regular programme ... fellowships for providing facilities for higher studies ... specialized training in public administration. The ... batch of the Institute's fellows would soon pro... abroad for higher studies and training.

Prof. Karve adds: "The source materials, re... text-books, case-histories, etc., bearing on Indian ... tions which are needed for adequate and fruitful stu... public administration are for the most part lacking. ... Executive Conncil has, therefore, set up a Central ... mittee of Direction for arranging to have such ma... prepared with as little delay as possible. The C... mittee has already selected a list of topics for study ... research."

The Institute started publication of a quar... journal from January-March, 1955 with Shri S. B. B... as the editor.

Medium of Higher Education

A conference was held at Madras on June 18 ... consider the question of adopting Tamil as the me... of instruction in educational institutions inclu... colleges, and preparation of a list of suitable tech... terms for such higher studies, reports the *Hindu*. ... conference, attended by the Vice-Chancellors and ... educationists, was presided over by the Madras Mi... for education, Mr. C. Subramaniam.

Mr. Subramaniam detailed the steps taken in ... past to promote the use of the regional language as ... medium of instruction at the school stage and in... the views of the educationists and others in partic... on the question (a) of making a beginning in the in... duction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in co... and (b) as to whether a Committee or other suit... organisation might be set up for preparing scien... and technical terms in that language.

Dwelling on the importance of imparting ... education in the mother tongue of the student... Minister pointed to the difficulties faced by the stud... in following instruction given in English in the co... after having studied non-language subjects in ... regional language in high schools. But it was not ... to effect a change. When back in 1938 the ... Congress Government had introduced education th... the mother tongue in schools even then objections ... been raised against that on the ground of want ... suitable text-books in the regional languages.

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Four years ago a conference of State representatives of the Southern region and Vice-Chancellors had been held. Though the intention of those who had participated in that conference had been clearly to encourage the use of regional language, immediate steps could not be taken for want of facilities for the purpose of imparting such education with the regional language as the medium of instruction.

Shri Subramaniam also referred to the steps being taken for the preparation of scientific and technical terms in Hindi by the Board of Scientific Terminology, set up by the Government of India in 1950.

The Board had decided that international scientific and technical terms should be used in all books written in Hindi and other principal languages of India. The preparation and publication of authentic terms in Hindi would be done in nine stages. The stages were, to quote Shri Subramaniam :

"In the first stage, a collection of all necessary English terms for each subject is made.

"In the second stage, the exact connotation of each English word is determined with the help of standard works of reference and in consultation with technical experts.

"After this, the finding of suitable Hindi equivalents for the English terms begins in the third stage. The most important work is that of evaluating each possible equivalent in respect of its exact meanings, significance, etc.

"In the fourth stage, tentative lists of English terms with their proposed Hindi equivalents for each subject are put before an Expert Committee for that subject. The Committees consist of eminent scholars and experts. The Committees make a detailed and exhaustive examination of such lists and suggest changes and alternatives and then provisionally approve the lists.

"In the fifth stage, the lists thus approved by the Expert Committees are printed as provisional lists and submitted to the Board of Scientific Terminology which examines them again and makes its own suggestions.

"In the sixth stage, these lists are circulated to various State Governments, Universities, Research Institutions, Ministries of the Government of India, Language Experts and various other individuals and bodies, for comments.

"In the seventh stage, comments and opinions received are put before the respective Expert Committees which assess them and revise the lists in their light.

"In the eighth stage, the lists are again submitted to the Board for final approval.

"In the ninth stage, these lists are submitted to the Government for final approval. After the Government has accepted these lists, they are printed as standard and authentic lists of technical terms in Hindi."

Molestation of Girls

The *People*, June 26, refers to a recent incident in Lucknow when a girl was molested by students in a bus and invites the attention of the guardians and teacheres so that such shameful occurrences came to an end. It was all the more regrettable, the paper notes, that even college and university students should often be found guilty of such shameful conduct. The guilt was not of the students alone, the guardians and teachers had also a great measure of responsibility.

The *People* continues : "The present-day society is a hotch-potch of the modern and old. As such it is a period of uncertain transition. It is also correct to say that the effect of temptation from the other side should also not be minimised. Still to molest innocent girls in the streets, in the tramways or buses, is nothing short of a barbaric act and no amount of explanations can exonerate the crime. A very serious view should be taken of these outrages."

We thoroughly agree with the *People*. The guilty parties should be severely dealt with in future. It is about time people were made to realise that liberty and libertinism are not synonyms.

Hyderabad State Bank Affairs

The *Spectator*, a weekly news magazine, published from Hyderabad, in its issue of June 16 comes out with serious charges against the State Bank of Hyderabad with a demand for public enquiry into the Bank's affairs.

Shri P. N. Bam in an article in the magazine of even date writes that the recent downward trend of the shares of the State Bank of Hyderabad was an "indication of the markets' opinion about the working of the Bank. As a fully paid-up Bank share with no reserve liability it should fare much better and ought to be considered a good catch at 120-125; but No! Investors do not care to touch the shares with a pair of tongs. What is really wrong?"

According to Shri Bam, who had also addressed an open letter to President Rajendra Prasad over the affairs of the State Bank, the reckless lending policy followed by the directors of the State Bank of Hyderabad had led the Bank to heavy financial loss. It had been freely rumoured for a long time that "an amount of *three to four crores* out of the total advances was found to be not recoverable at short notice or on due date and that a tussle had started between the creditor Bank and its debtors wherein the latter had the upper hand."

Shri Bam writes: "There may be several debtors whose total assets put together (even including those of the Sureties) may not be found sufficient to realise the debt owed by them and whose total income from property, interest, dividends and business earnings may not be sufficient to pay the periodical instalments . . ." and that consequently around two crores of rupees would have to be written off as irrecoverable.

He continues: "A comparison of the credit limits during the years 1952, 1953, 1954, enjoyed by the

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the attitudes of the British press that the British Government would not be willing to give back the India Office Library. The correspondent wrote:

"The British authorities, it is feared, will raise every legal issue they can get hold of to retain the Library—including a 19th century precedent established by France and Germany over Alsace-Lorraine—and they would try their best to complicate the issue further by declaring that even Burma must have a say in the disposal of the Library (as one British paper has already done)."

Quadianis are not Muslims

A *UPI* report from Lahore, dated June 6, published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, says that the District Judge of Campbellpur, sitting at Rawalpindi, upheld the judgment of the Rawalpindi Civil Judge that Quadianis were not Muslims—and a Quadiani woman could not remain wife of a Muslim according to the Islamic *shariat*.

The report adds:

"This observation was made in a judgment on the application of the wife of Captain Naziruddin, for payment of dowry (*haq-mehr*).

"Captain Nazir and Umat-ul-Karim could not live happily and the woman went to her parents.

"Naziruddin divorced her on the plea that she was a Quadiani.

"She sued him for *haq-mehr*.

"The District Judge said: (1) Muslim theologians agree that Prophet Mohammed was the last prophet and no prophet was to follow him; (2) Muslim theologians also agree that whoever does not believe that Mohammed was the last prophet was outside the pale of Islam; (3) Muslim theologians also agree that Quadianis do not believe the 'last-hood' of the Prophet and are therefore non-Muslims."

The question remains, *where stands Sir Zafrullah Khan, the champion of Pakistan at the U.N.?*

Salk Vaccine

It is reported that the Government of India was considering the import of salk vaccine for anti-polio inoculation in India.

Over the salk vaccine ensued a controversy in the United States of America, the country of its origin, which unfortunately is not yet over. In view of that controversy and in the light of Britain's reported decision not to import salk vaccine now, some more consideration before deciding on bulk of imports of the vaccine would suggest itself as the best policy for the Government of India to follow.

In this connection the following comments of the British weekly, *Lancet*, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, is quite significant.

The *Lancet*, a famous journal, said that there was a small but definite risk in using the salk vaccine as a preventive against poliomyelitis or infantile paralysis. The risk might be reduced very much [by] improved tests but there would still be fear that [the] tests might have failed to reveal the presence of [a] live virus and the occasional highly susceptible [child] might be given the disease by a vaccine which [has] passed the most vigorous testing.

"This risk must be weighed against the benefit which at the moment seem to be a three or four-[fold] reduction in the chance of getting paralytic poliomy[e]litis in the year following vaccination—with presumably some protection for a much longer period, although the extent and duration of this are not yet known.

"In addition, there is the risk of unknown dimensions that repeated injection of the vaccine prepared from monkey kidney may eventually sensitise the child in some harmful way.

"This could conceivably have more serious consequences than accidental infections on which attention has naturally been fixed so far."

Indian Doctors in South Africa

The *Indian Opinion*, the weekly news magazine published from Natal, in its issue dated the 22nd [June] relates the story of two Indian doctors having been refused permission to practise in Orlando Native Township. The Minister of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that it was contrary to the policy of the Union Government to permit non-Natives to practise in Native areas.

The two doctors, Dr. A. B. Kazi and Dr. Z. Asrat, however, had earlier obtained permission in terms of the Urban Areas Act from the Johannesburg City Council to practise in the township but the Minister refused to grant such permission.

The *Indian Opinion* writes: "At a recent meeting of the Orlando Advisory Board the Native members complained that doctors were badly needed in the township. They passed a resolution asking the City Council to reconsider the decision. The Medical Association is investigating the matter."

Such is the way of democracy in the mid-twentieth century white civilisation of the Union of South Africa..

Indian Shops and Barbed Wire

The *Indian Opinion* writes on the 29th April: "The following report appeared (with a diagram) on the front page of the *Rand Daily Mail* on April 23. The newspaper deserves praise for giving full publicity to the case of rank injustice.

'A sturdy, three-hundred-yard-long barbed wire fence was put up at Badplass this week. It has the effect of making it difficult for Whites to deal at the Indian shops near the Government Mineral Baths.

'At the same time the Transvaal provincial authorities have gazetted a notice proclaiming the road from the shops to the baths closed and opening a new road on the other side of the fence.

'The business of the Indians has fallen, but there

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still a trickle of buying over the fence. Even nine strands of barbed wire has not stopped that. The fence cuts across the road that used to serve the shops and passes within two feet of one of them. Now orders are shouted over the fence and the goods brought out.

'The building of the fence, in a way, also operates as a kind of "Group Areas Act." The Act could not be applied to the Indian shops at Badplaas, and no applications similar to those in other Transvaal towns, had been brought against them. The reason is that the Indians are nearly half-a-mile from the town on privately-owned ground.

'The first shot in the campaign came two years ago, when the main road from Barberton was rebuilt, skirting the Indian shops and allowing access to the baths by a new road. But business went on.

'A year later the Mineral Baths Committee erected corrugated iron road blocks on the old road. They were removed by the owner of the land, and no dispute was raised. This week the fence went up. Business is still going on.

'Since the new road was made eight people have been killed in motor accidents on the sharp turn, almost right angled, into the town itself—five Europeans and three Natives.

'The old gently curving road into the town had stood for 70 years. It was included in the farm when President Kruger donated Badplaas to the Transvaal Government. 'The shops were built in 1931 and have done substantial business with Europeans.

'Mrs. C. M. Cross, a well-known farmer in the area for the past 55 years and a customer at the store of one of the Indians since her arrival in the district, said that the erection of the fence was rather like the erection of a prisoners-of-war camp. "I now have a mile-and-a-half detour for my shopping and to collect goods offloaded at the store by the railway bus. I think this action is absolutely ridiculous. It is unnecessary and of no advantage to anybody".'

Russo-Yugoslav Rapprochement

After seven years of strained relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia is became normal again with the signing in Belgrade of a joint declaration by the representatives of two Governments.

With the expulsion of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the Information Bureau of the (nine) Communist Parties of Europe (commonly alluded to as the Cominform) in June, 1948 for the "crime" of differing from the orthodox Soviet views on the development of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia, the relations of Yugoslavia with Soviet Union as with other Eastern European democracies, even on a purely diplomatic and commercial level, had become untenable, as a result of which all intercourse amongst the nations had completely ceased. The relations became unbelievably hostile and recriminating. After Stalin's death however some changes in Soviet attitude toward Yugoslavia became perceptible and the present rapprochement was the result.

The Leader of the Soviet Delegation to Yugoslavia for normalization of the relations between the two countries admitted in a speech at the Belgrade airport on May 26 that the treatment accorded to Yugoslavia had been all wrong and apologised for the injustice done to Yugoslavia. The Soviet leader Mr. Khruschev ascribed the bad relations to the machinations of the late Laventri P. Beria and others. He said :

"It is our profound conviction that the time when our relations were clouded has gone. On our part we are willing to do everything necessary to remove all obstacles impeding the complete normalization of relations between our states and the consolidation of friendly relations between our people."

The *New York Times* Moscow correspondent writes that Western observers in Moscow were astonished by Mr. Khruschev's statement. The reasons for the surprise, according to him, were :

"The completeness of Mr. Khruschev's apology to Marshal Tito for what happened in 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform was unexpected.

"The declaration that Laventri P. Beria, the former Soviet security chief who was executed in 1953, and his henchmen were responsible for the bad relations that developed between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was completely unexpected. Nothing of that kind had ever been suggested before."

The joint declaration noted the "spirit of friendship and mutual understanding" in which the discussions had taken place. It spoke of the agreement of the two governments to take further measures for normalizing their relations and said that the two governments had proceeded from the principles of :

"Respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality between the states in their relations and in relations with other states ;

"Recognition and development of peaceful co-existence between nations, irrespective of ideological differences and differences in social systems, which implies co-operation of all states in the sphere of international relations in general and economic and cultural relations in particular ;

"Mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs for any reason—economic, political or ideological—, inasmuch as questions of the internal structure, difference in social systems and difference in concrete forms of the development of socialism are exclusively a matter for the peoples of the respective countries;

"Development of bilateral and international economic co-operation and the elimination of all the factors in economic relations which hamper trade and impede the development of the productive forces in the world and within the bounds of national economies;

"Discontinuation of any form of propaganda and misinformation and other actions which spread mistrust and in one way or another hamper the creation of an atmosphere for constructive international co-operation and peaceful co-existence among the nations ;

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"Condemnation of any aggression and any attempt to establish political and economic domination over other countries;

"Recognition of the fact that the policy of military blocs aggravates international tension, undermines confidence between the nations and increases the danger of war."

Economic ties between the two countries would be strengthened and economic co-operation expanded for which necessary steps would be taken. A cultural convention on cultural co-operation would be concluded with a view to developing cultural relations. A convention would also be concluded regarding an information service, which would ensure accurate and objective information to the people of the two countries, "in the spirit of the resolutions of the United Nations and on the basis of reciprocity as regards the status and privileges of the agencies of this service on the territory of each contracting party."

The Declaration also contained the agreement of the two governments to establish mutual co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

A treaty would be concluded with the object of settling questions of citizenship or correspondingly of repatriation of citizens of one of the contracting parties who were on the territory of the other party. The governments further "agreed on the necessity of guaranteeing the rights and protection of the citizens of one party on the territory of the other, understanding by this also the right of citizens to retain the citizenship which they had prior to the arrival on the territory of the other contracting party."

The U.S.S.R. delegation to Yugoslavia consisted of M. Nikita S. Khruschev as the leader, Premier N. A. Bulganin, Deputy Premier, Anastas I. Mikoyan, M. D. T. Shepilov, editor-in-chief of the *Pravda* and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Deputy Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, P. N. Kumykin.

Yugoslavia was represented by President Tito, Edward Kardelj, Alexander Rankovic and Svetozar Vukananovic-Tempo, all the three being Vice-Chairmen of the Federal Executive Vece (FEV) and several others.

On the eve of the Soviet-Yugoslav negotiations President Tito reiterated Yugoslavia's desire for continued co-operation with the West. Apparently on Yugoslav invitation representatives of the three Western Powers, Britain, France and the U.S.A. held discussions with Yugoslav Government in Belgrade from June 24 to 27. The discussions were on the ambassadorial level and discussed mainly aims and methods of Russian strategy in Europe.

Survey of American Economic Life

The United States had a productive economic system easily capable of attaining by 1960 a total national output of $414,000 million, making possible an average family income of more than $6,000 per ... reveals a five-year economic study entitled *Amer... Needs and Resources: New Survey* by J. F... Dewhurst and Associates.

Among the findings of the survey were the fo... ing, the *USIS* reports:

"American productivity is increasing so ra... that if present rates continue in another century, U.S. will be able to produce as much in one ... hour day as it now produces in a forty-hour week.

"During the past century the U.S. rate of ... has risen so fast that the average worker today ... duces nearly six times as much in an hour as ... average worker did in 1850.

"At the present rate of growth, the United S... will have a population of 177 million by 1960.

"While American productivity has steadily gone ... working hours have steadily gone down, from ... average of 70 hours per week in 1850 to the forty-... week of today.

"Leisure time for recreation for the ... employed American has nearly doubled since 19... seems likely to increase still further."

The total manufacturing capacity of the ... States had roughly doubled since 1940 and con... to expand.

The study concludes with the following word...

"The fabulous increase in output per man-... over the past century and the marked lead which ... United States holds . . . have not been achieved ... working harder or more skilfully. The causes have ... the steady expansion of our productive plant and ... technological progress in devising superior techn... and processes and more and better machinery ... multiply human effort through the use of vast am... of inanimate energy."

There was, however, a decline in the na... income of the United States in 1954. Compared ... $305,000 million in 1953 the national income in ... stood at $300,000 million. Wage-earners and sa... employees of business and industry however con... to get a larger share of the national income. ... share reached a record high of 69.1 per cent in ...

The following table gives a percentage distri... of U.S. national income in 1929, 1939, 1953 and ...

	1929 %	1939 %	1953 %
Compensation of employees	58.2	66.1	68.6
Unincorporated business and professional men	10.2	10.2	8.6
Farm proprietors	6.8	5.9	4.0
Rental income of persons	6.2	3.7	3.5
Corporate profit before taxes	11.5	7.8	12.6
Net interest	7.1	6.3	2.7
Total	100 0	100.0	100.0

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WHITHER UNIVERSITIES?

By Dr. P. J. CHAUDHURY, M.A., Ph.D.,
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A study of the history of the Indian universities reveals their progress in three directions. First, towards assuming responsibilities of teaching, especially higher courses (B.A. Honours and Post-graduate) and of organising research work; secondly, towards freedom from State control in the matter of internal administration of the finances, appointment and promotion of the staff and of general policy; thirdly, towards greater democracy with more powers coming to be vested in the teachers. Now these features are encouraging from several aspects and it is expected that they will reach their perfection in a few years. This seems to be the only natural course for our universities to follow and it is of no use to find fault with it. Yet one cannot forbear pointing out certain clear defects of this course of development. These defects may be overbalanced by the virtues of this irresistible movement, still an acquaintance with the former side may sober down one's excessive jubilation over the latter side. A correct representation of the state of affairs and a just estimation of it is necessary at any event, at least for the sake of truth and mental clarity if not for any practical gain. With this attitude of mind we proceed to lay our fingers on some of the more glaring defects of the present course of development in the universities.

The first feature of the universities is their assuming responsibilities of teaching and organising research besides examining. This certainly is a good feature. But in the manner this responsibility has been actually realised so far by the several universities it ceases to be an unmixed good. So far as a university has taken up direct responsibility of the Honours and Post-graduate teaching and of research work in the science subjects and so far as it supervises to some extent the teaching in the affiliated colleges it is good. But so far as it takes up teaching of arts subjects in the higher classes and so far as these classes are big (as is the case of the universities of the big cities) its performance is not all for the good. The reasons are the following:

First: The students do not develop any sense of joy and responsibility of corporate life and loyalty to some ideal embodied in some concrete shape unless they belong to an institution for at least four years at a stretch and unless their number is such (below a certain limit) as to give each student a feeling that he really counts and belongs to it. In a big university college these conditions are seldom realised. The students, in such an institution, therefore, do not imbibe any spirit of responsibility and loyalty and this tells upon their character and conduct and also explains their frequent indisciplined outbreaks. This does not generally happen in the case of science students whose number is usually less and who grow a team-spirit through their practical-work in the laboratories where they have ample opportunity to know one another, their teachers and their privileges as well as obligations. In any case the university cannot be blamed for its organising central teaching in science at the higher stage for this has to be done; the cost of laboratory equipment is too large to advise having more than one college in a city for this teaching.

Secondly: In teaching arts subjects like literature, philosophy, economics or history the teacher has to use more of his power of clear thinking and expression to be really helpful to the students. Teaching of science subjects is easier in this respect for these matters are more or less clear to start with, science being more or less descriptive and systematic. So that a big class in arts subjects at the higher stage is not advisable and it means much waste in communication. A teacher who has to shout while lecturing tends to be mechanical and the students too in such circumstances sink into a low state of intellectual sensitivity. Moreover, they cannot ask questions in the class and discuss intricate matters with the teacher. An arts class of the senior students should not contain more than fifteen of them to ensure effective teaching. Science classes are usually small, the limit to their capacity being exercised by the amount of laboratory equipment. So the problem usually does not arise there. And then it is possible to teach effectively a much bigger science class than an arts one as indicated above.

Thirdly: Centralising teaching of higher classes in one institution only, generally under the direct management of the university, denies a good many bright young teachers in different colleges the experience of teaching these classes, and, so, the full opportunities of developing themselves. The central teaching is managed mostly by the veterans who, no doubt, deserve this monopoly; but in certain respects the younger group might be more helpful to the students. Most of them have more vitality and

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human interest in their work and are popular with the students. The veterans, with their superior wisdom and experience, usually tend to be a bit mechanical in their teaching. This is but natural when we consider the circumstances, that they, as a rule, teach the same subject year after year for fifteen to twenty years and generally do not refresh their knowledge with a study of the new developments in the particular subject. With age most of them become increasingly suspicious of anything new and, so, back-dated and cynical in the eyes of their youthful students and junior colleagues. Then the fact that the students cannot go over to other teachers to learn the same subject which he alone teaches in a big city and that they have to attend his class for 'percentage' as well as for notes and suggestions (for he is one of the examiners) helps his indifference to his subject and students. We, however, must point out that our generalisations are only rough. We are well aware that there are some veterans who keep up their vitality and human interest in their work and students all along while a good many young teachers do their jobs in a very mechanical and cynical fashion quite unworthy of them. For youth is spontaneity itself and a certain amount of idealism is its peculiar luxury.

What is needed then is to give a better opportunity to the deserving youthful teachers to teach higher classes and, so, to draw them into the teaching line and not drive them away from it by giving them only junior classes and, incidentally, a small pay. Most of them are lured away by the administrative services; the drudgery and hardship of a lecturer shouting to very big crowds of junior students for years together before they might have a chance in the central university to teach higher classes is too much for the idealism of many bright scholars. There should be some competitive examinations for direct recruitment of higher grade university teachers like those for administrators if we hold the education of the country as important as its administration. Teaching experience and research work should not count very much as qualifications for admission into the university as senior lecturers. For one's quality of the intellect is most important in this matter and by the time one gets a doctorate degree and gains several years' experience of teaching junior classes one may lose much of his original brilliance and zest for life and knowledge. And it is a fact that a good many scholars do not go in for a doctorate or publish books so readily as others do. To provide a good portion of our promising young teachers we should have higher teaching in more than one institution in a large city. Instead of packing all the students in one big class let them be distributed over two or three small classes in different colleges. That will also ensure better quality of teaching and also better discipline and other character-building virtues for the students, as shown before. The extra cost involved in this procedure will not be wasted, it will give a return and at least will maintain some scholars. number should increase in free India if she show some real work in the field of knowledge culture. A free nation is judged ultimately by contribution to knowledge and culture; a administration and economic sufficiency are enough for her though these are essential.

We next consider the other two features of development of the universities, *viz.*, their free from State control and their democratisation. combined result of these has been to give more in the hands of the teachers themselves. This is in one respect but bad in another. For, teachers are busy forming parties and canvassing votes doing other things that these naturally involve. is a distraction for them but, urged by love of power and fame, many begin to love it and thereby their distinctive characater and prestige scholar-teachers. Thus says the *Radhakrishnan* (Vol. I, p. 70):

> "With the introduction of democratic and of elections in our universities there has a tendency among teachers to interest themselves more in the administrative affairs of the university than in their legitimate duties. We are told in several cases teacher-politicians have succeeded better in their careers than teachers who devoted themselves to teaching and scholarship. The success of teacher-politicians who manage elections and get for themselves influential and lucrative positions in their own or sister universities is largely responsible for the deterioration the morals of teachers and of academic standards of the universities."

Teachers certainly gain some prestige in many their administration, their finances, appointments promotion, and of course they should be managed them in a democratic manner for greater justice the price they pay for self-government and democracy is rather too heavy for them. The price is distraction from their studies, loss of mental equanimity and of prestige in the eyes of the society loves to think of them as a class apart, wise and and a bit above worldly interests. Forsaking worldly gains and power the scholar-teachers, like Brahmins of ancient India, can realise their riches and power. The modern university teachers compromising their position and perhaps they themselves hand over their new responsibilities their administrators whom they may help as experts in technical matters. "One man one job." Plato, and the job of a scholar-teacher taken seriously enough, is literally endless, much too heavy to allow him to dabble in tration. Some teachers, if they find in them trative abilities, may take up educational administration after their retirement from teaching but

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selves interested in these extra-academic matters. The separation of the teaching and the educational administration, such as is to be found in some cases (*e.g.*, West Bengal Government Colleges) is healthy in many respects. The teacher has not got to involve himself in the business of manipulation of elections for his promotion and preferences and in party-politics which are the gifts of democracy.

We have finished our review and we can imagine how odd it may sound in the ears of the progressive readers, particularly if they are teachers themselves. But, as we have said at the outset, we do not contend that the defects of the modern movement outweigh the virtues or that we have to fight it. We have only pointed out what we feel are the defects and the generalisations we have made in the course of our discussion are all rough and tentative and open to correction. We have spoken for having smaller classes in arts subjects at the higher standards, for giving better scope to bright scholars in higher teaching and for the separation of the administration of higher education from the influence of teachers who are increasingly getting involved in extra-academic matters. We only request the educationists to consider our points and though matters may have to be allowed to take their natural course, for there may be many other factors to be considered which we have not done here, yet the points may still hold and have their value in clarifying relevant issues.

———:O:———

IS OUR PLANNING BECOMING TOTALITARIAN

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The Planning Commission have recently published some preliminary papers relating to the "tentative frame-work" of the Second Five-Year Plan, for eliciting public opinion and inviting constructive suggestions on different aspects of the proposed plan. In one of the papers, Prof. Mahalanobis, Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Statistical Adviser to the Government of India, has submitted his "draft recommendations" for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan. In another paper, the panel of economists headed by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, have published "basic considerations" relating to the "plan-frame." While these tentative discussions and proposals have been welcomed in general, a few sections of public opinion have vehemently criticised the "basic approach" of Prof. Mahalanobis and other economists including Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. *Freedom First*, which is the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, has dubbed these economists as Communists or "fellow travellers" and expressed great concern over the so-called totalitarian trends in the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan. "This highly centralised totalitarian kind of planning," writes the Organ, "is now slowly taking place behind closed doors" with the help of "experts from the Iron Curtain countries." It is pointed out that emphasis on the building up of heavy industries would necessarily lead to "the merciless exploitation of the people and rise of the Police State." The Organ has also criticised the recent amendment of the Indian Constitution relating to the Article 31, on the ground that "the Fundamental Right to property which was enshrined in the Constitution has been destroyed." Although the writer takes note of a number of recent utterances of Prime Minister Nehru to the effect that "India would not sacrifice democratic institution at the altar of economic progress," he ends on a note of suspicion that "the dark activities of communist and near-communist statisticians and econometricians have an uncanny way of finding easy access to his (Prime Minister's) ear and mind."

It is true that Planning in modern times tends towards over-centralisation of political and economic power resulting in the curtailment of individual liberties to a considerable extent. In fact, there is a school of thought led by Prof. Hayek which regards economic planning as a "road to serfdom." But this is, surely, an extreme view. We should not lose sight of the fact that India has taken upon herself one of the greatest challenges of modern times, namely, to plan out her social and economic life under a democratic set-up through peaceful and non-violent methods. The Prime Minister has reiterated this view a number of times beyond any shadow of doubt or confusion. After his visit to China, Shri Nehru, in the course of several speeches, made it abundantly clear that although he was deeply interested in the progress of China there was absolutely no question of imitating the political and economic organisation of China. India was wedded to the methods of peace and democracy, although she did not want to interfere with the systems prevailing in other countries.

> "I think that in the long run," observed Shri Nehru, "the democratic and peaceful method is more successful even from the point of view of time and much more so from the point of view of results."

The Avadi resolution on the Socialistic Pattern, while emphasizing the role of the public sector, made it amply clear that "the private sector will continue to have importance," because the private sector in India

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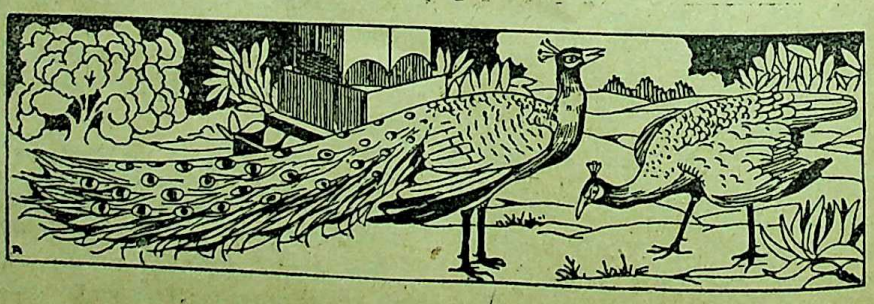
would necessarily include agriculture and small-scale and cottage industries. This point has been further clarified in the course of a recent speech of the Prime Minister in the Congress Parliamentary Party in connection with the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank. At the A.-I.C.C. Session at Berhampur, Shri Nehru emphatically declared that the slogan of "nationalisation" was not going to solve India's economic problems. The basic or mother industries have to be nationalised, of course; but the consumer goods industries should be decentralised on a very wide scale in the form of co-operatives.

As the Berhampur resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan pointed out, it will be necessary to organise for a "great development of small-scale and village industries which have to play a role of crucial importance both in relation to providing fuller employment and for the purpose of ensuring an adequate supply of consumer goods." The tentative frame-work of the Second Five-Year Plan, as published by the Planning Commission, visualises co-operative effort and not collectivisation and nationalisation in the important sectors of land and village industries which would naturally constitute a substantial portion of India's economic development for many years to come. The fears regarding totalitarianism and centralisation are, therefore, unfounded and should not be allowed to cloud our vision.

We are, indeed, extremely, surprised to find that the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has attacked the recommendations of the "statisticians and economists" on the ground that the Second Five-Year Plan proposes "to reserve the new production of consumer goods for hand and cottage industries and to prevent any further expansion of factory production in that sphere." "The net result of the decision," writes the Organ, "will be the smothering of free enterprise, a famine of consumer goods and the tying down of millions of workers to primitive and soul-deadening techniques." This opposition to small and village industries makes the position of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom very untenable and even ludicrous. On the one hand, they oppose large-scale production on the ground that it would result in regimentation totalitarianism, and, on the other, they condemn industries because their development would leave little scope for large-scale factory production private sector. This clearly shows that the Committee is mainly interested in the well-being private sector of the capitalists in the country are opposed both to the nationalisation of key in as well to the expansion of small and cottage stries and desire to raise the bogey of "totalitari in order to create confusion in the public mind.

Let me repeat once again that the mind Congress and the Government of India is communist or a semi-communist or totalitarian it is also not a capitalist or American mind always thinks in terms of private enterprise and private property as sacrosanct. India is determi follow the path of peace, non-violence and de as chalked out by the Father of the Nation. We to abolish poverty and unemployment from this within the next ten years through large-scale of small, village and cottage industries with the help and co-operation of village Panchayats and bodies. It is gratifying to know that the Co Projects Administration has recently decided to then their activities through the organisation of Panchayats as basic units of administration and ing. Our objective, therefore, is to conquer hunger unemployment by a process of bold decentralisation political and economic power and not by fol totalitarian or regimented methods of socialis communist countries. That is why we purposely av the terms "Socialism" in the Avadi resolution and the new phrase "Socialist Pattern of Society." socialism would be of the Gandhian or Sarvodaya and not of the Communist pattern. The Congress not wanted to exploit a high ideal and a noble for political purposes. But there is no doubt soever that our ultimate ideal is the Sarvodaya P of Society and not the highly-regimented totalitarian type of State. Let there be no about it.



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SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VI) Fundamental Rights: Right to Freedom (*Continued*)

By D. N. BANERJEE,
Surendranath Banerjea Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Calcutta

I

In our preceding article[1] in this series we have chiefly discussed, by way of an introduction, the general question of personal freedom *vis-a-vis* social control, with special reference to the position in this regard in the United States of America and England. We shall now begin, in the light of this discussion, the consideration of the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22 of our Constitution.

II

We shall first take up Article 19 of the Constitution. This Article is rightly regarded as one of the most important Articles in the Constitution. As, however, the Article is a long one and comprises as many as six clauses, we propose, for the sake of convenience, to deal with it clause by clause. But we may indicate here the plan of the Article. Clause (1) of the Article is a statement of seven specific rights of the Indian citizen. It runs as follows:

"19. (1) All citizens shall have the right—

(*a*) to freedom of speech and expression;

(*b*) to assemble peaceably and without arms;

(*c*) to form associations or unions;

(*d*) to move freely throughout the territory of India;

(*e*) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;

(*f*) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and

(*g*) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

These rights, however, are not absolute: they are hedged about with qualifications. And Clauses (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) of the Article, to be quoted hereinafter as occasion arises, specify the limits up to which the abridgment of the rights may be permitted and their exercise may be lawfully allowed. Thus they circumscribe, as it were, "the field of permissible restrictive legislation." As Das J. of the Supreme Court of India has stated:[2]

"If there were nothing else in Article 19 these rights would have been absolute rights and the protection given to them would have completely debarred Parliament or any of the State Legislatures from making any law taking away or abridging any of those rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes it abundantly clear that none of the seven rights enumerated in Clause (1)[3] is an absolute right, for each of these rights is liable to be curtailed by laws made or to be made by the State to the extent mentioned in the several Clauses (2) to (6) of that article. Those clauses save the power of the State to make laws imposing certain specified restrictions on the several rights. The nett (*sic*) result is that the unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 (of the Constitution) read with the different legislative lists in the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) is cut down by the provisions of Article 19 and all laws made by the State with respect to these rights must, in order to be valid, observe these limitations. Whether any law has, in fact, transgressed these limitations is to be ascertained by the Court and if in its view the restrictions imposed by the law are greater than what is permitted by Clauses (2) to (6) whichever is applicable the Court will declare the same to be unconstitutional and, therefore, void under Article 13[4] (of the Constitution). Here . . . there is scope for the application of the 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court. If, however, the Court finds, on scrutiny, that the law has not overstepped the constitutional limitations, the Court will have to uphold the law, whether it likes the law or not."

III

We shall now, first, deal with Clause (1)(*a*) of Article 19 which declares, as shown before, that "all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression." The exercise of this basic right of individual freedom, however, is subject to the requirements of Clause (2) of Article 19, which, as it stands today, lays down:

> "Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

Now, what does the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in Clause (1)(a) really mean? Does it also include what is compendiously referred to as the "freedom of the Press"? As will appear from what follows, it does. There was an interesting discussion of this point in the Constituent Assembly of India when Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India, was considered by the Constituent Assembly.[5] It was held by one member[6] of the

1. Published in *The Modern Review* for May, 1955.
2. See *A. K. Gopalan* v. *The State of Madras*, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 294.
3. Of Article 19.
4. See in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.
5. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 1st and 2nd December, 1948.

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Assembly that Article 13, as then worded, appeared "to have been clumsily drafted," that it made "one significant omission" and that was "about the freedom of the press"; and that it seemed "desirable and proper, therefore, that the freedom of the Press should be mentioned separately and explicitly." Another member[7] was "amazed" that such "a very glaring omission" had taken place in the Draft Constitution of India as "the leaving out" of the expression "the freedom of the Press." He could not imagine why the "draftsmen, so experienced and so seasoned, should have felt it desirable to leave out the freedom of the Press, and leave to the charity of the administrators of the Constitution when occasion arose to include it by convention or implication, and not by express provision."

This criticism appears to have been based on a misconception of the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in the Draft Constitution. As it was rightly pointed by another member,[8] "freedom of expression" also meant the freedom of the Press. And Dr. B. R. Ambedkar clenched the issue when he said:[9]

> "The Press is merely another way of stating an individual or a citizen. The Press has no special rights which are not to be given or which are not to be exercised by the citizen in his individual capacity. The editor of a Press or the manager are all citizens (*sic*) and therefore when they choose to write in newspapers, they are merely exercising their right of expression, and in my judgment therefore no special mention is necessary of the freedom of the Press at all."

As we have seen before,[10] this is also, in effect, the position of the Press[11] in English constitutional law.

We also find a virtual endorsement of the view of Dr. Ambedkar in the Report of the (Indian) Press Commission, 1954.

"The expression 'freedom of the Press'," says the Report,[12] "has been understood in various senses[13] by different persons. It has not been defined or referred to in the Constitution. Article 19 of the Constitution deals with one of the fundamental rights, *viz.*, right to different kinds of freedoms, and Clause (1)(a) thereof says:

> 'All citizens shall have the right—(*a*) to freedom of speech and expression.'

> "This freedom is stated in wide terms ... includes not only freedom of speech which ... fests itself by oral utterance, but freedom of ... pression, whether such expression is communi... by written word or printed matter. Thus free... of the Press, particularly of newspapers ... periodicals, is a species of which the freedom ... expression is a genus. There can, therefore, be ... doubt that freedom of the Press is included in ... fundamental right of the freedom of expres... guaranteed to the citizens under Article 19(1) ... of the Constitution."

And we find in the judgmnet of our Supreme Court in *Romesh Thappar* v. *The State of Ma...* that "there can be no doubt that freedom of spe... and expression includes freedom of propagation ... ideas, and that freedom is ensured by the freedom ... circulation."[14] The Supreme Court approvingly q... in this connexion an extract from an Amer... judgment[15] to say:

> "Liberty of circulation is as essential to ... freedom[16] as the liberty of publication. Wi... without circulation the publication would be ... little value."

Thus the expression "freedom of speech ... expression" has a much wider meaning than ... appears on the face of it.

Before, however, we deal with Clause (2) ... Article 19 as it stands today, we should like to s... few words about its history. Originally it did ... exist in its present form. It was substituted, wi... retrospective effect, by Section 3 of the Constitu... (First Amendment) Act, 1951, for the original Clau... of Article 19, which ran as follows:

> "19.(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Cl... (1) shall affect the operation of any existing ... in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State ... making any law relating to, libel, slander, d... mation, contempt of court or any matter w... offends against decency or morality or w... undermines the security of, or tends to overth... the State."

It may be noticed from this provision that ... permissible legislative restrictions on the right ... freedom of speech and expression were originally ... the Press Commission has rightly pointed out,[17] o... "in respect of libel, slander, defamation, contem... of court, offences against decency or morality, ... offences against the security of the State." ... replacement of the original Clause (2) by a ... Clause (2) was, it appears, necessitated by ce... judicial decisions[18]—particularly by the judgment...

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6. Shri Damodar Swarup Seth (U.P.: General).
7. Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General).
8. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras: General).
9. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948, p. 780.
10. See *The Modern Review* for May, 1955, pp. 368-69.
11. "'By 'press' is meant generally, though not exclusively, newspapers and periodicals.'—Wade in Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 585.
12. See *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, New Delhi, p. 357.
13. See *ibid.*, pp. 357-58.
14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part ... August,, 1950, p. 597.
15. *Ex parte Jackson* (96 U. S. 727)—See *ibid.*
16. *I.e.*, freedom of speech and expression.
17. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para ...
18. In *Romesh Thappar* v. *The State of Madras* ... *Bhushan and Another* v. *The State of Delhi* (the Supreme Co... ...gia, Master Tara Singh's case and *Amarnath Bali* v. *The*

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our Supreme Court, delivered on 26th May, 1950, in *Romesh Thappar* v. *The State of Madras* and *Brij Bhushan and Another* v. *The State of Delhi*, as well as by the (majority) judgment[20] of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court, delivered on 13th October, 1950, *in the matter of the Bharati Press*.. As a result of these judicial decisions, certain laws, or certain provisions of certain laws, however valid they might have been before the Constitution of India came into force, became unconstitutional and, therefore, null and void as they were found to be inconsistent with some of our Fundamental Rights.[21] Thus, for instance, in the *Romesh Thappar* case the Supreme Court declared on 26th May, 1950, Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949, as "wholly unconstitutional and void."[22] Further, the Supreme Court made a clear distinction in this case between legislation for "the maintenance of the security of the State" and legislation for the "maintenance of public order."[23] In delivering the judgment of the majority[24] of the Judges in the case, Patanjali Sastri J. stated,[25] among other things:

"The Constitution (of India), in formulating the varying criteria for permissible legislation imposing restrictions on the fundamental rights enumerated in Article 19(1), has placed in a distinct category those offences against public order which aim at undermining the security of the State or overthrowing it, and made their prevention the sole justification for legislative abridgment of freedom of speech and expression, that is to say, nothing less than endangering the foundations of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the rights to freedom of speech and expression . . . The differentiation is also noticeable in Entry 3 of List III (Concurrent List) of the Seventh Schedule, which refers to the 'security of a State' and 'maintenance of public order' as distinct subjects of legislation. The Constitution thus requires a line to be drawn in the field of public order or tranquillity marking off, may be, roughly, the boundary between those serious and aggravated forms of public disorder which are calculated to endanger the security of the State and the relatively minor breaches of the peace of a purely local significance, treating for this purpose differences in degree as if they were differences in kind. It is also worthy of note that the word 'sedition' which occurred in Article 13(2)[26] of the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee was deleted before the article was finally passed as Article 19(2) . . . Deletion of the word 'sedition' from the draft Article 13(2) . . . shows that criticism of Government exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards it is not to be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press, unless it is such as to undermine the security of, or tend to overthrow, the State."

"Thus," continued Patanjali Sastri J., "very narrow and stringent limits have been set to permissible legislative abridgement of the right of free speech and expression, and this was doubtless due to the realization that freedom of speech and of the Press lay at the foundation of all democratic organisations, for without free political discussion no public education, so essential for the proper functioning of the processes of popular government, is possible. A freedom of such amplitude might involve risks of abuse. But the framers of the Constitution may well have reflected, with Madison who was 'the leading spirit in the preparation of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution,' that 'it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits'."[27]

"We are therefore of opinion," said[28] Patanjali Sastri J. finally, "that unless a law restricting freedom of speech and expression is directed solely against the undermining of the security of the State or the overthrow of it, such law cannot fall within the reservation under Clause (2) of Article 19, although the restrictions which it seeks to impose may have been conceived generally in the interests of public order.[29] It follows that Section 9(1-A) (of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949), which authorises imposition of restrictions for the wider purpose of securing public safety or the maintenance of public order falls outside the scope of authorised restrictions under Clause (2) (of Article 19), and is therefore void and unconstitutional . . . Where a law purports to authorise the imposition of restrictions on a fundamental right in language wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting such right, it is not possible to uphold it even so far as it may be applied within

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of Punjab (the Punjab High Court), *The Bharati Press*: *Sm. Shaila Bala Devi* v. *The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar* (the Patna High Court), and in *Bynes* v. *The State of Madras* (the Madras High Court).—See *Parliamentaary Debates* (Parliament of India) Official Report, 18th May, 1951.

19. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August 1950, pp. 594-620.

20. *In the matter of the Bharati Press*: *Sm. Shaila Bala Devi* v. *The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar*—A.I.R. (38) Patna 12, 1951: Special Bench.

21. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951.

22. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 594-603.

23. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951; also *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, pp. 361-62.

24. Consisting of Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjea, and Das JJ., Fazl Ali J. dissenting.

25. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 601-603.

26. Corresponding to Article 19(2) of the Constitution of India.

27. Quoted in *Near* v. *Minnesota*: 283 U.S. 697 (1931).

28. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 602-603.

29. "'Public Order'," observed Patanjali Sastri J., "is an expression of wide connotation and signifies that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established."—*Ibid.*, p. 598.

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the constitutional limits, as it is not severable. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly unconstitutional and void. In other words, Clause (2) of Article 19 having allowed the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression only in cases where danger to the State is involved, an enactment, which is capable of being applied to cases where no such danger could arise, cannot be held to be constitutional and valid to any extent."

This judicial pronouncement along with the judgment[30] of the Supreme Court in *Brij Bhushan and Another* v. *The State of Delhi* which was materially influenced by its judgment in the *Romesh Thappar* case, had far-reaching legal implications as, under Article 141 of our Constitution, the law declared by the Supreme Court is "binding on all courts within the territory of India." Thus we find Sarjoo Prasad J. observing in the course of his judgment *in the matter of the Bharati Press*[31] referred to before:

> "I am compelled to observe that from the above discussions of the Supreme Court judgments (in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case), it follows logically that if a person were to go on inciting murder or other cognizable offences either through the Press or by word of mouth, he would be free to do so without impunity inasmuch as he would claim the privilege of exercising his fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression. Any legislation which seeks or would seek to curb this right of the person concerned would not be saved under Article 19(2) of the Constitution and would have to be declared void. This would be so, because such speech or expression on the part of the individual would fall neither under libel nor slander nor defamation nor contempt of Court nor any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of or tends to overthrow the State. I cannot with equanimity contemplate such an anomalous situation but the conclusion appears to be unavoidable on the authority of the Supreme Court judgments with (*sic*) which we are bound. I, therefore, wish that my decision on the point would sooner than ever come to be tested by the Supreme Court itself and the position re-examined in the light of the anomalous situation pointed out above."

Ramaswami J. also stated[32] in the course of his judgment in the case under consideration that, although the different categories of offences in Indian criminal law did "overlap to a certain extent," yet "it is plain that the offences of murder and of violence form a distinct category from offences which tend to overthrow or undermine the security of the State."

A substantially similar view was expressed on by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, Parliament of India. Referring to the situ created by the judicial decisions we have men above, Dr. Ambedkar said in Parliament on May, 1951:[33]

> "What I want to ask the House to co is, what is the effect of these decisions of Supreme Court and the various High Cou the States? . . . Under the decisions of Provincial High Courts to which I had (re referred it is now open to anybody to in encourage, tend to incite or encourage, the mission of any offence of murder or any cogni offence involving violence. The one question I would like the House to consider is this. Is satisfactory position that any person should be free to incite or encourage the commissio offences of murder or any cognisable offence volving violence? I want the House to co this matter dispassionately. Is it a desirable of affairs that our Constitution should leave this desperate position that we could not the right of free speech which has been grant Clause (1) of Article 19 and it should be s limited that any person should be free to murder or the commission of any cogn offence? I have tried to put the matter in a shell. That is the position."

He added:

> "The same thing has now occurred with re to the public safety laws or the laws made by various States for the maintenance of pu order, because they also have been held by Supreme Court to be not open to any limita by virtue of the Constitution. The Supreme Co has made a distinction between the security of State and the maintenance of public order. T say that it may be open for Parliament to m a law for the security of the State but it is open to Parliament to make a law for the m tenance of public order. There again I wish House to consider the matter seriously. Is House prepared to allow the right of freedom speech and expression to be so untrammelled be so unfettered, that any man can say anyt and go scot-free, although such speech co public disorder? If the judgments of the Supre Court and the High Courts stand as they are, the only consequence that follows is that we s never be able to make a law, which would res the freedom of speech in the interests of pu order and that we shall never be able to make law which would put a restraint upon incite to violence."

In view of what we have shown above, th should not be any reasonable doubt that there after the judicial pronouncements we have refe to before, a very strong case for the amendment Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood.

30. Judgment, again, of the majority consisting of Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjea and Das JJ., Fazl Ali J., dissenting.

31. See A.I.R. (38) 1951, Patna 12, Special Bench.

32. See *ibid.*

33. See *Parliamentary Debates* (India: Official Report), May, 1951, pp. 8069-8070.

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whether the amendment should have taken the exact form it actually did, is a matter on which there may be some legitimate difference of opinion. Before, however, we deal with this point, it may perhaps be interesting to note here the remarks of the Supreme Court on the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. which we have quoted before. The decision of the majority of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court *in the matter of the Bharati Press* which had allowed the application of the petitioner Sm. Shailabala Devi[34] against the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had been carried by the State of Bihar to the Supreme Court by way of appeal. In the course of his judgment in this appeal case in which Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, Das, and Bose JJ. concurred, Mahajan J. remarked,[35] with reference to the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. mentioned before:

"These observations—I speak with great respect—disclose a complete lack of understanding of the precise scope of the two decisions of this Court referred to above (*i.e.*, the decisions in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case). . . . It is plain that speeches or expressions on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage the commission of violent crimes, such as murder, cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of a law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution. I cannot help observing that the decisions of this Court in 'Romesh Thappar's case' . . . and in 'Brij Bhushan's case' . . . have been more than once misapplied and misunderstood . . . The deduction that a person would be free to incite to murder or other cognizable offence through the Press with impunity drawn from our decision in 'Romesh Thappar's case' . . . could easily have been avoided as it was avoided by Shearer J."[36]

With all due deference to His Lordship, we find it rather difficult to agree with this view. On the other hand, we feel that there is a good deal of force in the following remarks[37] of the majority of the Press Commission of which Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha was the Chairman:

"It has been argued that the Constitution (of India) was amended in somewhat 'indecent haste'—without waiting to see whether the Supreme Court upheld the view of the Patna High Court in the Bharati Press case, and that if they (*sic*) had so waited, there would have been no necessity to amend the Constitution, as the Patna High Court view, which was the immediate occasion for taking up the amendment of the Constitution, was rejected by the Supreme Court. We are not sure that this argument is altogether correct. It is true that the Supreme Court did disapprove the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. Their Lordships said that their earlier decision in Romesh Thappar's case . . . and Brij Bhushan's case . . . had been misapplied and misunderstood and proceeded to observe: 'It is plain that speeches or expressions on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage commission of violent crimes, such as murder cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution.' Having already drawn a distinction between the 'security of State' and 'public order' and having stated that 'nothing less than endangering (the) foundation of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the right to freedom of speech and expression,' it is difficult to see, with the utmost respect to their Lordships, how incitement by any individual in a remote village to commit a violent crime, such as murder, out of personal spite, is likely to undermine the security of the State . . . (Their) interpretation, though it may have granted constitutional validity under the original Article 19(2) of the Constitution to legislation restricting freedom of speech with regard to 'aggravated forms of prejudicial activity' or even 'commission of a violent crime like murder which would undermine the security of State.' . . . still left uncovered the large field of 'public order' and incitement to other and not so aggravated forms of crimes which did not endanger the security of State—such as incitement to the commission of offences of robbery, dacoity, rioting and a host of others. In our opinion, therefore, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala's case* would not have dispensed with the necessity of amending Article 19(2) of the Constitution. Indeed, in the (?) *Shailabala's case* itself the Supreme Court has finally relied[38] on the retrospective effect given to the new amendment in upholding the validity of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 . . . The Supreme Court judgment does not do away with the necessity for the amendment."

We agree with this view[39] of the majority of the

34. Keeper of the Bharati Press at Purulia. On 8th September, 1949, the Governor of Bihar had, in the "exercise of the powers conferred" upon him by the Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931, ordered Sm. Shaila Bala Devi "to make a deposit of Rs. 2000 with the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum."—*A.I.R.* (38) 1951 (12): *Special Bench.*

35. *A.I.R.* 1952 *Supreme Court* 329: *The State of Bihar, Appellant* v. *Shrimati Shailabala Devi, Respondent*

36. Shearer J. of the Patna High Court did not agree with the judgment of the majority of the Special Bench (Sarjoo Prasad and Ramaswami JJ.) *in the matter of the Bharati Press.*—*A.I.R.* (38) 1951 Patna 12, Specail Bench.

37. See the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, paras 969 and 981.

38. Reference here is to the following observation of Mahajan J. in *The State of Bihar* v. *Shailabala Devi*: "Be that as it may, the matter is now concluded by the language of the amended Article 19(2) made by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act (151) which is retrospective in operation, and the decision of the High Court on this point cannot be sustained."—*A.I.R.* 1952 *Supreme Court* 329.

39. *I.e.*, the view held by seven out of eleven members of the Press Commission.

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Press Commission, and not with the view[40] of the minority of the Commission that "the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala* case knocked out the major premise for Government's case for amending the Constitution." As we have indicated before, we feel that the judgments of the Supreme Court in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brijbhushan* case created some big—and we may add, dangerous—lacunae in our system of laws, and much mischief might be committed if these lacunae were not duly filled up by a suitable constitutional amendment. Herein lies the main justification of the amendment of 1951 so far as *freedom of speech and expression* was concerned.

Let us now analyse the new amendment. It may be noticed that under it, as compared with Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood, the additional heads in respect of which legislative restrictions can be imposed on the right of freedom of speech and expression are (1) 'friendly relations with foreign States,' (2) 'public order,' and (3) 'incitement to an offence.' We shall first deal with the heads 'public order' and 'incitement to an offence.' In a sense these two heads are mutually complementary. Some persons have objected to the use of the expression 'public order' on the ground[41] that it is capable 'of a multiplicity of interpretations,' or 'of the widest possible definition.' We are unable to agree with this view fully, although we admit that there is some force in it. According to our Supreme Court, 'public order' "signifies[42] that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established." This meaning of 'public order' substantially agrees with a view of Order we find in John Stuart Mill.[43] "Order," he has said, "means the preservation of peace by the cessation of private violence. Order is said to exist where the people of the country have, as a general rule, ceased to prosecute their quarrels by private force, and acquired the habit of referring the decision of their disputes and the redress of their injuries to the public authorities." Order in this sense is a prerequisite of good government and a condition of progress. No civilised society can properly function without this peace or order. It is also worthy of note here that the expression 'public order' has occurred in Clauses (3) and (4) of Article 19 of our Constitution from its very commencement on the 26th of January, 1950. Besides, in some other civilised countries for instance, Eire and the Union of Burma, the exercise of what is deemed as fundamental rights generally subject, directly or indirectly, to requirements of *public order* and morality. In countries, again, as in Mexico, the term actually is 'public peace.' There is, however, hardly difference, in essence, between the implications of two terms 'public peace' and 'public order,' although the latter appears to be an expression of wider notation. Moreover, in our preceding article in series we have seen the position in law, so far as right to freedom of speech and expression is concerned, in the United States of America and England. As the majority of the Press Commission have rightly observed, the Supreme Court of the United States "would uphold any law which purported to punish utterances inimical to public welfare, tending to incite crime or to disturb the public peace."[44] And, finally, we find in Article 29 of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December, 1948:

> "Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.
>
> (2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and meeting the just requirements of morality, public *order and the general welfare in a democratic society*."[45]

Thus we find that 'public order' or 'public peace' is a generally accepted juristic expression. We therefore, do not think that there should be any serious objection to the retention of the expression 'public order' in Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today. Nor do we think that the substitution of the expression "for the prevention of public disorder" for the expression "in the interests of public order" in the said Clause (2) would be an improvement upon the present position. It would then create the problem of defining the word 'disorder' as a legal term

40. *I.e.*, the view held by four out of eleven members of the Press Commission. See paras 1141-43 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

41. See para. 1145 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954; also *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th May, 1951, p. 8843.

42. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 598.

43. See his *Representative Government*, Chapter II.

44. See para. 985 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

It may also be noted in this connexion that in the following States of the United States of America a citizen may freely write, or publish whatever he wills on any subject, being, however, *responsible for the abuse of this liberty*: Maine, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Iowa, Nevada, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Arkansas, Florida, Colorado, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky.—See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th ed., pp. 596-99n.

45. The italics are ours.

46. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951; *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, paras. 985, 1162, and 1526.

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We shall now say a few words about the expression "incitement to an offence" in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. It may be interesting to note here that it had been suggested[47] in our Parliament that the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence" should be substituted for the expression "incitement to an offence" in the proposed amendment. What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated in this connexion is worthy of note here. He said:[48]

"I will now deal with the question of confining 'incitement' to violence and I want my friends, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and also Pandit Kunzru to pay some attention to what I am saying and I will take some very particular cases. First of all, I would like to know whether they are in a position to give a precise definition of the meaning of the word 'violence'. What is 'violence'? Is it to be confined merely to physical violence? . . . Have they been able to give us any precise definition which would enable the legislature and the court to know that this is violence and this is not violence? I cannot find any . . . I come now to specific instances. Supposing, for instance, there is trouble—I am giving some concrete cases which have happened—and there is trouble between the Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus in a particular village and the Caste Hindus conspire together to proclaim a social boycott on the Scheduled Castes, preventing them from obtaining any kind of supplies, preventing them from going into the fields, preventing them from going into the jungles to collect fuel, then I want to know from Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Pandit Kunzru whether they want this, as an offence, to be regarded by the State as such or not . . . I shall give another illustration which was recently reported in Bombay. In a place near Thana there was trouble going on between Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes over the taking of water from a particular well. With the help of the police the Scheduled Castes there were able to secure their right to take water from that well along with the Caste Hindus. The Caste Hindus did not like the matter. They wanted the well to be exclusively used by them. Two days ago there was a report in the Bombay Press wherein it was stated that some Caste Hindus incited some of their men to drop into it some kind of poisonous weeds. The result was that the whole water was poisoned and some of the Scheduled Caste people who drank the water suffered from the effect of the poison. I want to ask both of them whether they would limit their definition of incitement to violence, or whether they would extend it to cover where one community does something in order to harm and injure another community."

In view of this lucid statement of the Minister of Law, it would have been unwise to replace the expression "incitement to an offence," by the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence."

We shall now pass on to the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19, namely, "friendly relations with foreign States." So far as this head is concerned, there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst those who have given a serious thought to it. This is natural. The expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather too wide and too elastic in its implications. And it has been apprehended that the power of legislation under this provision may be abused or misused with the help of an obliging party majority in the legislature. Both in our Parliament and before the Press Commission it was, in effect, urged[49] that "under the guise of maintaining friendly relations with foreign States restrictions" could be imposed on the "legitimate expression of views on questions of foreign policy or on the presentation" of the points of view which might 'run counter' to the policy of the "Government of India or its friendly relations with foreign States," and that such restrictions might not be consonant with the true concept of freedom of speech and expression. And the majority of the Press Commission also agree[50] that

> "It is undoubtedly true that in a democracy there should be freedom of expression with regard to the foreign policies of the Government in power and that such criticism should not be prevented under the specious plea that it would endanger the friendly relation of the Government of the day with foreign powers."

"At the same time," they have added,[51] "one has to bear in mind that persistent and malicious propaganda against a foreign power which has friendly relations with India may cause considerable embarrassment from the point of view of the nation even though the security of the State may not be involved. Parliament must, therefore, have power to deal with such kind of criticism and if the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' were not there in Article 19(2) of the Constitution, Parliament would have no power to legislate in that regard . . . When the Constitution was amended in 1951, there was considerable opposition to the introduction of the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' in Article 19(2) of the Constitution. At that time the Prime Minister pointed out that this was merely an enabling clause which empowers Parliament to frame legislation, in case the necessity arises, and gave an assurance that it was not the intention of the Government to promote legislation which would prevent discussion of the foreign policy of Government. This assurance has been faithfully observed and there has been no legislation in this

47. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951.
48. See *ibid*, pp. 9867-68.
49. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th, 17th, 18th, 29th May, and 1st June, 1951, and the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 989.
50. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 989.
51. *Ibid.*, paras. 989 and 991.

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respect placing fetters on the freedom of expression."

What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, and Prime Minister Nehru said in our Parliament in support of this provision, is also worthy of note in this connexion. Dr. Ambedkar said[52] on 18th May, 1951:

"We have at present on our statute book a law enacted in 1932 dealing with friendly relations with the foreign States. It is true that that law has not come for any adjudication before High Courts or the Supreme Court and it has so far not been declared to be *ultra vires*. But the fact remains that in view of (the) rules of interpretation adopted by the Supreme Court that nothing is within the capacity of Parliament unless that particular head of legislation is mentioned in Clause (2) and as 'friendly relations with foreign States' is not mentioned in Clause (2), I do not think it requires an astrologer to predict that when that question comes before the judiciary they will follow the same line of interpretation. And it is for that reason that we have thought it necessary to include in the new heads this head of friendly relations with foreign States. My friend Dr. Mookerjee[53] asked whether there was any country where such a law prevailed. Well I have searched for a precedent and I can tell him that I find no country which has not such a law. In the case of England it is a rule of Common Law. No statutory law is necessary. The Common Law is operative not only in England but in all the Dominions. Therefore that same rule prevails there. In fact, the Common Law rule has been amended and made more stringent by a statutory provision in Canada."

Further,[54]

"What does (the) maintenance of friendly relations imply? Most members are under the impression that if this category was added, they would not be in a position to criticise the foreign policy of the Government. I like to say that this is a complete misunderstanding and a misconception. The underlying principle of this category, namely, maintenance of friendly relations with a State, is nothing more than an extension of the principle of libel and defamation, that you shall do nothing, you shall say nothing, you shall circulate no rumour, which will involve a foreign State in any kind of ignominy. Beyond that there is nothing in this category. Even the English Common Law is based upon this, namely, that it is a part of the law of defamation—that you shall not defame a foreign State which has a friendly relation with this (?) country."[55]

And Prime Minister Nehru said[56] on the same day:

"In regard to foreign powers, so far as ... policy goes, which this House has approved ... on many occasions, it is a policy of friendship ... other nations. Now, because it is a policy ... friendship with other nations it becomes all ... more necessary that we should not encourage ... activities which lead to injury in regard to ... relations with other powers . . . There is ... question of stopping criticism or even ... language. But times may arise when it overstep ... the mark and there is danger of disruption ... break or danger to international interests or to ... relations with those powers. And so we shall ... to come in there. In what way we come in ... what measure we come in will be a matter ... Parliament to determine because there is no ... at the present moment to stop these things."

Again[57] on 29th May, 1951:

"The House will remember—a fact that ... been repeatedly stated—that this amendment ... enabling . . . law . . . Naturally when you ... an enabling power, it is given in slightly ... terms . . . Exactly what would amount ... danger to friendly relations is so difficult to ... you cannot specify. You may, of course, put ... one thing or the other. You may say 'defa... attacks' as we sought to say at one time 'di... tory attacks on the heads of foreign nation... others' but in effect if once you have a che... see that it is not done unreasonably, it is bes... use gentle language (*sic*). . . . So far as I ... concerned and so long as I have anything ... with it, I can assure you that you can criticise ... your heart's limit and extent the foreign po... that my Government pursues on the policy of ... country; to the utmost limit you can go. I ... dislike your criticism; nobody will be allowed ... come in their (*sic*) way. But suppose you ... something which seems to us to incite to war ... you think we ought to remain quiet and await ... war to come? And if it is so, I am sure no co... would do that. We cannot imperil the safety ... the whole nation in the name of some fan... freedom which puts an end to all freedom. Th... fore, it is not a question of stopping the free... of criticism of any country and naturally ... should like not to indulge in what might be ca... defamatory attacks against leading foreign perso... ities. That is never good, but in regard to ... policy you can criticise it to the utmost limit ... you like, either our policy or any country's po... but always thinking in terms of this, that we ... living in a very delicate state of affairs in ... world, when words, whether oral or writ... count: They make a difference for the good or ... the bad. A bad word said out of place may ... a grave situation, as it often does."

Finally[58] on 1st June, 1951:

"It is perfectly true that the phrase we ... put in—friendly relations—is a wide phrase. We ... it in because we thought it might serve our ...

52. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9015-9016.
53. *I.e.*, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.
54. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9016.
55. Dr. Ambedkar obviously meant England here.
56. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9076.
57. See *ibid*, 29th May, 1951, pp. 9629-30.
58. *Ibid*, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1st June, 1951, p. 9873.

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pose and any other phrase it seemed to us not quite proper in the sense that it was far better to talk about friendly relations here and lay stress on a positive aspect of policy rather than the negative of it that we shall stop that and so on and so forth. I can assure the House that in regard to foreign affairs there has been and there is going to be, so far as I am concerned, not the slightest interference with any expression of opinion or criticism of our internal policy or external policy or the policy of any other (?) foreign power."

The majority of the Press Commission also observed[59] in 1954:

"The framers of the Constitution thought that the world conditions existing in 1951 and the non-alignment policy which India was pursuing made it necessary to invest Parliament with the necessary power in case an emergency arose. If we now examine whether the history of the world during the last 3 years has made it unnecessary that the Parliament should have such reserve power, the answer is clear. There is more disequilibrium in world conditions now than there was in 1951, and the policy pursued by India, her geographical position and her relations with foreign States have become far more important than they were in 1951 when the amendment was made in the Constitution. We do not, therefore, think that any clear case has been made for depriving the Parliament of the power to legislate in case of necessity, placing restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States."

But they added,[60] after referring[61] to the position in this regard in some other countries:

"Although we are in favour of the Parliament having this reserve power, we think that the words 'in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States' are *of a wide connotation* and may conceivably be relied upon for supporting any legislation which may restrict even legitimate criticism of the foreign policy of Government. It would be difficult to devise a formula which would define the scope of the legislation by Parliament in this regard. The Constitution can at best merely indicate the topics in respect of which there may be reasonable restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression. It must be left to the wisdom of Parliament to define the precise scope of those restrictions and to the impartiality of the Supreme Court to pronounce upon the reasonableness of those restrictions. We recommend that, whatever legislation might be framed in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States, it should be confined in its operation to cases of systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermine friendly relations with foreign States and should not punish any sporadic utterance or any dissemination of true facts although they may have the tendency of endangering the relations with foreign States."

We have shown above the official point of view on the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We have also referred to the views of the majority of the Press Commission in this connexion. We may even mention here in support of the official position that in the United States of America also the publication of "injurious charges against a foreign prince or ruler" is, under common-law rules still in force, "punishable as a public offence" as it tends "to embroil the two nations (concerned), and to disturb the peace of the world."[62] Nevertheless, we are constrained to observe that the expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather too wide and too elastic in its connotation. Even, as we have seen before, both Prime Minister Nehru and the majority of the Press Commission have admitted this. Herein lies the danger, notwithstanding the repeated personal assurances of the Prime Minister, of abuse of power, with the help of an obliging Parliamentary majority, by an unscrupulous Executive, or by an Executive under the influence of an unscrupulous foreign power.[63] That is to say, under this provision in our Constitution, but subject, of course, to what is stated hereinafter regarding the power of judicial review provided for therein, such legislation may be enacted by our Parliament, thanks to the implications of the modern party system, as may seriously interfere with our freedom of speech and expression, and, particularly, with what is generally known as the freedom of the Press. We sincerely hope, however, that this will not happen and that the advice of the majority of the Press Commission as quoted above will always be scrupulously followed by the Government of the day.

IV

We have so far dealt with the three additional heads in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We may also state here that the expression "in the interests of the security of the State" in the amended Clause (2) is much wider in its implications than the corresponding expression in the original Clause (2), namely, "any matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State." Although, therefore, there is some danger of abuse of power *in the interests of the security of the State*, yet, as shown below, that danger is to a large extent minimized by the provision in the amended Clause for a judicial review of legislation enacted under it, or of any existing law relating to any matter within its ambit. There is another point worth noticing in this connexion. When

59. See the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 991.

60. See *ibid.*, para 993.

61. See *ibid.*, para 992.

62. See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 608-609.

63. Also see in this connexion the view of the minority of the Press Commission in Para. 1146 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

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the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill was before our Parliament, it was repeatedly urged by Prime Minister Nehru and the Minister of Law that the proprosed Amendment to Clause (2) of Article 19 was only "an enabling measure" which armed Parliament with the necessary power of legislation. This view was only partially correct. The amended Clause (2) is both an "enabling" measure and a "reviving" measure. It not only enables our Parliament and other competent legislative authorities in India to enact laws which they could not otherwise lawfully enact but for it, it has also brought back into force, provided they are in conformity with the requirements of the amended Clause, those laws of our country which had become unconstitutional and void as a result of the judicial pronouncements referred to before. It thus serves a double purpose.

We shall now refer to the safeguard against any misuse of power under any provision of the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. This safeguard is provided by the words "in so far as such law imposes *reasonable restrictions*,"[64] etc., in the amended Clause. The implication of the safeguard is that any law made under any provision of Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today, or any law existing from before the commencement of the Constitution and relating to any matter in the said clause, is *justiciable*. This further means that if any such law is found by a competent Court of Law in this country as not fulfilling the test or requirements of reasonable restriction on the freedom of speech and expression, then it will be declared unconstitutional and invalid. What the Supreme Court of India declared on November 8th, 1950, in the course of its judgment in a case[65] involving Clause (1) (g) and Clause (6) of Article 19, equally applicable to a case involving the amended Clause (2) of the Article. The declaration of the Supreme Court was :

> "The phrase 'reasonable restriction' connotes that the limitation imposed on a person in enjoyment of the right should not be arbitrary or of an excessive nature, beyond what is required in the interests of the public. The word 'reasonable' implies intelligent care and deliberation, that is, the choice of a course which reason dictates. Legislation which arbitrarily or excessively invades the right cannot be said to contain the quality of reasonableness . . . . The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive ; it is subject to the supervision by this Court.[66] In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute[67] does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void."

Of course, the Supreme Court will deal with a case of this nature only when it is judicially brought before it. At any rate, herein lies a great safeguard against any abuse of power under Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands now.

In our later articles we propose to deal with the other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

64. The italics are ours.

65. *Chintaman Rao* v. *The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ram Krishna* v. *The State of Madhya Pradesh*: *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VIII, October and November, 1950, pp. 763-66.

66. This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America declared in 1923 in the course of its judgment in *Meyer* v. *Nabraska* (262 U.S. 390). It said:

> "Determination by the legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive but is subject to revision by the Courts."

67. The Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948.

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DEFICIT FINANCING IN A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

By Prof. N. G. GUJAR

Deficit finance assumes importance in the development expenditure in a community since development expenditure is large—much larger, in fact, than the normal expenditure undertaken by the State. The taxation or other sources of current revenue can be expected to meet the normal requirements of the Government. But when these requirements increase, as they do in any planned development, to a large extent an increase in taxation cannot be depended upon to yield sufficient revenue. The increase in the taxation-rates as well as coverage would be so great that it would adversely affect the psychology of private entrepreneurs.

But the deficit finance and the creation of money are not one and the same. The State may borrow money, that is, it may use the savings of the community. The public debt, thereby, increases. Strictly speaking this should not result into inflation except through increasing liquidity. When the public debt increases, debt holdings by persons, firms and banks increase; that is, there is the addition to the liquid assets. Increase in the liquid asset is likely to lead to a higher consumption expenditure out of current incomes. If the banks find that their liquidity is increased, as the proportion of the bonds in their portfolios increases, they will be willing to give more credit to the business community. Except this eventuality nothing like inflation would follow due to public borrowing. But if an important place is given to the private sector in the development programme, the State borrowing deprives the private sector of capital to a large extent. At least the private sector will find it difficult to raise capital, and its cost of borrowing is bound to increase. Only if the amount of savings increases, this possibility to some extent would decrease. Still the competition between the public and private sectors for securing capital cannot be avoided, unless, of course, the rise in saving is spectacular. Of course, due to the development programme itself the per capita income may increase, which may be expected to result into some rise in savings. But this increase in saving cannot be substantial. The reason lies in the fact that the development programme will always be accompanied by welfare measures. In any development programme, the emphasis will be on the redistribution of wealth. That is all to the good. Moreover, this emphasis is necessary if the co-operation of the public is sought. The point is, increase in income due to the development programme is bound to find its way in the pockets of the masses. The standard of living of the masses is already so low that any increase in their income is bound to be utilised for increased expenditure. In this connection, it is to be noted that the total volume of savings available in a relatively poor, economically underdeveloped community is bound to be very small as compared with its requirements for development purposes, however the people may be persuaded to tighten their belts.

In the eventual competition for securing the capital, the private sector will be the worse sufferer. It may find either the capital market dried up by the public borrowings or will be compelled to offer inducements in the form of higher rates of interest with all the evil effects upon its capital structure.

Deficit finance with the help of public loans, and more so with the help of the creation of money, expands the relative power of the Government, vis-a-vis the citizens paying the taxes since with the help of loans the Government can acquire resources without encroaching, immediately, upon private incomes. The economic power of the Government is bound to increase. The private sector is bound to decrease. If public loans can be resorted to for carrying on public expenditure, very likely the public sector may more easily expand than it may do if taxation or current revenue is the only means of raising funds required for Governmental expenditure.

Deficit finance with the help of the creation of money seems to be inevitable in the development programme of a backward economy. Deficit finance, this way, leads to inflation in two ways. Government expenditure makes net contribution to the effective demand. Secondly, additions to money supply contribute to inflationary pressure.

Unless there is a corresponding increase in production, the creation of money by adding to the effective demand increases price-level. Surely the Government creates money for the very purpose of increasing production. But there is bound to be a time-lag between the Government expenditure and the results of the Government expenditure. In all probability, because of this time-lag, public expenditure is bound to create the inflationary gap. This inflationary gap is very likely to be continued if the tempo of development is accelerated, as it must. The public expenditure devoted towards development cannot be evenly spread throughout the plan-period, simply for the reason, that the even distribution of development expenditure through time means too large an expenditure in the initial period, as compared to the absorptive power of the community, unless, of course, the total development expenditure is meagre. The inflationary gap is bound to lead to rising prices. If the inflationary gap is continued for some time, the inflationary spiral—the chasing of prices and cost—is sure to be developed. In this

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general rise of prices the Government estimates of development expenditure are very likely to be under-estimates, since the costs are bound to mount up. The estimates must be revised in the upward direction if the development plans are not to be left half-completed and there will be a further pressure on Governmental resources calling for further creation of money.

Secondly, the additions to money supply, due to Governmental spending, leads to the additions to bank reserves, which may encourage commercial banks to create further bank credit. Increase in the liquidity of banks, it may be argued, should be welcome when there is a general scarcity of funds. But we must sharply distinguish between funds and capital. Banks can create money and not capital. And in the face of the scarcity of capital the increased liquidity of banks is likely to be an inflationary potential, unless it is accompanied by countervailing measures.

The constant increase in the price is correctly described as currency deterioration, since increase in prices is nothing but decrease in the purchasing power of money; that is, money deteriorates in real terms. If the central banking technique is properly developed then the deterioration in the currency may not be so harmful, purely from the monetary view-point. The loss of confidence in the currency or the fear of currency becoming worthless, may not be of such importance nowadays, still, and this must be pointed out, how to stop a run-away inflation may become a headache to the monetary authority. But the currency deterioration is dangerous due to at least two reasons. Inflation acts, and naturally, as a discouragement to saving. If the major part of the saving is to be so chanelled that it finds its way in Government bonds, whch at maturity time are realised in fixed monetary amounts, the propensity to consume is bound to be increased during the inflationary period; and it is definite that an increasing proportion of savings in the community will be taken by Government for its development purposes. During the development period what we require is an increased volume of savings. It is an elementary theory in Economics that inflation leads to a decrease in the volume of voluntary savings.

Apparently it can be argued that inflation can be utilised as an instrument of forced savings. Indeed that is what it amounts to when the development funds are not secured by voluntary public savings or taxa... (or in the form of other current revenue of the G... ment). But forced saving is not justifiable. Firstly, ... way of getting capital is not available to the ... sector. Secondly, this method of realising capital ... hard the private sector in that it finds its cost stru... constantly increasing.

But the most important reason is, and this is ... second reason why currency deterioration is danger... inflation works indiscriminately. Inflation is a conce... form of taxation, but it is, perhaps, most regressive ... character. In countries where the standard of living ... the masses is already low, inflation is bound to hit ... hard. Indeed getting capital at their cost is cruel. A... from this can the authorities expect to get public ... operation in their development programme, when ... programme does not result in any visible gains? ... common mass cannot be enthused much by dang... before their eyes the long-term interest of the comm... It should be expected that in communities where the ... of welfare state is accepted, the emphasis would be ... redistribution of wealth ; and inflationary finance ... is regressive, and this emphasis upon redistributi... income, are at variance.

Deficit finance and the creation of money, ... be argued, are unavoidable in any develop... programme in a developing economy. Surely, one ... not expect the entire programme to be given up ... because without inflationary finance it cannot be car... The point is that inflationary finance is a deli... instrument. It must be resorted to with all ... implications in mind. There should be a limit be... which no creation of money is allowed. The estim... of Government expenditure have the nasty habit ... proving under-estimates. That must be avo... Secondly, it is not the amount of money but its effe... use that matters, (that is, what in economic parl... is called amount of money multiplied by its veloc... It is no use merely making provision for the crea... of money since it is necessary in the budget for ... development programme, but this inflationary fin... must be related to some objective measure like ... price-level besides the actual quantity of money. ... lastly, inflation, when it is started, is very difficu... check.

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Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspects the collection of the Armoury Hall in the Moscow Kremlin

Photo by V. Noskov

The Indian Parliamentary Delegation that visited the USSR called at a shoe factory in Kiev. Prof. N. G. Ranga, Deputy of the Council of States, is seen in the picture

Photo by A. Stuzhin

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Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Srimati Indira Gandhi at Stalingrad Airport. On his left is seen Mr. Shapurov, Chairman of the Stalingrad City Soviet, who received him at the Airport

A Reception was held by Sri Dharma Vira, Ambassador for India in Czechoslovakia, in honour of Prime Minister Nehru, at the Embassy at Prague. (*Right to left*) Sri Dharma Vira, Mr. Villiam Siroky, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru are seen standing

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ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY
Theocratic or Secular?

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THE question whether ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular still remains disputed. Some scholars maintain that it was theocratic; others believe that it was secular; and still others assert that it was none of the two but something in between. The object of this paper is to enquire whether the ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular, or, if none of the two, what were its theocratic and secular elements. Before we examine the same we shall first state briefly the salient features of both a theocratic and secular State.

I

THEOCRACY

Theocracy has been defined "as a tribe or a state that claims to be governed by a god or gods". In it "the laws of the realm are divine commands rather than human ordinances." The priesthood is the promulgator and the interpreter of the divine commands, and is in absolute control of every phase of the life of the inhabitants. The State and the Church are merged into one.[1]

The following deductions can be made from the above definition: First, since the ultimate sovereign power is vested with a god, it follows that the Head (we shall call him a king) of such a State is a mere spokesman, a representative, or a deputy of God, appointed by Him to govern on His behalf. His function is only that of a mediator between God and His (God's) subjects. He is believed to be in communication with God, as were the kings of ancient Israel,[2] and then conveying to the people what he has been told by Him. "Thus saith the Lord" is his watchword. His office is the creation of God's will (divine sanction) and, therefore, he is responsible to Him alone. In other words, he is in absolute control of the people he governs. They render him unquestioned obedience and have absolutely no say in the conduct of the public affairs. Second, such a State is the Kingdom of God. And from this may be deduced the principle of the unity of the Faith, *i.e.*, the principle that only His worship is the 'true' form of worship.[3] The other gods are false and fallen. The king derives his authority from God and, therefore, is charged with the duty of perpetuating his cult or religion. A theocracy is, thus, unless the circumstances otherwise warrant, an active proselytiser and persecutes the 'unbelievers' to bring them within the 'folk'. Thus when Mohammad founded the Muslim theocracy, the Caliph was primarily concerned with the defence of the Faith. Those who believed in Islam were nothing but brothers. But those who did not were to be subjected to astringent antagonism. It was obligatory upon the Caliph to wage *jihad* (holy war) against the 'heretics'; to kill them unless they repent and join Islam.

> "I swear by Allah," said Mohammad, "that marching about to fight for religion is better than the world and everything in it."[4]

In Catholic theocracy, too, the heretics were persecuted with a variety and barbarity of tortures which earned for Christianity the cognomen of being the biggest enemy in history of religious freedom.[5] The Jewish theocracy also carried on an assiduous offensive against the rival cults of Palestine and Syria, Assyria and Babylonia.[6] In a theocracy, therefore, there is religious discrimination. All those living within its jurisdiction must conform to the rituals of the cult or religion of the God whose domain it is or suffer penance, not unusually, to the point of extinction. Third, the king's function of conducting the public affairs becomes an aspect of his function of perpetuating the cult of the God.[7] To put it in other words the temporal power (State) is subordinated to the spiritual power (Church). Either the former is supposed to be one with the latter, as in ancient Israel and the Muslim theocracy, or, if they are distinguished, as in Catholic theocracy,[8] the former occupies a status of subordination to the latter. Thus, in the Middle Ages it was usual to explain their mutual relationship with reference to the moon and the sun. Just as the moon has its light from the sun, so does the State derives its authority from the Church.[9] They were believed to be the two aspects of the same society, Christendom. But while the State was at best an institution necessitated by the wickedness of man, the Church was a perfect society established by God. The latter being the final interpreter of the Divine Will[10] it was the duty of the former to execute its commandants. The State was, thus, reduced to the status of an office of the Church—its secular arm.[11] The tenure of the king depended upon the discretion of the Church in view

1. Smith, C. Ryder, Art. 'Theocracy,' *Encyclopaelia, Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 287; *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, p. 580; Heimann, Eduard, Art. 'Atheist Theocracy,' *Social Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 311.
2. Maritain, Jacques, *The Living Thoughts of St. Paul*, p. 1
3. Ruffini, Francesco, *Religious Liberty*, p. 79.
4. Durant, Will, *Age of Faith*, p. 188.
5. Ruggiero, Guido de, Art. 'Religious Freedom,' *Encyclopaedia, Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, p. 241.
6. *Ibid.* p. 240.
7. Contanau, G., *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*, p. 116.
8. Lytton, Lord, *The Western Tradition*, p. 40.
9. Rommen, Heinrich, *State in Catholic Thought*, p. 535.
10. Carlyle Brothers, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. II, pp. 144, 216; Gierke, Dr. Otto, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, tr. Maitland, pp. 11-13; Sabine, G., *History of Political Theory*, p. 161.
11. Sabine, G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

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of the Pope's power of excommunication.[12] Fourth, the laws of the realm are divine, since, they originate from a supernatural object. Thus, the Jewish Polity was governed according to the laws of Jehovah's Book.[13] The Muslim theocracy was governed in accordance with the laws as enunciated in the Koran.[14] During the days of the Catholic theocracy the temporal law was distinguished from the canon law but where they came into conflict the former had to give way.[15]

II

Secular State

Strange though it may seem, a definition of secular State does not occur either in any of the standard dictionaries or in any of the more well-known encyclopædias. In recent times some authors in India have, indeed, given definitions which are not only unsatisfactory but are also ambiguous, inaccurate and incorrect. The term occurs here and there in certain standard works[16] but no scientific attempt is made to define the concept. To the best of our knowledge, only R. H. Tawney gives an *en passant* definition in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*." "By the end of the 17th century," says he, "the secular State, separate from the churches, which are subordinate to it," had come into existence.[17] This is the best definition available and can be accepted for further elucidation for arriving at a clearer understanding of the concept.

The phrase 'separate from the Churches' in the above definition implies that in a secular State the State and the Church are separated. The expression 'the State and the Chuch are separated' has caused confusion in the minds of certain scholars and, therefore, needs clarification. It is, no doubt, deceptive since it sounds as if it implies the mutual independence of the two societies. Starting their examination of their relationship with this assumption they come to the inevitable conclusion that their separation is not possible. Thus, Giacomettii, Italian jurist Mario Falco, German Ulrich Stutz and President Maravyk of Czechoslovakia insisted that their complete separation was not possible.[18] Ruggiero endorses their view when he says :

> "Separation has a contingent character and a merely approximative significance ; because two institutions cannot in practice be distinguished from one another with formal precision".[19]

Searle Bates gives the above view a confirmatory seal.[20] If, then, the separation of the State and Church is not possible what is the secular State? Is there nothing like a secular State ?

The answer to this question can be found, as has been pointed out above, in the fact of misinterpretation of the expression as meaning the mutual independence of the two societies. They, in fact, cannot be independent of each other. They are composed of the same individuals and are constantly competing to command their loyalties. And let the philosophers and the jurists again and again, develop systems of a clear demarcation of their respective spheres, in actual practice, there always remain certain spheres of man's life, e.g., marriage, divorce, education, etc., that are common to both. This gives rise to conflicts and consequently according to Ruggiero, "there can either be a State oppressing a Church or a Church oppressing a State."[21] This seems to be rather an exaggerated view, since their relationship may not be necessarily that of oppression. But it is reasonable to conclude that as a result of their struggle, one of the societies has to accept a status of subordination to the other. If the Church subordinates the State, the latter loses its secular character. In a secular State, therefore, the Church is subordinated to the State. There cannot be any situation where their relationship is that of mutual independence. What the expression means is that, unlike the medieval polities, the State does not accord to any Church a priviliged status. The following statement of Heinrich Rommen clearly reveals the significance of the expression :

> "In the United States we find, from the beginning of its formation, that separation of the State and the Church in the constitutional provision that there shall not be an established Church."[22]

The essence of the secular State, thus, lies in the fact that it does not accord to any Church a privileged status. To this may be added a feature implicit in it. Since it does not identify its interest with those of any one church, it follows that, the sovereign power in it does not originate from a god, a cult or a religion. A secular State may, therefore, be defined as a State which does not have a divine sanction behind it and which treats the various churches, which are subordinate to it, on religious grounds,[23] impartially and indiscriminately.

The following points emerge from the above definition : First, the State does not have a divine sanction and derives its authority from a secular (worldly) source. Thus in the U.S.A. which is a brilliant example of a secular State, the sovereign power flows

12. Setton & Winkler, *Great Problems in European Civilization*, pp. 142, 145, 153 ; Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

13. Smith C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

14. Durant, Will, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

15. Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.* p. 216 ; Mc Govern W.M., *From Luther to Hitler*, p. 23.

16. For example: Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Laski, H. J., *The Rise of European Liberalism*, pp. 30, 58, 154; Heinrich Rommen, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

17. p. 20 (Pelican Edition).

18. Bates, Searle, *Religious Liberty—An Enquiry*, p. 312.

19. *History of European Liberalism*, p. 404.

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

21. *op. cit.*, p. 397.

22. *op. cit.*, p. 598.

23. The State may discriminate among the various Churches on other than religious grounds. For instance, if a Church is anti-national, it may be curbed while other Churches are allowed to exist. Such a discrimination will, however, be on political grounds.

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from the people as indicated by the preamble to the Constitution. The Supreme Court, too, in one of its decisions, held that

"There is no mysticism in the American concept of the State or of the nature or origin of its authority. We set up government by the consent of the governed...."[24]

Second, the State does not discriminate among the various churches or the individuals of religious grounds. The First amendment to the U.S. Constitution, thus, ordains that "Congress shall not make law respecting an establishment of religion." Third, from the above deduction follows the conclusion that the Church is subordinated to the State. For, if the State is subordinated to a church, it shall be associated with one and shall cease to be indiscriminate in its relationship with the churches. Fourth, since it does not derive its authority from a god, cult or a religion, it is none of its business to perpetuate any one cult or religion. It retires from any intervention in the spiritual sphere and becomes indifferent to and disinterested in the religious convictions of its citizens. Religion, thus, does not form the basis of its citizenship.[25] It does not persecute or proselytize. In it there is room for any church as long as it is prepared to subject itself to the limitations imposed by law on all churches. Thus in the U.S.A. not only there exist the various Christian sects, even a foreign religious movement like the Ramakrishna Movement is flourishing and making impact on it.[26] Fifth, the fundamental postulate of a secular State is that it does not discriminate among the various churches. From this it follows that if it patronises all churches equally, it shall not be a violation of its postulates. The State in the U.S.A., while not discriminating on religious grounds has adopted to religion a friendly, sympathetic and encouraging attitude. The attitude manifests itself in many ways, *e.g.* the recognition of the importance of religion by reciting prayers at public functions and in certain government institutions: by the employment of chaplains in the Army and Navy and by the enforcement of Anti-Evolution and Sunday Laws.[27] Under the care of the State, religion has become one of its biggest businesses. The Church membership is increasing. Sixth, the laws of the realm originate from a secular source as is the case in the U.S.A. where the laws emanate from the Congress elected by the people.

III

Ancient Indian Polity

Having discussed the salient features of both a theocracy and a secular State we now pass on to an examination of the ancient Indian State. Ancient India had a multitude of forms of government. There were the Kulas (where the sovereign power is wielded by a family), the selfgoverning clans, and the Ganas (republics). Such States were, however, rare. Not only that, their existence is sometimes disputed. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that the normal form of the State in ancient India was monarchical. We shall, therefore, deal with the monarchical State only.

Kingship: An analysis of the position of the Indian king clearly reveals that he was in no way a prototype of the theocratic kings. Neither did he derive his authority from a divine source nor was he in absolute control of his people. Here and there, certain passages occur in the ancient Indian literature which attribute divinity to kingship. Thus, to the question, 'how is it that the king who is one rules over so many subjects,' *Aitareya Brahmana* states that "the gods and demons fought with one another, but the gods were defeated. The gods said: 'It is because we have no king that the demons defeat us, so let us elect a king'. They elected a king and through his help obtained a complete victory over the demons".[28] Again, we find some kings claiming divine status for themselves. Thus, in the Rigveda a hymn is attributed to the Puru king Trasdasya who exclaimed: "I am Indra, I am Varuna... On me (the gods) bestow those principal energies (that are) characteristic of the Asuras."[29] Such utterances have led some to believe that the sovereign power of the ancient Indian king originated from a god. The fact is, however, that the secular literature of the Age (particularly Vedic) has not been preserved.[30] Our source of information is mainly religious literature. And it is but natural that in it secular ideas are explained in terms of divinity and the

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24. West Virginia State Board of Education *vs.* Barnettee, 319. U.S. 624. 1943.

25. Art. VI of the U.S.A. Constitution provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public Trust in the United States."

26. Ross Floyd, H., Professor of World Religions, University of Southern California. See *American Reporter*, New Delhi, Vol. III, No. 25, p. 5.

27. These acts of the State apparently seem to be departures from the basic qualifications of the secular State. In fact, they do not amount to any discrimination since the U.S.A. for all practical purposes is a Christian nation. Property belonging to all churches is tax-exempt. (Burstein, Ahraham, *Laws concerning Religion in the United States*, See Chapter 1). Prayers are non-sectarian. The enforcement of Anti-Evolution Laws does not amount to a religious discrimination: "We are not able to see how the prohibition of teaching the theory that man has descended from a lower order of animals gives preference to any religious establishment or mode of worship . . . Belief or disbelief in the theory of evolution is no more a characteristic of any religious establishment or mode of worship than is belief or unbelief in the wisdom of the prohibition laws. (Scopes Vs. State, 154, Tenn. 105, 289. S.W. 363, (1927). The enforcement of Sunday Laws does amount to discrimination in the case of Jews, Mohammadans, atheists and even certain Christian sects (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 90). But their enforcement has been justified on the ground that a preponderant majority of the Americans so wish it. (Burstein, *op. cit.*, p. 36). Moreover, there is a growing inclination to accord the other religious sects right to observe their own Sabbaths. (See Court's ruling in Thomason's Case, Burstein, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

28. Majumdar and Pusalkar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 426.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.* p. 425.

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political theories are discussed in terms of gods. But, as V. M. Apte maintains, "no great stretch of imagination is required to interpret them as equally, or really, applying to human affairs."[31] Dr. Beni Prasad, therefore, aptly remarks, while commenting on the answer of the *Aitareya Bhahmana*, that what it signifies is the theory of the origin of kingship out of military necessity, *deriving its validity from consent*.[32] Similarly, the claim of Trasdasya, remarks Dr. Apte, can "be explained as an expression of personal vanity rather than the formulation of a political theory."[33] That the king, in fact, derived his authority from the people is well-illustrated by many actual historical instances of the king's election by the people. In the Mahabharata we read the election of Santanu as against Devapi, of Pandu as against Dhritarashtra, of Yudhisthira as against Duryodhana.[34] In the Ramayana is described how the king Dasaratha proposed the name of his eldest son, Rama, as his successor and sought the approval of an assembly of the people. The king declared his intention to abdicate the throne and enquired of the people assembled if Rama was acceptable to them as their king. The people willingly agreed but Dasaratha, doubting that their approval might be a mere acquiescence, requested them to give reasons of their acceptance of him.[35] After the demise of King Dasaratha we find people of Ayodhya petitioning for someone on the throne.[36] In later times, too, many cases of king's installation to power by the people are found. In the 2nd century A.D. Rudradaman was elected to kingship "by all the orders of the people": in the 7th century A.D. Harshavardhan was elected "by the ministers, magistrates and the people"; and in the middle of the 8th century a commoner Gopala was elected to kingship by the people of Bengal. Similarly, Brahmapala was elected by the people of Assam; Nandivarman Pallavamalla was raised to the throne by the *mula prakritis*.[37]

Some writers would have us believe that the election of the king by the people was a mere formality. Thus, Geldner, for instance, asserts that the passages referring to the election indicate a purely formal approval rather than an election in all seriousness. Such a view is completely misfounded in view of the power of the people to inflict punishment on the king to the point of his expulsion from office or even the kingdom. Many cases of such banishments are recorded. The Srinjayas expelled their king Dushtaritu Paumasyana from the kingdom; king Dirghasravas was banished from the kingdom as was also king Sidhuksit.[38] At one place we find people rejecting the nomination of his young son as his successor by an outgoing monarch and electing his eldest son as their king.[39] At another place we find King Rama banishing his beloved wife Sita, to meet the demand of his people.

Not only did the king derive his authority from the people, his powers were severely curtailed by the existence of some other political institutions. The Sabha, Parishad, and the popular Assemblies, Samiti, acted as a definite check on the king making it impossible for him to become absolute.[40] They exercised an effective control even on his person. The coronation oath (*pratijna*) bound the king to the people and subjected him to the law of the land. Although wielder of Danda he was himself subject to it.[41] The protection of the people was his foremost duty. He was not the owner of the land. He was but an official of the State getting remuneration for his services in the form of taxes.[42]

It is apparent from the foregoing that, whatever might be the claims of the kings or the methods of political speculation, in actual practice, the people were the fountain of the sovereign power. They could remove the king from the office and, therefore, he was responsible to them. In view of this it seems reasonable to conclude, contrary to the opinion that his election was a mere formality, that the king's claim of divinity was a matter of mere formality. Indeed, the attribution of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity was much akin to the spirit of a modern practice of formally acknowledging the existence of God in the State-Constitution. Article 6 (1) of the Irish Constitution says: "All power of government, legislative, executive and judicial derive, under God, from the people...." The preamble to the Brazilian Constitution establishes a government "under the protection of God" but the sovereign power flows from the people. Similarly, the preamble to the Swiss Constitution begins with the words, "In the name of the Almighty God" although Article 3 of the Constitution declares that the sovereign power originates from the cantons. Just as these references to God, for all practical purposes, amount at best, in view of the people or the cantons being sovereign, to His mere formal recognition and do not render these States a divine sanction, so do the Indian king's claim of divinity amount to a formal

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 15 (Italics mine).

33. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 426.

34. Sarkar, B. K., Art. 'Hindu Politics,' *The Cultural Heritage of India, Ramakrishna Centenary Committee*, Vol. III, p. 302.

35. Griffith, Ralph T. H., tr. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, pp. 103-4.

36. Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami, *The Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 81.

37. Sarkar, B. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 302-3; Raychaudhuri, etc., *An Advanced History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 191.

38. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 428, 436; Law, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 10.

39. King Samudragupta nominated his son Chandragupta. But the people elected Ramagupta (Dikshitar, V. R. R., *Gupta Polity*, pp. 110-11).

40. Sarkar, B. K., *op. cit.*, p. 302; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

41. The oath ran thus: "I shall always regard the Brahmana (country) as the Brahma (the highest God). And whatever Brahmanas be prescribed as law on the basis of the statecraft I shall follow without hesitation, never my sweet will." (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 303).

42. *Ibid*, p. 267.

43. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 335, 355, 493.

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acknowledgment of God, in view of the people's right of expulsion. In other words, the king did not have a divine sanction behind him. He derived his authority from a secular source.

The State and the Church: There was an intimate relation between the State and the Church in ancient India as signified by the close association of the King and the Royal Priest (Purohita). But it was essentially different from the relationship existing between them in theocracies. In theocracies the temporal power (State) is subjected to the spiritual power (Church). In India, however, the direction of the flow of the power was from the king towards the priest. Here the king was not a secular arm of the Church. On the contrary, the Purohita was an official of the king acting in a purely advisory capacity.[44] The king was expected to, and he generally did, pay heed to the Purohita's opinions. But if he so chose, he could reject his viewpoint and follow his own course. The Purohita willingly submitted to the limits of his power, which enabled the king to maintain a general *political* control over the former. The priest could not interfere in the administration of both temporal and spiritual affairs as a matter of right.[45] The king had the power to dismiss his Purohita[46] which clearly indicates the subordination of the Church to the State.

This is, however, not to say that religion was not diffused with politics. It shall be rather too much to expect of the ancient Indian State which existed in an age when religion had a firm hold on men's minds throughout the world. Religious considerations had a good deal to say in the determination of the State-actions. The important point to be noted, however, is that the Church was never allowed to swallow the State. The former could not use the latter as a sword which it could wield to persecute the 'heretics'. On the other hand, religion in India served the ends of the State. Thus we find, something which was inconceivable in the ancient and medieval West, an ecclesiastic, the greatest of the Purohitas, Kautilya, glorifying the State, giving a scientific view of it, solely by the conduciveness to its welfare, prescribing what would lead to its *material* prosperity and to its increasing power, expressing his views frankly without considerations of morality and thus earning for himself the nick-name of "Indian Machiavelli."[47] Their admixture was, therefore, to play an essentially different role from what it did in the ancient and medieval West. There it resulted in the identification of the State with a Church resulting in religious persecutions and religious wars, etc. Here, as B. K. Sarkar has pointed out, the total effect of the diffusion was the *moralisation* of politics and therefore, serving as a check and restraint on the king.[48]

Religious Policy: The independence of the State from the Church manifested itself in the absence of any religious discrimination on the part of the former.[49] It did not enforce any religion.[50] It patronised all religions equally. The choice of religion was left to the individual. None was persecuted on religious grounds. The absolute tolerance of the Hindu Polity has been thought by certain writers[51] as only for Hinduism. Such a view is misfounded although, one might say, taking this for granted, that even that was a remarkable feature of the polity in view of the nature of religious discrimination as existing in some of the Western countries. In these countries there exists discrimination against sects within Christianity. Thus the United Kingdom has an official church which enjoys certain privileges over the other Christian religious bodies. The British Crown, according to the Act of Settlement (1700) cannot be held by a Roman Catholic. Article 5 of the Act of Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark debars persons not belonging to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church from holding the Danish Crown. Article 6 of the Charter of the Spanish People accords to the Catholic Religion "official protection" and prohibits the "external ceremonies or manifestation" of religious beliefs excepting those of the Catholic religion. Similarly, Aritcle 1 of the Fundamental Principles of the Government of Afghanistan forbids any person professing any other faith than Hanafi religion from holding the crown thus according a privileged status to a sect within Islam. The incorrectness of the above attitude, however, is clearly proved by the attitude of the ancient Indian State towards Syrian Christianity. At the time (52 A.D.) when Christianity was being persecuted in the land of its birth, St. Thomas visited India to spread the Gospel. He established churches and converted the local people to Christianity freely.[52] The "ancient rulers of Kerala allowed the Christians with other religionists freedom to worship God as they liked . . . ."[53]. Not only that, the State patronised

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44. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 481, Vol. II, p. 323; Aiyengar, *op. cit.*, p. 106; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

45. Sarkar, B. K., Art., 'Hindu Political Philosophy,' *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 33, p. 488.

46. Law, N. N. *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.

47. Machiavelli was one of the Western philosophers who pleaded for the emancipation of State from the Church. In this context the comparison of Kautilya with Machiavelli is quite

48. *Hindu Political Philosophy, op. cit.*, p. 488.

49. The caste-system had functional basis (Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 358, 387; Chakladar, H. C., Art. 'Social Life in Ancient India,' *The Cultural Heritage of India, op. cit.*, pp. 168-70) and, therefore, discrimination arising out of it is beyond the scope of this paper.

50. It was the duty of the State to enforce Dharma. What exactly constituted Dharma is controversial but it is agreed that it was not a creed (Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, p. 2). D. Mackenzie Brown has described it as a 'way of life' ('The Premises of Indian Political Thought,' *Western Political Quarterly*, June, 1953).

51. Arnold, T. W., Art. 'Toleration,' *Encyclopaedia, Religion and Ethics*, Ed., James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 361.

52. Daniel, Rev. Fr. I., *The Malabar Church and Other Orthodox Churches*, p. 22; Kuriakos, Ramban, M.C., *The Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar*, p. 2.

53. Kuriakos, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

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Christianity, as it did in the case of other religions, by giving aid in the form of land and cash.[54] Further, in the later period of the polity are to be found non-Hindus in the employment of Hindu monarchs.[55]

The ancient Indian State, therefore, did not discriminate among the various churches. There occurs, however, an exception to this general rule. The State in the reign of Asoka became actively missionary. After his conversion to Buddhism vast resources of the State were pressed into its service. Missions were sent to foreign countries to propagate Buddhism. Within the Empire, too, special officers were appointed to look after matters pertaining to Buddhism. This was, of course, a departure from the strict postulates of a secular State. But it may be pointed out that the missionary activity in the reign of Asoka was not akin to the missionary activities of the ancient and medieval polities of the West. There the State persecuted and compelled the heretics to join a particular faith. Here the guiding principle was *persuasion rather* than *compulsion*. In spite of the privileged status of Buddhism other religious bodies like the Brahmanas Ajivikas, and Gosalas were fully honoured.[56] Use of harsh language against these was forbidden. The State never became their enemy and continued to shower gifts on them.[57]

Laws: The legal system in India, too, was remarkably at variance with the theocratic legal system. In theocracies the realm is governed by the rituals of the cult or religion of the god whose domain it is. The priests, specialists in the religious law, are the final law-givers. Thus, the Jewish theocracy was governed by Jehovah's Law. And when a dispute arose about it the case was referred to the priests[58] whose decision was final. In the case of India, the religious tracts are, no doubt, listed among the sources of the laws. Manu, Kautilya, Yajnavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati, Katyayana, and Vyasa all include religious tracts among the various sources of the law. But these constitute only a part of the legal system. Laws originating from secular sources, *e.g.*; custom, contract, and royal commands also formed an essential part of the system.[59] As to which shall supersede in case of a conflict between the two bodies of the laws the opinions of the writers differed. But the majority view was that the latter precedes the former. Manu, Yajnavalkya give precedence to the religious laws.[60] Narada, Brihaspati, and Katyayana give precedence to the latter body of laws.[61] Kautilya gives a revolutionary dictum about the relative importance:

"Whenever," says he, "the sacred law is in [illegible] with the rational law, then reason shall be authoritative."[62]

The superiority of the State over the Ch[illegible] further revealed by the actual administration of [illegible] Unlike the Jewish theocracy the Indian priests [illegible] not the final interpreters of the laws of the real[illegible] king headed the judiciary and himself adm[illegible] justice.[63] His was the final decision.[64] The P[illegible] was, no doubt, invariably a member of the royal [illegible] But he was only one of the many officers ([illegible] ministers, assessors, accountants, scribes, etc.) [illegible] court. Since the king could overrule his opinion, it [illegible] that the religious law was, ultimately, enforced as [illegible] preted by the king. In other words, religious law [illegible] enforced to the the extent it had a sanction of the k[illegible]

IV

Conclusion

Perhaps something can now be said by [illegible] conclusion. The foregoing discussion shows th[illegible] ancient Indian Polity was far from being theocr[illegible] did not have a divine sanction; did not disc[illegible] on grounds of religion or enforce any: the Chu[illegible] subordinated to the State; and the religious law [illegible] enforced to the extent those had a sanction of [illegible] These characteristics are a direct negation [illegible] theocratic ideals. On the other hand, the ancien[illegible] almost qualified the basic tenets of a secular [illegible] The influence of religious considerations on the c[illegible] of the public affairs was, of course, a departure [illegible] the rigid principles of the secular polity. But, [illegible] been said already, the motivating force of their di[illegible] was quite different from what would render it theo[illegible] Mere contact of State with religion does not ren[illegible] non-secular. They have got to be in contact with [illegible] other. The cardinal principle to be noted is as to [illegible] of these is controlling the other. During the [illegible] Ages the Church performed certain secular fun[illegible] Its officials served as Ambassadors, Lord Chancellors, [illegible] Treasurers, etc.[65] Yet it did not lose its the[illegible] character, since, it kept its essence intact. Si[illegible] the mere performance of certain religious functi[illegible] a State, which otherwise preserves its essence, wi[illegible] ipso facto render it non-secular. Moreover, it is [illegible] to remember, that the political institutions [illegible] distinguishable not because a single principle ex[illegible] them but because some one is dominant. The J[illegible] Polity had democratic elements;[66] the [illegible] constitution has monarchical elements: and the U.S.[illegible] economy has certain minor capitalistic elements. [illegible] these cannot be styled as anything but theo[illegible] democratic and socialist States. A perfect secular S[illegible] perhaps, like Plato's Ideal State remains a 'patter[illegible] in Heaven' ever to be envied by human beings but [illegible] to be attained by them. Even the modern se[illegible]

54. *Ibid.*, Daniel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-30.
55. Sarkar, B. K., *Hindu Political Philosophy*, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
56. Thus an edict of Asoka reads: "The King beloved of the God honours every form of the religious faith." (Arnold, T. W., *op. cit.*, p. 361).
57. Raychaudhuri, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.
58. Smith, C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.
59. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 335, 336, 345, 348; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
60. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 335, 345.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 354; Vol. III, p. 357.
62. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 336.
63. Raychaudhuri, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 72, 127, 193, [illegible]
64. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 354.
65. Carpenter, S. C. *Christianity* (Pelican Ed.), p. [illegible]
66. Smith, C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

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...ces only approximate to the 'pattern'; they do not ...entify themselves with it. The departures in the case ...U.S.A. have already been mentioned. Similar departures, are to be found in the case of other modern secular States. In spite of the minor deviations, therefore, the ancient Indian Polity was essentially secular.

———:O:———

THE ETHICS OF COEXISTENCE

By ELEUTERIO SOARES

There is no denying the fact that India's policy of peaceful coexistence is today one of the most significant factors in international relations. Subtly but decisively its influence is being felt on world political trends and with a growing number of nations favourably responding to its appeal India's role as the acknowledged mediator between the East and the West is becoming more and more sharply defined. Although embodying nothing spectacular or essentially revolutionary the policy of coexistence rings with a note of reassurance and a message of hope amidst the encircling gloom of cold tensions and the ever-growing threat of nuclear warfare.

There is, nevertheless, both among the critics and apologists of India's foreign policy, a considerable degree of misunderstanding over what this country means by peaceful coexistence. More often than not our efforts to promote international accord and harmony are assessed without full appreciation of the motives that induce India to undertake such missions and a clear conception of the goal she is striving to achieve. To a very large extent these misconceptions spring from a failure to appraise our foreign policy in the proper context of the historical and contemporaneous forces that have shaped it and the values from which it derives its moral sanctions.

Viewed in this perspective coexistence is neither an exclusively Indian or even a modern innovation. The fusion of all the nations of the world living together in peace and friendship, notwithstanding the inevitable political and ideological differences between them, has inspired men from time immemorial and continues to be a cherished dream of all men of goodwill. Apart from logically pursuing her policy of non-alignment India has merely given this age-old concept the form and substance of a definite programme, partly because it is in tune with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, a way of life which is true to the temperament and genius of the Indian people, moulded in the crucible of centuries of history, and partly because in the light of the rapid development of nuclear weapons, the only alternative to coexistence is co-extinction. Idealism and the compelling force of circumstances blend together to make the policy of coexistence not a matter of choice but of necessity.

This is no idle fancy, for the supreme lesson that emerges from the bitter experiences of the past is that wars solve no problems but only create them. A war, however serious the problem or righteous the cause that provokes it, is unjustifiable both from the practical as well as the ethical point of view, and much more so would be a war that spells total extinction of life and civilisation, a lesson for failing to learn which mankind has paid and continues to pay very dearly and which in the face of existing circumstances can no longer be overlooked. The very survival of the human race demands an emphasis on peaceful and constructive efforts to solve international problems and the renunciation of violence. To realise the dream of lasting peace men must give up the ways of war.

Considered in this light the theory of "peace through strength" and the belief that the saturation of armaments is the best guarantee against war, which dominate the international scene today and find practical expression through the hectic armament race now in progress and other military preparations, are contradictions in terms. Accumulated strength always seeks an outlet and the ultimate result of an armament race can, by the operation of the inexorable laws of nature, only be a war and not the realisation of the hope that a balance in armaments, if it is possible to achieve it all, would prevent a conflict by making war unprofitable for all nations. Even if it were possible to avert such a catastrophe, the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion, the unavoidable accompaniments of the so-called "situations of strength" would hardly be conducive to international peace.

The same applies to the military pacts and alliances, designed ostensibly to promote collective security but which in practice constitute provocative measures, adding to existing tensions and accentuating the elements of discord. A cold war is not the path to peace for the means must always be in conformity with the end sought. Mankind therefore can no longer afford to ignore this unambiguous warning and persist in its attachment to the cult of the bomb, except at the cost of courting virtual suicide.

However the mere rejection of war would not constitute coexistence nor would a reduction in armaments or a ban on nuclear weapons bring the world closer to peace. These are certainly important factors but the peace that is envisaged in the concept of peace-

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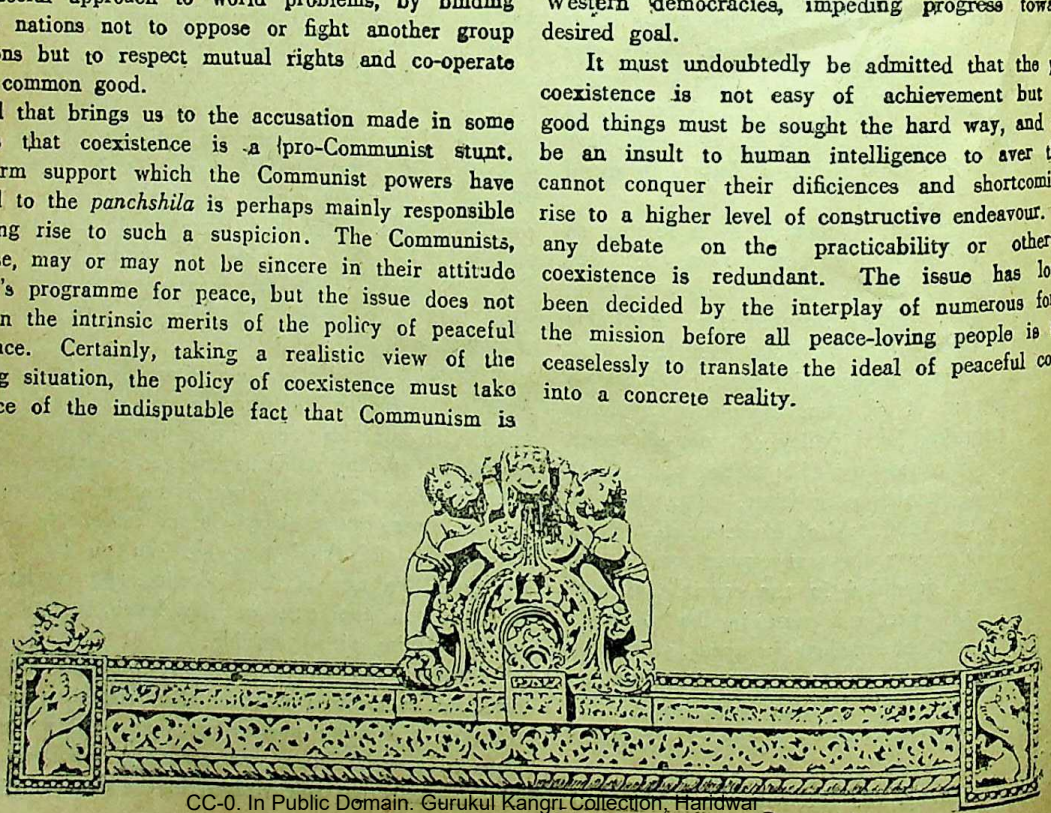
ful coexistence would be a reality only when human society is remolded to conform to the ideals of justice and tolerance and international relations are reshaped on the pattern of universal brotherhood. It is a long and arduous process, demanding all the patience, perseverance and ingenuity that men can command, but negotiations, however well-meant and skilfully and sincerely carried on, will always lack a sense of realism and the necessary driving force, if war is not totally outlawed. An irrevocable renunciation of war is indispensable to create confidence in negotiations, a method for the settlement of disputes, on the effectiveness of which the entire structure of the policy of coexistence rests.

This extraordinary emphasis on peaceful methods for the settlement of disputes however does not imply surrender to evil or injustice and the acceptance of the status quo. Far from it, coexistence is a dynamic policy that seeks to revolutionise international relations by proclaiming the supremacy of moral values over expediency and exploiting to the fullest man's constructive genius and his nobler instincts. Not only does it stand for a just and fair settlement of international problems but it endeavours to dispel the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion so as to create the necessary climate for their peaceful settlement, by assuring through the *panchshila* the minimum guarantees indispensable for friendly relations between one nation and another. The "five principles" are not an end in themselves but only the means for the evolution of a pattern of collective security, as prelude to a constructive and peaceful approach to world problems, by binding together nations not to oppose or fight another group of nations but to respect mutual rights and co-operate for the common good.

And that brings us to the accusation made in some quarters that coexistence is a pro-Communist stunt. The warm support which the Communist powers have accorded to the *panchshila* is perhaps mainly responsible for giving rise to such a suspicion. The Communists, of course, may or may not be sincere in their attitude to India's programme for peace, but the issue does not reflect on the intrinsic merits of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Certainly, taking a realistic view of the prevailing situation, the policy of coexistence must take cognisance of the indisputable fact that Communism is a vital force which governs the destinies of millions of people all over the world. The concept of coexistence is also based on realisation of the fact that Communism cannot be countered by getting tough with it. The Communists of planning to bring about the downfall of the political powers in Russia or China, for the peaceful consequences of such an approach, even if it does not culminate into a war, would be the creation of just such conditions in which Communism thrives. Communism can only be conquered with moral force and coexistence aims at achieving just that end by creating conditions in which the Communist countries would be compelled to honour their commitments and fulfil their international obligations. It seeks to reform the Communist powers through persuasion rather than threats.

Apart from that the policy of coexistence, considered as an integrated whole, seeking as it does the application of democratic values to the wider field of international relations, is by itself neither pro-Communist nor anti-Western. It is on the contrary an antidote as much to Communist expansionism as to colonialism, racialism, economic subjugation and everything that smacks of exploitation of one nation by another, that offers an affront to the honour and dignity of any nation, however small or insignificant. Its object is to evolve conditions of genuine peace, to lead nations on the path of mutual goodwill and understanding to the goal of universal brotherhood and it is imperative that its primary objective should be to eliminate, through peaceful means of course, all obstacles, whether Communist making or resulting from the actions of the Western democracies, impeding progress towards the desired goal.

It must undoubtedly be admitted that the policy of coexistence is not easy of achievement but then all good things must be sought the hard way, and it would be an insult to human intelligence to aver that we cannot conquer their dificiences and shortcomings to rise to a higher level of constructive endeavour. Indeed any debate on the practicability or otherwise of coexistence is redundant. The issue has long since been decided by the interplay of numerous forces and the mission before all peace-loving people is to work ceaselessly to translate the ideal of peaceful coexistence into a concrete reality.



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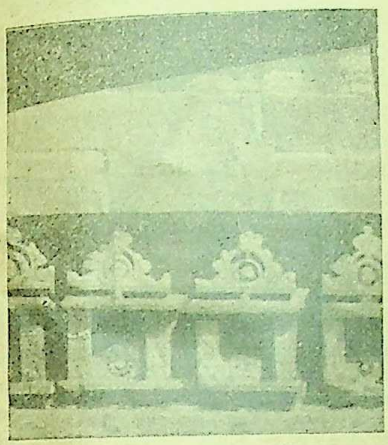
BHUVANESVARA—THE SITE OF SILENT SHRINES

By Prof. BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA, M.A.

BHUVANESVARA, in Orissa, is an ancient site of architectural monuments which sweep our imagination in admiration and wonder. It is quite in the fitness of things that this ancient capital of Orissan Kings under whose lavish patronage these wonder temples were erected here, is going to be the new metropolis of Orissa. In a decade this deserted and desolate site bearing testimony to the old glory will grow up into an ideal modern town as the administrative seat of Orissa.



The wall of Mukteswara Temple

This site still possesses some ancient shrines in their pristine glory besides the relics of some others, either desecrated or worn out by ravages of time. These monuments have been divided chronologically by scholars and have been assigned the period between *circa* middle of 8th Century A.D. to *circa* middle of 13th Century A.D., thus covering a poriod of incessant artistic and architectural creations in this part of India. The finest specimen of this architectural craftsmanship is the famous shrine of Lingaraja, standing in height and magnificence as the most marvellous monument of this belt. Besides, there are the shrines of Kapilesvara, Brahmesvara, Parasuramesvara, Ananta Vasudeva, Vaital (Lankesvari), Muktesvara, Siddhesvara, and Kedaresvara which are still standing in their old magnificence.

Chronologically speaking, Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu*) has divided these temples into three groups. His division, however, seems to be based more on stylistic grounds than on clear historical details. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples* published by Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) has also studied this chronology and the topo-historical questions. However, when that division is not open to challenge from any opposite point of view, we may accept their chronology as a working hypothesis. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (p. 115) also remarks: "The most complete series illustrating the development of the Nagara Temple from [illegible] the eighth to the thirteenth centuries is found in Orissa, at Bhuvanesvara, Puri, and Konarak."

The Orissan temple-architecture is a peculiar form of curvilinear (*rekha*) design with a series (commonly 4) of structures completing the whole shrine. The main structure where the *sanctum sanctorum* is situated is known as the *deul* or the *vimana**, while the structure just contiguous from where the pilgrim can have a view of the idol is known as the *jagamohana*. Nirmal Kumar Bose in *Orissan Temples* (Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) opines that this *jagamohana* is of the *bhadra* order, *i.e.*, a pyramidal structure of stepped roofs in clerestoric divisions. But besides that there are two other structures, the *bhogamandira* and the *natamandira* —the offering-sanctuary and the dance-sanctuary respectively—which also represent to some extent a less exaggerated form of pyramidal clerestories. These four structures are the common features of the Bhuvanesvara temples, except some earlier ones like the *Parasuramesvara* or the less elaborate ones like the Vaital Deul which have a complete shrine in the *deul* and the *jagamohana* taken together.

Another view of the wall of Mukteswara Temple

We need not enter into details here as to the architectural designs and measurements of the Bhuvanesvara group of temples under review. Suffice it to say that *vimana* or the main icon-sanctuary is an elaborate structure of rock-cut paraphernalia of a tapering type. The superstructure is from without a huge mass of rock that has been given a rhythmic form with the chisel by the Orissan *sthapatis* (architects and sculptors). The *bada* or the ground-plan is often a square and flat surface like a quadrangular *verandah* running around the

* "Vimana is the name of the temple built according to tradition (*Sastra*) by the application of various proportionate measurements or various standards of proportionate measurement. The nodule is either purely architectural, or being taken from the Linga or image in the Garbhagriha is, in principle, common to the building, the main object of worship and the builder." (Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, p. 13)

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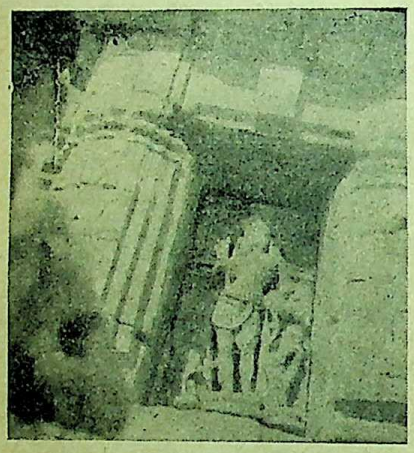
vimana. Next is the *pida* or the first structure on which the whole gigantic super-structure is rested and which contains carvings of figures all around. Nirmal Kumar Bose (*ibid*) has given special names to the parts of the figure-inlaid portions of the wall below the curvilinear tower. His *pida*, however, is an extension of the *bhadra* structure, but Percy Brown (*ibid*) has made the *pida* a generic name. Be that as it may, the elaborate inlays and carvings on the outer walls of the structures are really masterpieces of Orissan architecture. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples*) has shown that this decorative impulse of the Orissan *sthapatis* was the outcome of rare genius. "They transformed," he observes, "the cold and bare surfaces of the walls into a glowing mass, with carvings of intricate variety and delicate fancy." The linear spire that rises up towards the dome in a tapering measurement is often called the *amla* in the Bhuvanesvara group of temples, and the metallic (originally golden ?) emblem resting on a lotus-like circular cap on the *amla* is called the *kalasa* or often the *ghantakalasa*. This in a nutshell is the plan of the Bhuvanesvara temple.



Animal-faced Deity at
Bhaskareswara Temple

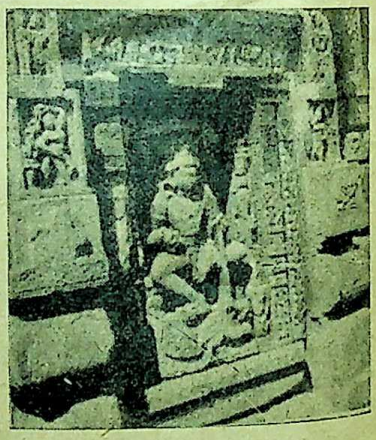
The Bhuvanesvara temple is rich in decorations and the iconographic studies are an interesting one. The main icon in the *garbhagriha* (*sanctum sanctorum*) is always a *Linga* but in the Bhuvanesvara *Linga* we find two religious cults meet. The *Linga* is always the representation of a two-icon deity called *Harihara* of which we shall have occasion to speak below. The outside decorations and the iconographic specimens are varied and not only are the main deities of the Hindu pantheon represented in bold relief but there are also male and female figures, epic-representations, *naga-naginis* and profuse floral or ornamental decorations. Yajna Datta Sharma (*Orissan Temples*) has opined (*contra* Mano Mohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*) that "it would be better perhaps to view the temple ornament from two separate but allied angles, (i) architectural and (ii) sculptural." His endeavour to restore from oblivion names in the local architectural

of various motifs on the walls, pillars, cornices, stories and ground-plans is laudable.

Let us give an idea of the ornamental motifs on outer walls of the Bhuvanesvara temples. The best the Muktesvara temple is rich in floral decorations the lotus-motif is very prominent as being present a row of decorative balustrades (see Fig. 1). Mo the Muktesvara *bada* has a human-motif and the a superb representation in a peculiar posture of two figures lying one upon the other but giving two postures from a different angle, thus giving four figures though two are actually carved (see Fig. 2).

A rare specimen of symbolic Orissan decorati found in a figure in an obscure shrine just outskirts of the town, *viz*., the Bhaskaresvara te It is the three-handed figure of a human body wi animal mouth† with a *nijamurtti*-figure (of a fe nymph) on the left-hand side holding in a di posture a resting-place for the left arm of the st a rare specimen indeed (see Fig. 3). The st figure has *kundalas* (ear-ornaments) and *upavit* sacred thread around the neck and chest) and h weapon in his right hand.

The Parasuramesvara temple in Bhuvanesvara is hailed as the specimen of earliest Orissan t architecture is a two-structured shrine still standi its pristine purity. The *jagamohana* is of a s clerestoric fluted disc with figures inlaid on the walls. There are *mahalakshmi* images with a pron sexual relief as representation of a symbolic divini fertility. In Orissan temple-architecture we believe,



The figure of Kartikeya at
Parasurameswara Temple

artist was trained to a sort of erotic represen representing the symbol of Life. Be that as it may, a fine *Kartikeya* image, though somewhat mutilated, is found on the outer wall of the *vimana* of this

† It is difficult to identify the image—the face being like a lion's (or better a tiger's) puzzles us in correctly it. Is it the *narasimha* incarnation of Vishnu ? But that will the stylistic representation of the image. Or, is it that the *kirttimukha* (lion-mask) is here superimposed on a deity, th symbolic decoration on the niches of the

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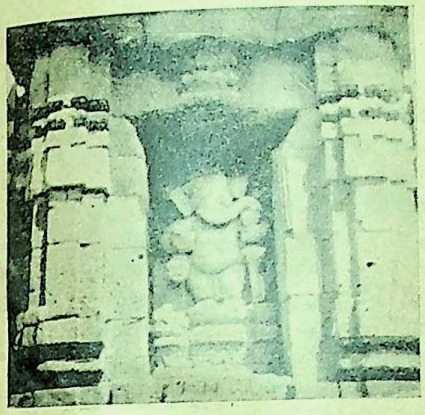
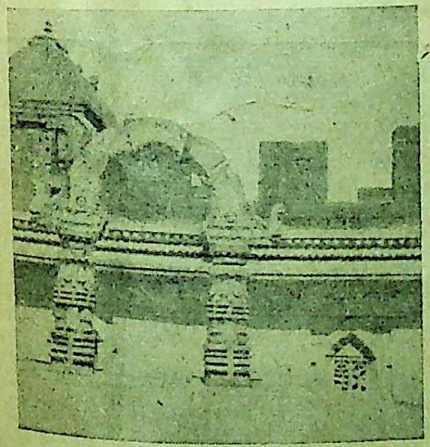
The serene face of the god with one of his feet and a weapon resting over a couchant peacock, his carrier, is an exquisite representation of earliest Orissan temple-sculpture (see Fig. 4). Then the *Ganesha* image is a common iconographic representation on the outer walls of the *vimana* or the *jagamohana* of Bhuvanesvara Temples. Leaving aside the famous huge black-stone *Ganesha* image in the Lingaraja shrine, we have an exquisite specimen on the *jagamohana* wall of the Siddhesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara (see Fig. 5). It



Ganesha image of Siddheswara Temple

is a *Ganesha* standing on a lotus-pedestal with four hands, having the four kinds of things that he is wont to carry (a rosary, a pot of *nadus*—a favourite sweet with him, etc.), together with a fat mouse, his carrier, standing on a pedestal.

Now we shall speak a few words about the artistic representations and the architectural designs of a few specimens of the Bhuvanesvara temple-group. The Vaital Deul in the town is a gabled structure reminding us of the Buddhist *Chaitya*-type architecture. It is a new



Gateway of Vaital Deul

type, and strange to say, the Konarak *Surya* in his celestial car is represented here in miniature in a medallion and there is a fine *Nataraja* on the *bho*-projection of the *jagamohana* clerestory. An exquisite *Mahishamardini* figure on the outer wall of the *vimana* is a rare specimen of Orissan sculpture. Moreover, outside the boundary-wall there is a miniature gateway probably erected later (see Deva Prasad Ghosh in *Orissan Temples*), which is nevertheless a beautifully artistic one with fine beads and floral and animal designs with a *Kirttimukha* on the top-centre (see Fig. 6). This gateway is, however, not so artistic as the one at Muktesvara temple which contains human figures and other vegetation-designs in a more artistic and symbolic representation. The Rajrani (King and Queen) temple at Bhuvanesvara with no icon in the *garbhagriha* is, to us, the finest specimen of Orissan sculpture. Its walls (see Fig. 7) with exquisite figure-works and ornamentations, its rich niches with pendant floral and necklace-like strings and its general tone and temper lend to it an aura of grandeur. A part of any wall takes hours to study fully and it is all around inter-set with such decorations. There is a local tradition that a certain native prince built it not for any religious purpose but for taking delight in seeing his subjects' keenness of execution in sculpture. Hence, perhaps, there is no icon and the name is like that. Be that as it may, the walls contain figures of *nartaki*, *nagini*, *dvarapala*, and *yoddhri* (dancing girls, serpent-girls, gate-keepers and warriors respectively). Some incidents are also recorded in bold relief. Besides that there are floral

Figures in the wall of Raja Rani Temple

and bead designs, fine lattices and decorated pilasters—all of which are lavishly executed. The Ananta Vasudeva temple in Bhuvanesvara is the only Vishnu temple there and it is also a grand one. The dome of the *vimana* (see Fig. 8) containing human figures in pairs and converging towards the *ghantakalasa* is a masterpiece of architecture. The tapering dome or *amla* of the Bhuvanesvara temples contains, besides *Kirttimukhas* referred to above, the peculiar *gajasimhas* (couchant lions on prostrate elephants) of the Orissan School. These may be said to be the guardians of the temples, as not only in the *amla* but even at the gateways these are prominent.

The Lingaraja—undoubtedly the most magnificent of Orissan temples—is an enormous plan within a huge

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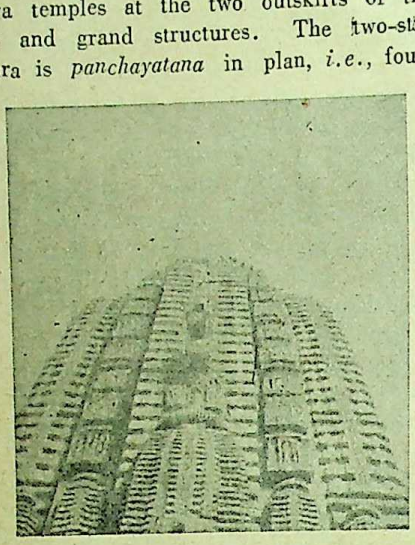
courtyard containing many other smaller temples. The four-structured shrine of the presiding deity of the town with its *jagamohana* and *vimana* containing celestial figures, human figures, animal figures and narrative-figures from the Epics, besides the *gajasimbas* and *kirtti-mukhas* and all kinds of designs, makes the spectator stand amazed. Besides, the Brahmesvara and the Kapilesvara temples at the two outskirts of the town are huge and grand structures. The two-structured Brahmesvara is *panchayatana* in plan, *i.e.*, four other smaller shrines at the four corners of the same co... are existent along with the main shrine. The Ka... temple is a four-structured one with many s... shrines within the compound. The covered ver... corridor connecting the *bhogamandira* with othe... is a majestic one with figures illustrating narrative... the Puranas inlaid on its walls. It is strange that P... Brown in his book referred to above has not note... grand temple of this belt. The Brahmesvara tem... also rich in narrative decoration.



The dome of Ananta Vasudeva Temple

A few words on the *Harihara* cult of Bhuva... should be said. The presiding *Lingas* or even t... on the outer walls (as two such beautiful figures... to be found in the dilapidated Ramesvara temple... Siva-Vishnu according to the cult of this belt. ...Ramesvara figures show that in the same image... characteristics of both these deities are preserved ... Siva and half Vishnu). Therefore in these temples... offerings are purely vegetarian for the associati... Vishnu. Parvati, the consort of Siva, and Laksh... consort of Vishnu, are given equal status. This... Vishnu cult is a particularly Orissan one and we s... that Orissa was the meeting-ground of not only ... but also religious cults. The strong Saiva current ... North and the Vaishnava current of the South ... have met and mingled here on the congenial s... peaceful Orissa.

———:O:———

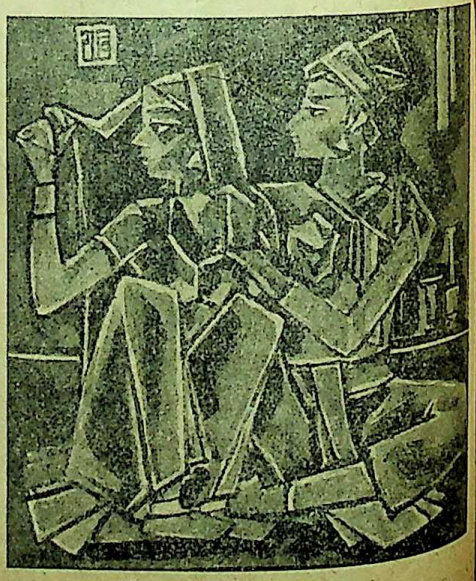
RAM GOPAL VIJAYVARGIYA AND HIS ART

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M. A.

A few miles away from the important town, Sawai Madhopur, in Southern Rajasthan is a village with dense forests, pretty hills, tall trees and scattered houses known as Baler. This is the native place of Shri Ram Gopal Vijayvargiya, the celebrated artist of India, who was born here in November, 1906 with silver spoon in his mouth and grew into manhood with brush and colours in his hands. His worthy father, the late Shri Bhanwari Lal, was a successful businessman as well as the *Kamdar* of the Baler estate. From his very boy-hood. Vijayvargiya had a natural aptitude and a strong attraction for drawing and painting. But his father wanted to see him as a high Government official. That was why he was very often rebuked whenever his father found him engaged in sketching and drawing. Despite all these difficulties and obstacles, his practice could not be discontinued.

On the Path of Publicity

In the year 1930, *The Modern Review* was the first journal to publish his painting, captioned *Water Carrier* in which three Rajasthani ladies carrying water-pots on their heads were portrayed. After that all the leading journals of the time came to appreciate his artistic talents by publishing his paintings in prominent places. *Prabasi*, *Vishal Bharat*, *Saraswati*, *Ma... Chand* and *Hans* were the magazines in which paintings used to appear very often.



Lovers

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Exhibitions and Honours

In the year 1932, the first exhibition of Vijayvargiya's paintings was held in Calcutta which is considered to be the main centre of paintings of modern style. Here, the paintings of Vijayvargiya captivated the attention of reputed Bengali artists and art-critics. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee writing about his art in the *Advance* expressed that some of Vijayvargiya's artistic creations reminded him of Ajanta paintings. Just after a year of this exhibition, the Fine Art Institute of Calcutta honoured Ram Gopal by awarding him a certificate of high proficiency. In 1934, in the Delhi Art Exhibition his

Fruit-seller

work was very much appreciated and he was rewarded by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Since then his fame began to grow and spread not only in India but abroad also, and today he occupies a unique position among the well-known artists of India. The museums of London, Allahabad, Banaras and Jaipur have the proud privilege of possessing his masterpieces in their sections of fine arts.

Originality of Style

Artist Vijayvargiya does not follow any particular style. However, it may be remarked that he is deeply influenced by the Oriental school of painting developed in Bengal and also by the Rajput school of painting. He independently experiments his own original style.

Subjects of Paintings

The subjects of Vijayvargiya's paintings are rich and varied and they possess great emotional power. On the one hand his brush portrays the romantic scenes full of voluptuous beauty and exuberant youth, on the other, he takes delight in depicting the supermen of epics and history.

On the way to market

Vijayvargiya has intensively studied Persian and Sanskrit, and has taken his themes from the *Kadambari*, *Abhijnan-Shakuntala*, *Meghadoot*, *Kumar-Sambhava*, *Geeta-Govinda*, *Raghu-Vansha* and *Rubaiyat of Omar Khaiyam*. He has also painted folk life. For such paintings, he has derived his inspiration from indigenous sources.

Choice of Colours

Painter Ram Gopal prefers soft, delicate washes of two or three colours in their graded shades. Sky-blue is one of the pet colours of Vijayvargiya.

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Conception of Art

Vijayvargiya has always given his recognition to the principle of 'Art for art's sake.' But at the same time he does not ignore the utilitarian viewpoint of art in life.

Women carrying pitchers

An Outstanding Poet

Anyone who has availed himself of the opportunity of being personally acquainted with Shri Vijayvargiya will vouch for the fact that his outward appearance give the impression rather of a poet than a painter. Fair complexion, middle height, smiling lips and curling hair are the distinguishing characteristics which lend him the personality of a poet. As an outstanding poet Shri Vijayvargiya has contributed 'Alkavali' 'Chingariyan' 'Shatdal' and 'Nisha Abhisar' to Hindi literature and enriched its treasure. His recent publication entitled *Rajasthani Chitra Kala* will also be regarded as the most informative and the best book on Rajasthani style painting.

Principal and Member of N.A.F.

Passing through the forty-eighth year of his life

Toilet

Vijayvargiya is working as the Principal of *Rajasthan Kala Mandir*, a Government Institute of art education for girls. He is also the head of the department of painting in *Lalit Kala Sansthan* at Jaipur. He has also been nominated as a member of the National Academy of Fine Arts from Rajasthan.

Conclusion

Artist Vijayvargiya is one of the top-ranking artists of our country. He has a style of his own and his best paintings will ever remain alive in the mind of man.

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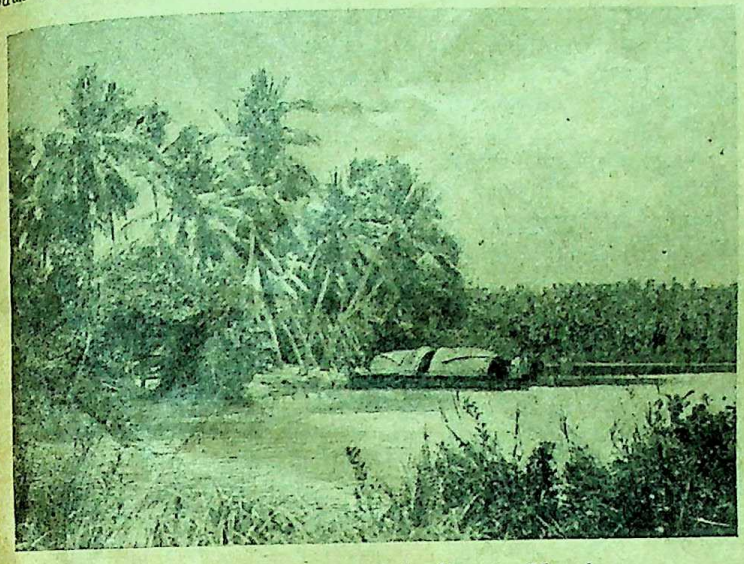
PICTURESQUE KOVALAM

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE most alluring beauty spot which lies nearest to Trivandrum is Kovalam situated in a seaside village nestling amidst dense palm groves. Ten miles to the south of the city is this popular week-end resort and sanatorium. Kovalam is a pretty hamlet consisting of thatched cottages scattered over a vast area on and nearabout the sea-shore and hiding as it were in the midst of luxuriant tropical vegetation. The shimmering sea and the picturesque rocky cliff lend rare enchantment to this region. With a landscape richly blessed with fragrant hilly pastures and delightful hills, Kovalam, the favoured goal of tourists, offers a wealth of attractions and experiences to the visitor who is seized with curiosity and longing to examine the contrasts of landscape presented here. Few spots on earth are better calculated to give an idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. The drive from Trivandrum to Kovalam is particularly beautiful. The principal charm of a trip to Kovalam is its complete restfulness and the entire absence of bustle, while something interesting is always within sight. Villages slip past and extensive paddy fields stretch flat to a distant horizon.



A view of the canal leading to Kovalam

On the way to Kovalam, just four miles from Trivandrum, you cross the Karamana river at Thiruvallam. At Thiruvallam is a famous and sacred temple dedicated to Sri Parasurama. Nowhere else in the whole of India is another temple dedicated principally to Sri Parasurama other than at Thiruvallam, and this unique feature adds to the importance of this shrine. The temple is situated amidst picturesque surroundings and the Karamana river winds its way close by. The peculiar gable style of architecture, the wood carvings and stone sculpture in the temple are of especial interest. Orthodox Hindus perform *shraddhas* (religious rites in honour of their departed relatives) at Thiruvallam and worship at the temple.

Leaving Thiruvallam the drive is across a typical rural area. A short detour from the main route to Kovalam leads to Vellayani. Splendid views over the sea are obtained on this country road which cuts across the countryside. The Vellayani Kayal is a fresh-water lake surrounded by dense cocoanut plantations and green paddy fields. At Vellayani is an old Bhagavati temple.

A view of the river which empties itself into the sea at Kovalam

As you approach the outskirts of Kovalam, the dry wind changes into a cool and balmy sea-breeze. The first and at once enthralling glimpse of Kovalam is across the cluster of sheltering palms lining the sea-front, and the undulating valley of green. At certain points the sea seems to stretch almost parallel

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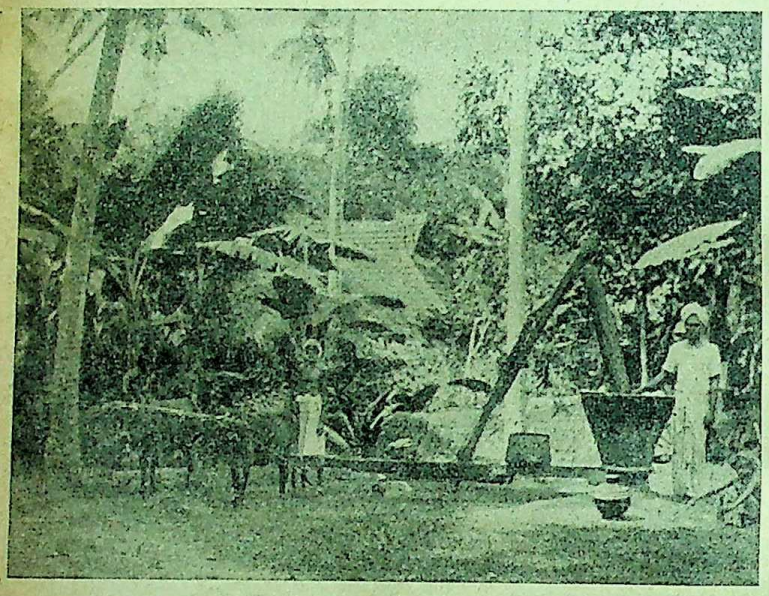
to the road. The whole region is undulating. Every inch of arable ground is covered with tapioca, the principal food of the poor and the labouring classes. Cocoanut, mango and jack trees and different varieties of luscious plantains are also seen in abundance. The car glides right down to the end of the well-laid-out road, to the sands and you stand face to face with Kovalam.

Kovalam has deservedly become the most popular week-end and holiday resort owing to its proximity to the town. This charming spot which is reached from Trivandrum by car in half an hour can also be reached by the Karamana river which empties itself at Kovalam into the sea. Kovalam can also be reached by the sea from Trivandrum in a *vallam*, country boat, or the distance can be walked along the sandy seashore. In any case, the trip is pleasant.



A view of the quiet countryside on the way to Kovalam

A beautiful piece of low-level land terminating in a cape higher than the contiguous coast, Kovalam comprises two promontories in between which is a sheltered bay. There is a very small village port with a lovely bay which affords tolerably safe landing in fine season. On the southern boundary of the bay is the picturesque rocky cliff with black rocks of varying sizes and diverse shapes piled one over the other in wild and chaotic disorder. The cliff is austere, imposing and magnificent. A view from the crest of this cliff offers one of the finest sea-views in the world.

At Kovalam there is a mysterious cave around which time has woven many interesting legends. This wonderful cave is in common parlance called *Udayar Vazhy*. A furlong to the interior of the picturesque rocky cliff is a precipitous and narrow pass. The cave is at the farthest end of this pass. Weird sounds are caused when sea water rushes into this deep dangerous cave. It is not possible to see clearly rushing in, for the mouth of the cave is part hidden by a huge globe-like stone towering six above the sea level. It is said that if this black is blasted away, the interior of the cave would fully visible. To the right of the narrow pass could stand and look round. The left side pre the appearance of a small forest. To obtain the possible view of this strange cave one should either a catamaran or canoe and take a position the cave. Of course, this is a difficult and ir task full of thrill. The interior of the cave is The figure of a person seems to occupy the cent the cave. When the rays of the setting sun inside the cave, two eyes of flame are noticed One hears the noise of the sea water flowing into recesses of the cave. The sea however, does not flow back into ocean. Legend avers that this inspiring cave has its terminus foot of the Mookunni Malai, a mountain range about 20 miles interior. Aged people who in the coast say that terrible emanate from the cave before the break of the monsoon. It is bel that such sounds indicate an im nent monsoon.

Legend says that many years ago when Kovalam was o pied by Pandarams, a section of Saivities, one of their priests *Udayars* as they were called, use observe penance inside this cave. *Udayar* who was a saint was in habit of praying inside the cave days together at a stretch wit coming out or partaking of f At last he informed his disciples he had determined to take up his perm abode inside the cave and commanded them close the mouth of the cave. The dutiful disci rolled down a huge stone to cover the mo of the cave but the stone failed to serve the pur The *Udayar* did not again make his appearance side the cave. Religious belief asserts that in p where such saints attain *samadhi* (casting off mortal coil), *Siva Lingams* (Phallus consecrated God Siva) occur. It may be that the figure appears to occupy the interior of the cave is a *Siva Lingam*, or the body of the *Udayar* him turned into stone!

Another interesting sight is the balancing rock the southern side. There a huge oval-shaped b rock of ominous appearance rests upon anot equally huge rock maintaining a sort of precar balance. When the gales blow, the balancing

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swings gently and this sight is awe-inspiring. This place though fraught with danger affords ample scope for the experienced and daring rock-climber to enjoy a bit of strenuous rock-climbing. To the eastern side there is a huge black rock which resembles a big elephant in a crouching posture. This rock in common

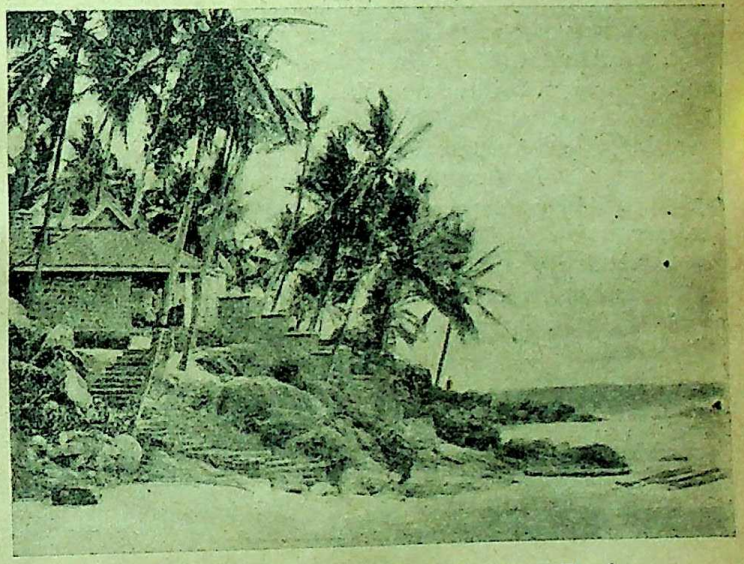
Kovalam bathing beach

parlance is called *Anappara* (Elephant Rock). Tradition and legend aver that many many years ago an elephant which had set its foot on the particular spot (where the rock now stands) was all of a sudden transformed into a rock and there the unfortunate beast stands petrified even to this day!

The perfection of the beautiful unfolds itself to the gaze of the visitor at this lovely spot. See Nature's pranks and her splendour at Kovalam. The beach gleams. The pretty rocky cliff on one side of the Kovalam beach rises in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Thirty and more feet above the visitor's head the feathery leaves of the cocoanut palms wave gracefully. They have no community of action, but blow this way and that at their pleasure only protesting unanimously if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed force. When the air is calm the palms converse with graceful gestures beckoning with suavest invitation. Warm breeze, gentle and invigorating, caresses the entire area. Colour and light enliven the landscape. Here beauty is everywhere in hill and dale, sea and river, nature and art, land and ocean, all joined together in the imperishability of the sublime.

On clear mornings and evenings when the sun shines, when the picturesque rocky cliff and the emerald green meadows close to the shore are clothed in majestic splendour the tourist should hike along the contiguous coast and then will he behold a magnificent sight. Land and sea seem to merge into one another till he hardly knows where the earth ends and the waters begin. A riotous carnival of colours greets his vision.

To witness on a summer evening sunset at the Kovalam beach is to see an indescribable spectacle of beauty, majesty and charm. What wonderful colours for the artist's pealette this bewitching scene conjures up! The luminous glories of colour that creep into the sky are simply enthralling. The glorious arch overhead, of a deeper blue than the sky ever was, is lavishly embellished with patches of sheeny clouds tinged with the deepest and softest hues of infinite variety. The clouds themselves are of all shapes changing every moment, both in form and decoration through the varied effects of light and shade. On all sides as far as the eye could reach is the blue ocean, the sheltering palms lining the coast, the luxuriant herbage and the sparkling white sands. The bright sun shows his broad and crimson disc through an aperture of the light clouds and the abundant glories which fall in torrents in divergent pencil rays render the place lovely and romantic beyond description. The



The picturesque rocky cliff at Kovalam Beach. The P.W.D. Bathing Shed is also seen

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setting sun leaves behind a whirl of pink opal where the clouds jostle against each other. To the east the sky is topaz, lemon and turquoise while the sea assumes myriad tints and the palms are dark green. The glassy casements of the P.W.D. Camp Shed which stands silhouetted against a flaming sky blaze in the crimson light due to the magic of the vanishing Sun-God. Birds chirp and dash fast to their nests. Fishing boats are launched into the ocean by the daring fisherfolk. All is quiet and mysteriously solemn. To sit on the Kovalam beach and watch this gorgeous natural phenomenon is to witness and enjoy one of the most colourful and thrilling sights of the earth. The sands themselves glitter and sparkle in the fading red light of the setting sun and there is a glorious shimmer on the surface of the rolling sea. The tiny lamps burning in the hovels of the fishermen give forth a reddish yellow light and add to the charm of the scene.

To stand on the rocky cliff and see the fiery red ball of the setting sun leaving multi-coloured luminous streaks on the horizon as it sinks into the sea, is a thrilling sight, clothed in a halo of mystery. The waters of the turbulent sea dash into the grottos with tremendous fury shooting up powerful sprays. See Kovalam at dusk when the heat no longer reflects off the mounting sand, when the cool ozone-bearing night breeze hisses across the palm-fringed shores with lovely sand dunes, when the tide booms against the shores throwing up sprays and the sea takes an unearthly glow.

Kovalam is an incomparably beautiful paradise for camping, picnic, sea-bathing, angling, fishing, swimming, surf-riding and yachting. In dug-out canoes and catamarans, quaint little crafts constructed by the dexterous fisherfolk who inhabit the coast, they brave the heavy surf and venture far out into the sea in pursuit of their livelihood. This familiar sight at Kovalam beach at the break of dawn and close of day is thrilling. It is a pleasure to be rowed into the sea on a catamaran in the evening and from there to gaze into the immensity which stretches itself before the visitor and to spend a pleasant [illegible] beneath the blue summer sky.

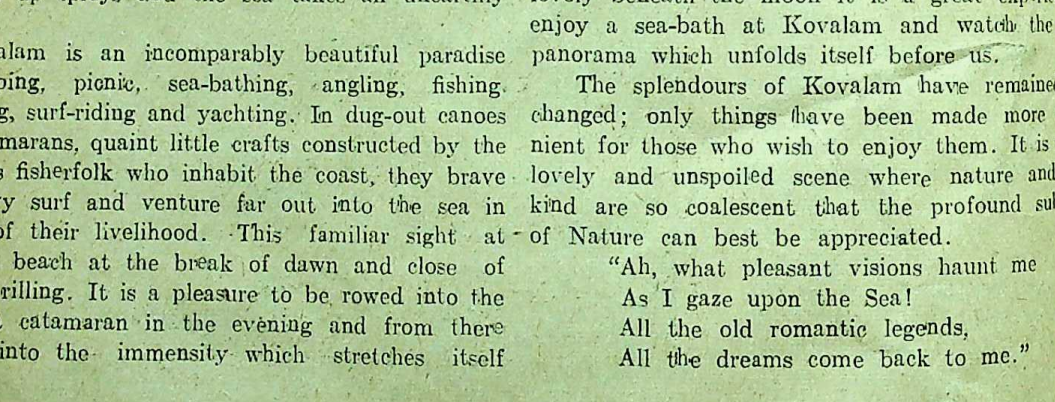
Seated on one of the rocks buttressing into [illegible] sea, one can try his hand at fishing. Buoyant [illegible] folk striplings with but a semblance of dress [illegible] prising a loin cloth tightly drawn over the [illegible] can be seen standing over the slippery rocks [illegible] fishing with rods and tackles for hours toge[illegible] without knowing any fatigue or losing patience. [illegible] one can wade into the sea, stand in the waist-d[illegible] water and enjoy a game of angling. To observe [illegible] fish and crabs darting across and hiding in the ab[illegible] dant creeks is an interesting sight.

When evening shadows cast their mystic spell [illegible] secrecy and soft murmurings and whispers emana[illegible] out of the sea, enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam. T[illegible] bathing beach here is one of the most delight[illegible] beaches in the world. The shore is rapturous with [illegible] unending music of the waves over the rocks and [illegible] sand dunes. The sea in the ample embrace of pr[illegible] bays, or clear and limpid in narrow creeks, is alw[illegible] charming. Bathing at the swimming place at Kova[illegible] is safe and most refreshing.

Kovalam on a moonlit night is simply bewitch[illegible] The silver moon hangs in the air shedding her [illegible] on the ripples, waves, rocks and sands making th[illegible] all the more lovely. The scene then seems like [illegible] Throne of the Invisible sentinelled by a galaxy [illegible] bright stars. On such a night when the land [illegible] lovely beneath the moon it is a great experience [illegible] enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam and watch the gr[illegible] panorama which unfolds itself before us.

The splendours of Kovalam have remained u[illegible] changed; only things have been made more con[illegible] nient for those who wish to enjoy them. It is in t[illegible] lovely and unspoiled scene where nature and m[illegible] kind are so coalescent that the profound sublim[illegible] of Nature can best be appreciated.

"Ah, what pleasant visions haunt me
As I gaze upon the Sea!
All the old romantic legends,
All the dreams come back to me."



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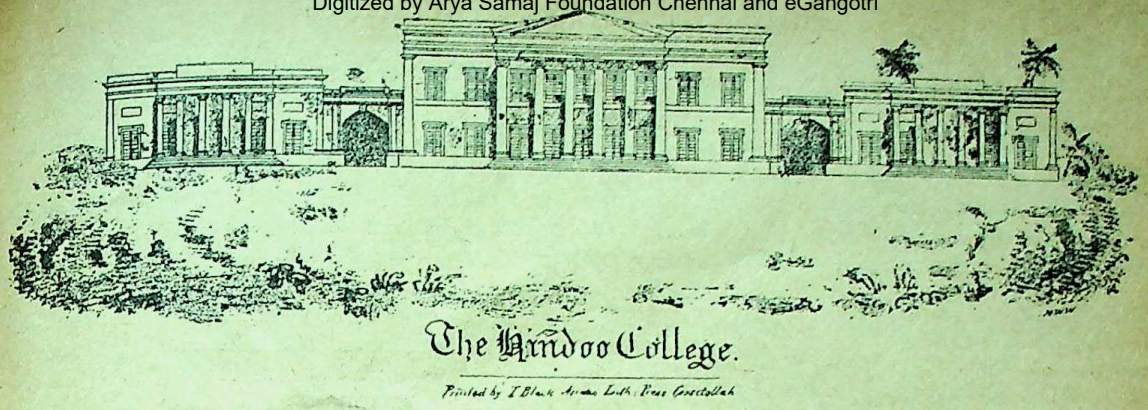

THE HINDU COLLEGE, PREDECESSOR OF THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE

The Story of Its Foundation

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

The Presidency College has just completed its hundred years. This has given occasion for the centenary celebrations of the institution. The College started work on the 15th June, 1854. It formally opened on the same date a year later as the Presidency College, Calcutta, after the approval and sanction of the Court of Directors reached the country. But the College was not altogether a new thing. Its predecessor, the Hindu College, was split up into two separate and distinct institutions in 1854. Its senior dpeartment formed the Presidency College and junior department the Hindu School, and the scholarships and bursaries were divided between them. The Hindu College had a chequered career. Its contribution to the progress of the country can never be over-estimated. It is but meet to discuss the history of this pioneer institution not only in Bengal, but in the whole of India as well. I propose to give here in brief the story of its foundation only.

The importance and far-reaching effect of the instruction imparted in the Hindu College, attracted the notice of the publicists and authors even in the thirties of the last century. *The Calcutta Christian Observer* gave a running account of this institution, based on contemporary evidence, in its first three issues—June, July and August, 1832. James Kerr, Principal of the Hindu College (1843-48), devoted a considerable portion of his book, *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency* (1851), to the history of the Hindu College. Rajnarain Bose of hallowed memory traced the origin and progress of the Hindu and the Presidency College on the occasion of the first College Re-union in early 1875. *Presidency College Register* was compiled and published under official auspices in 1927. In an important paper* on Indian education of those days by Brajendra Nath Banerjee, much new light was thrown on the origin and foundation of the Hindu College. The present writer discovered, two decades ago, the *MSS. Proceedings* of the Hindu College Managing Committee, written in detail from 1816 to 1832, and in brief from 1833 up to 1850 in the family library of Rajah Radhakant Deb. He also contributed papers at that time on the Hindu College, in its first phase, based on these *MSS.* records and supplemented by the contemporary newspapers. The present article is also mainly based on these matetrials, in *MSS.* and in print.

II

The educational policy of the East India Company took a definite shape after 1813. This year the Company's Charter was renewed, and it was stipulated in one of its Clauses that the Company's local government should spend one lakh of rupees annually on education. There was no question of English education at the time in spite of the far-fetched construction of the Clause by Thomas Babington Macaulay twenty years later in favour of English education. The sum of one lakh was to be spent exclusively for oriental studies—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. And this was for two reasons: (1) The official language, including the language of the Courts, was Persian, and (2) The Company's local authorities thought that official encouragement of studies other than oriental might alienate the sympathy of the

* "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II. Mr. Banerjee has quoted the letter of Sir Edward Hyde East, dated 18th May 1816, in full in this paper. I have occasion to refer to it in this article.

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people towards British rule. The former was the main reason that those versed in Persian found employment in the Government as *Sadar Ameens*, corresponding to the modern Munsiffs, and other similar posts. The English-educated youths were not given employment worth the name in any government department till the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

But the Indians had already come in contact with the British officials and non-officials. Necessity of learning the English language was keenly felt by even the rank and file for their constant intercourse with the British businessmen. Some schools had been started for giving the Indian boys rudimentaray instruction in English. Radhakant Deb, Dwarkanath Tagore and Ramcomul Sen, who rose to eminence in after life, took their first lessons in English in these *pathsalas*, Drummond's Dhuramtollah Academy was an institution of a higher type. It was here that the famous Derozio studied in his early life. But the gentlemen named above as well as a good many others acquired proficiency in English language and literature by private study and began to appreciate their values. Raja Rammohun Roy preceded all of them in acquiring sufficient knowledge in English. But it is not on record that he received English instruction in any school or *pathsala* then in vogue. Even the *pundits* or the learned Sanskrit scholars heard of the richness of English literature through their compatriots and favoured the idea of imparting instruction in this lore to the younger generation.

The idea was already there. But it was left for David Hare, the watch-maker, to give it a concrete shape. He envisaged the prospects and possibilities of English educataion in India. He mooted the subject at a private meeting at Rammohun Roy's house. When the credit for the foundation of the Hindu College was sought to be divided between Sir Edward Hyde East and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson in 1830, a bitter controversy started in the newspapers, and it was agreed by almost everybody that the 'originator' of the College, truly speaking, was David Hare, because the idea of such an institution at first originated with him. It was also David Hare who prepared the plan for the Hindu College. It was on the basis of this plan that subsequent efforts were made. We have the following recorded in the June, 1832 issue of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*:

> "The late Mr. Derozio, who, from his intimacy with David Hare and the Native community, as well as from his knowledge of the proceedings of the College, certainly had good grounds for the assertion which he so resolutely maintained, that 'previous to the aforesaid meeting being held (on the 14th May, 1816), *a paper, both author and originator of which was Mr. Hare, and the purport of which was, a proposal for the establishment of a College*, was handed to Sir Hyde East by a Native for his countenance and support.'*

This point was elaborated in the July (1832) issue of the *Observer*. Here we find that a few persons assembled at Rammohun Roy's house when David Hare made the above proposal. This proposal received general approbation from those present there. It was subsequently prepared a plan for the same, and Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee was deputed to collect subscriptions. Rammohun Roy was in the know of the proposal made at his house and in his presence, as well as the plan for founding a well-organised English seminary. The *Observer* writes that 'this circular was put into the hands of Sir E. East, who was very much pleased with the proposal and after making a few corrections, offered his most cordial aid in the promotion of its object.'

From other contemporary or nearly contemporary sources† it is clear that Rammohun Roy was closely associated with David Hare and some of their other common friends in communicating the plan of the College to their opulent as well as learned countrymen. It may be presumed that the weighty support of such a distinguished person than Rammohun was responsible for its being publicised in so short a time. It is therefore, difficult to appreciate the view of those who say that Rammohun had no connection whatever with the foundation of the Hindu College.

III

Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Calcutta, was held in high esteem by members of the Hindu and the European community. Invitations were sent in his name to the leading members of both the communities, to assemble at a meeting in East's house. As scheduled the meeting was held there on 14th May, 1816. The Hindus necessarily predominated. This meeting is memorable, because it is from here that the history of modern education in India properly begins. We have two accounts of this momentous meeting, one very brief in the *MSS. Proceedings* of the Hindu College and the other in considerable details in the letter of Sir E. H. East, written only four days after the meeting took place. The account in the *Proceedings* tallies substantially with that given in the letter, and is inserted as follows:

> "A very respectable meeting of the Hindus assembled at this meeting by individual invitation at the house of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice.

* *Vide* "A Sketch of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Hindu College" in the June, July and August, 1832, issues of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*.

† The sources referred to are: (1) Sir E. H. East's letter to J. H. Harrington, written on 18th May, 1816; (2) *Samachar Darpan*, 8th July, 1831, (3) Peary Chand Mitra's *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (1877), p. 6, besides *The Calcutta Christian Observer* (1832).

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the purpose of subscribing to and forming an Establishment for the liberal education of their children.

"The business of the day was opened by the Chief Justice, who addressed the meeting as to the object for which they were assembled and as to the benefit that his Lordship considered would be derived by the country at large from forming an establishment for the education of their youths.

"The proposal was received with the unanimous approbation of all the natives present including the most eminent pundits, who sanctioned with their express support, and recommendation.

"A large sum of money was immediately subscribed by most of those present, and it being understood that there were many Hindoo gentlemen who were not present, that were anxious to become subscribers to the Institution, another meeting was by the consent of the Chief Justice appointed to be held at his Lordship's house on Tuesday the 21st of May, when a committee might be chosen for preparing details of the plan, and taking measures for proceeding to a project and place for the College proposed to be erected. The Meeting was therefore adjourned till Tuesday 21st May and subscriptions appointed to be received in the meantime by W. C. Blaqueire and J. W. Croft, Esqrs."

In his above-mentioned letter Sir E. H. East noted some 'singularities' of this important assemblage. In his words, 'One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.' East was struck with the enthusiasm of the prominent pundits, Sanskrit scholars, for the introduction of Western literature and science. He writes that 'when they were about to depart, the head pundit, in the name of himself and others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in this country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.' According to the letter, the subjects to be taught in the proposed institution, were:

"The cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindostanee tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English systetm of morals . . .; grammar, writing (in English as well as in Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindu virtues), history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-lettres, poetry, etc., etc."

A few things are to be noted. In both the accounts, the name of David Hare, the 'originator of the plan,' did not occur. Hare never liked to come to the forefront. In the letter of Sir Edward, Rammohun Roy came up prominently. The orthodox pundits objected to his having any connection with the proposed institution. One of them went so far as to say that he would have nothing to do with it, if they accepted subscriptions from Rammohun Roy. Rammohun retired, even before the foundation of the College was formally resolved upon.

IV

At the second general meeting held on 21st May, the proposal took a definite form. Some resolutions were accepted. By one the establishment of the institution was resolved upon, and its name was to be

Gopee Mohun Tagore

"Hindoo College." By another resolution, a General Committee was appointed for the realisation of this object. This Committee consisted of ten Europeans and twenty Indians, representing the elite and enlightened of both the communities. It should be noted that amongst the Indian members, as many as five were the most prominent pundits, or Sanskrit scholars. Joseph Barretto, the famous businessman and philanthropist, was appointed treasurer.

Subsequent meetings of the General Committee were also held at East's house and under his chairmanship. At the meeting on 27th May, Lt.-Col. Francis Irvine of the Military Department and Dewan Baidyanath Mukherjee who had taken keen interest in the matter from the very start, were appointed European and "Native" secretaries temporarily. Some tentative rules were framed on this

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occasion, and the members were requested individually to give their opinion on them. They might also make some rules themselves and send them to the Committee. A Select Committee was formed 'to take measures for providing a proper place for the site of the intended College as well as to procure a temporary building for the purpose of commencing institution in the Bengalee and English language as soon as possible.'

The General Committee again met on 11th June. After the formal business was finished, the European members withdrew in a body, never to take any active part in the proceedings. Even Sir Edward Hyde East and J. H. Harington, two very ardent supporters of the cause, were to be regarded as private friends. The reason of their withdrawal is that even in 1816, the local authorities believed that co-operation with the Indians in such matters might be construed as governmental interference. The actual lines of the *Proceedings* in this connection are:

> "The English gentlemen of the Committee desire to relinquish their right of voting on any question which may come before the Committee, though they will always be ready to assist the Native committee with their advice in any matter in which they may consult them.
>
> "Sir Edward Hyde East and Mr. Harington desired to be considered as private friends to the Institution in common with the rest of the English gentlemen, to assist the gentlemen of the Native committee, but without making any honorary appelation to themselves."

Henceforward the Committee worked almost single-handed, though the venue of its meetings was the same. In its sitting on 25th June, a sub-committee was formed to prepare a digest of the rules and plans received heretofore from individual members. The General Committee did not meet for the following two months. The Sub-committee held its sittings during this period and thrashed out a digest of fundamental rules after mature deliberations. The local newspapers noticed the progress of the work of the General Committee and its Sub-committee from time to time. *The Calcutta Gazette* of 11th July, 1816 commented on the work of the Sub-committee as below:

> "While the greatest unanimity of sentiment has prevailed with regard to many points, there are others which have excited much diversity of opinion among the subscribers. This diversity far from being a subject of regret, is only one out of many proofs of that zeal and animation with which the leading families and characters among the Hindoos have engaged in the design."

The *Gazette* of the same date informed the public of the large donation of Maharajah Tej Chand of Burdwan, amounting to rupees twelve thousand. It should be mentioned here that Gopee Mohun Tagore of Pathuriaghata subscribed rupees ten thousand, and the Mullicks of Burrabazar, rupees twenty-five thousand. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 27 June had already referred to the amount and to the suggested ways of its expenditure:

> "The amount of the subscriptions at present Sa. Rs. 66,700, of which not less than 25,000 has been contributed by the Mullicks. Almost all the subscribers declare their resolution to add to their contributions as soon as a definitive plan shall have been agreed on, which shall decide the mode and terms of the subscription. Calculations have in the meantime been made which purport to show, that one lac subscribed to a fund destined to remain at interest during the first year, afterwards to purchase ground and erect those buildings soonest required, together with half a lac constituting a fund, the capital and interest of which may be gradually expended, during the four years ensuing, on current expenses, will enable the managers of the institution to commence instruction, with every reasonable prospect of final success."

V

The Sub-committee, appointed for the purpose of preparing Rules for the College, finished its labours on 20th August 1816 and sent the printed copies of them to individual members of the General Committee. Both the General Committee and the subscribers met separately on 27th August at the house of Sir Edward Hyde East, to consider the Rules. The Sub-committee formally placed the Rules before both the meetings, which were passed unanimously. The pundits, too, giving their full consent.

The Rules were thirty-four in number, divided into three sections, namely, Tuition, Funds and Privileges, and Government. The object of the institution was described in the 1st Rule of the first section as "The primary object of the Institution is, the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." According to Rule 3, the College would include a School (*Pathsala*), and an Academy (*Maha Pathsala*). The subjects of study in both the divisions would be on the lines mentioned before. The work of the School was to commence first. Another Rule in this section is very interesting, and may be followed with profit even today. The Rule lays down:

> "The English language shall not be taught to boys under eight years of age, without the permission of the Managers in each particular instance."

The second section, Funds and Privileges, consists of sixteen rules (10—25), forming the pivot of the constitution. There should be two distinct funds for the College: (1) 'College Fund' and (2) 'Education Fund.' The object of the College Fund is stated to be "to form a charitable foundation for the advancement of learning, and in aid of the Education Fund. Its ultimate purpose will be the purchase of ground and construction of suitable buildings there-

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upon, for the permanent use of the College; as well as to provide all necessary articles of furniture, books, a philosophical apparatus, and whatever else may be requisite for the full accomplishment of the objects of the Institution." In the meantime, until the buildings were constructed, house-rent and other current expenditures would be paid out of this fund. The amount subscribed to the "Education Fund" would be appropriated to the education of pupils, and expense of tuition.

According to the amount of subscription, paid on or before the 21st May, 1817 (being the anniversary of the day on which it was agreed to establish this Institution), the subscribers should be placed in different categories. The highest single contributor would be designated the "Chief Founder"; those paying Rs. 5,000 or upwards, the "Principal Founders," all other subscribers, "Founders of the College." The "Heritable Governor of the College" should be one who would contribute 'Rs. 5,000 or upwards, to the College Fund, before the aggregate sum of a lac and a half of sicca rupees might have been subscribed to that Fund.' Members of the Managing Committee, called in the Rules, as 'Directors' or 'Managers' would be elected annually from amongst subscribers of a certain amount. This is clearly expressed in the following Rule:

"Subscribers to the College Fund, who are not governors, and whose joint or separate subscriptions to it, (made before a lac and a half of sicca rupees shall have been contributed to it), shall collectively amount to 5,000 rupees, shall be entitled to elect anyone of their number to be a Director of the College."

Privileges of the subscribers have been described in some other rules. The Directors would determine their privileges when they would meet after their election.

The third section, "Government," contains nine Rules (26—34). The government of the College would be vested in a Committee of Managers, consisting of 'Heritable Governors, Governors for Life, Annual Directors, or their respective Deputies.' The Managers should 'possess full powers to carry into effect the whole of the Rules now established. They shall pass also additional Rules.' They would be the trustees of both the College and the Education Fund. The Committee of Managers would be the appointing authority in all cases. Three Managers would form a quorum in the committee-meetings, and all affairs would be decided by a majority of votes. The thirty-fourth Rule lays down the compulsory convention of an annual general meeting of the subscribers, 'at which a Report shall be made to them of the state of the funds and of the progress of the Institution.'

VI

In accordance with the Rules, the Managing Committee of the proposed Hindu College was constituted with two Heritable Governors—Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur of Burdwan and Gopeemohan Tagore of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, and five Directors or Managers, namely, Ganganarain Das, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Joykissen Singh, Gopeemohan Deb and Harimohan Tagore. Tej Chand very rarely attended the Committee meetings. The Committee began their work immediately. The first meeting of the Committee of Managers was held on the 4th December, 1816, at the house of Sir E. H. East. Five members attended the meeting, the absentees being

Joykissen Singh

Tej Chand and Harimohan Tagore. The Committee appointed James Isaac D'Anselme of Chandernagore, Head Master, on a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem. Lieut. Francis Irvine was appointed at this meeting European Secretary and Superintendent with a monthly salary of Rs. 300 subject to the permission of the Local Government, and Baidya Nath Mukherjee, Native Secretary, Superintendent and Accountant on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The next meeting of the Committee came off at the same place on the 12th December. Several other teachers and monitors were appointed and formal matters transacted. The Committee approved of the draft of a letter to be sent to the Governor-General seeking his permission to allow Francis Irvine to serve the Institution. The letter was sent to the proper quarters.

The Committee held two subsequent meetings,

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one on the 6th and the other on the 13th January, 1817, and finalised the way in which the College was to be founded. The site for the College was selected at No. 304, Chitpore Road, the house of Gorachand Bysack, on a monthly rental. Thirteen "free" scholars were ready for admission on account of the subscriptions to the Education Fund by some gentlemen. Francis Irvine was permitted to serve in the College in a letter written on behalf of the Governor-General to the Committee. The letter, however, expressly stated that in signifying "his Lordship's permission to accept the office of Secretary and Superintendent of the Institution, his Lordsip desires it to be fully understood that his aquiescence implies no sanction of the exercise of European interposition or influence in the selection and appointment of the officers of the Institution." The formal opening of the College in its school department was fixed on 20th January, 1817.

Now we come to the end of our story. The formal opening of the Hindu College came off on the scheduled date. There were only twenty students on the Roll. But the enthusiasm of the Indians, the gentry as well as the Pundits, was the uppermost. Some Europeans also attended the opening ceremony. *The Calcutta Gazette* of January 23, 1817, gave a detailed account of the opening day of the College, which runs mainly as follows:

> "During the whole or part of this day were present the following members of the College, *viz.*, Gopee Mohun Thakoor, a Governor of the Hindoo College, Baboos Radhamadhub Banorjya, Joykissen Sing, Gopee Mohun Deb, and Hurry Mohun Thakoor.—Many opulent natives, who were in general the parents or patrons of the scholars—Ragoomonee Bidyabhoosun, Chaturbhuj Nyaeerutnu, Sooba Sastry, Mirtoonjoy Bidyalunkur, Tarapersaud Nyaeebhusun, Ramdulal Turkoochooramonee Bhattacharj, Subhanund Bidyabagis, and other Pundits; besides Mohunpersad Thakoor, Baboo Radhakant Deb, and other literary na . . . Among those (English gentlemen) who were the Honorable the Chief Justice, Mr. H ington, Mr. Loring, and Mr. Barnes.
>
> "Teaching commenced, and was carried under various disadvantages. Although everyth had been avoided, which might assemble numerous spectators, their number and curiosity were sufficient to cause inconvenience. The teachers scholars had no previous acquaintance or communication; and the proficiency of the latter, which their distribution into classes depended, to be ascertained on the spur of the occasi Those present, however, expressed themselves be much pleased with the economy of the sch and exertions of the teachers. Some of the n were much struck with several of the practices the new method—the monitors pointing with the use of a large card for a whole class, and sand-writing. They observed that this method quite unknown when they were scholars; and doubted not that it will cause their children make such a more rapid progress than they done.
>
> "Most of the scholars having previously in other seminaries, or received instructio home, were found to possess some knowledge English reading and writing. Their parents friends observed that they had taken them under other teachers, in the confidence that in institution, expressly intended for the Hi education of the Hindoo children, their prog would be more rapid and their ultimate profi greater. The pundits testified greater satisfa on this interesting occasion; and said that they witnessed the beginning of what they h would issue in a great diffusion of knowledge learned native expressed his hopes that the Hi College would resemble the Bur, the largest trees, which yet is at first but a small seedling
>
> From this humble seedling the Hindu Co certainly grew into a *Bur* or huge banyan tree w twenty years of its existence.

———:O:———

THE RIDDLE

By Sangitacharya TARAPADA CHAKRAVARTY

Why this wealth of love, this warmth of endearments
in a world girdled around by wreaths of death?
Why on earth this blossoming of timid hopes,
the hopes of union in a blasted heart
brimful of the pains of languishment?

Right from the dust and the grassy green
all things move and have their being,
just for a fruitless chase of the ignis fatuus.
Tears, unending tears blind the eye,
and yet we laugh our heartiest laughs.

Gnawing away the river's shores the waves roll on,
not feeling for their agonies, neither looking back
And lo, the shores would fain clasp that flowing
in their loving embrace!
Loose are the ties, and broken in a moment's
How merrily do birds build their nests of woe
on the boughs of trees!
The ship sails adrift tossed over the unfathomed
where lies the port?

Wilder and wilder be the raging storm
man would rear his home none the less,
and birds their nests evermore.

* Translation of a song from his book *Sura-Tirtha* in Ben

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HOW THE INDIAN BORDER STATES SHOULD BE REORGANISED

By Major. B. N. MAJUMDAR

Introduction

The Butler Committee in its report some 30 years ago observed:

"Politically there are two Indias, British India governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of the Princes. Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of pink and yellow. The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together."

A glance at the map will however show that India is geographically one and indivisible. The Provinces and the States are so interspersed and dovetailed that these territories overlap and that the States had enclaves in the Provinces and *vice versa*. The Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee in 1948-49 has aptly remarked in their report:

"Provinces and States lie interspersed all over the continent, the boundaries being in most cases artificial and not representing any natural divisions; and all parts of the country are interlinked."

In actual fact the political division of India into two parts by the foreign ruling power was artificial and was an unwanted legacy of the Moghul period. This fact has been rightly observed in the White Paper on the Indian States:

"The geographical set-up of the Indian States did not coincide with any ethnic, racial or linguistic divisions. The people of the provinces and the States had suffered alike from the waves of foreign invasions and foreign domination. Close ties of cultural affinity, no less than those of blood and sentiment, bound the people of the States and the Provinces together."

How then India came to be divided into two parts? There were two reasons—the historical factor that the States had not been annexed and the political factor that the States maintained the "traditional monarchical form of government."

With the rise of nationalism considerable changes in the whole world came about and India also under went important political transformation. After the attainment of independence in 1947 the whole outlook changed. The Princes readily realised the necessity to fall in line with the changing political aspirations of their people and consented voluntarily to remodel themselves. They surrendered their "legalistic stand on time-worn treaties or their anachronistic prerogatives and powers."

In spite of this change in attitude it took considerable time and effort of the authorities to consolidate this reorganisation. Difficulties faced were complex and many.

"It was inevitable that the profound change that has come over the States should bring in its wake a crop of difficult administrative problems. Local affiliations and political habits die hard; not all the newly established units, therefore, could be expected to settle easily in the new mould. A radical change-over from an autocratic set-up, which had been maintained for a century and a half, to a democratic order and task of piecing together into a co-ordinated pattern the diverse administrative systems of integrated States could by no means be easy," observes the White Paper.

A complete change came over after the Independence of India Act. Under Section 7 of the said Act the "Suzerainty of His Majesty over Indian States" lapsed, and many States acceded to the Indian Union or executed "Stand-Still" agreements to maintain their existing "Codes" with regard to the subjects of common concern till such time a political set-up was devised.

Soon further tremendous changes were brought about "by a process of twofold integration, firstly, consolidation into sizeable and viable administrative units, and, secondly, growth of democratic institutions and responsible governments," observes the White Paper.

Of late, however, there has been a fresh wave of public opinion to reorganise the States in manners more suitable to the needs of the people and the country. While agreeing to the desirability of such a step, it is necessary to trace the historical setting of the whole problem, how it came about, why it was necessary and what principles were borne in mind at the time of the initial organisation of the present units. Only after this survey we shall be able to know how far the requirements of national security and defences were kept in view.

Historical Review

Even though the States had studded the map of India from the dawn of modern history, it was mere accident that the present problem was inherited by Indian government after independence. The legacy had been so deep-rooted after 130 years of British rule that it was then thought that nothing substantial will be achieved without a fierce revolution. However these fears were unfounded and a remarkable change-over took place which astounded even many optimists.

The States in their present form came into being since 1819 when their existence and continuance were recognised by the various treaties and "sanads" which they negotiated with the paramount power of India. By the various policies of subsidiary system (Wellesley), subordinate isolation (Hastings), and annexation (Dalhousie), the British consolidated their position vis-a-vis the Princes, in the country.

The Indian mutiny of 1857 proved the far-sighted statesmanship of the British when the Princes gave active support and enabled them to crush the mutinuous army. In 1858 Queen Victoria proclaimed, "We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as our own." Thus the two Indias were completely isolated and grew up independent of each other.

World War I brought about a radical change in

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the outlook. During the war the need for common policy and action between the Provinces and the States gathered force as the entire resources of the country had to be mobilised. This involved co-ordination and closer co-operation of administrative machineries of the Provinces and States. Thus the two component parts of the country were brought together by chance and sowed the seeds for that attitude of mind which became so pronounced during the period of partition.

Gradually the people were also politically awakened and clamoured for popular government and better economic conditions. These aspirations of the people of the country were recognised and Montagu made the historic announcement when he said about the acceptance of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of self-government in India as an integral part of the British empire." This was, however, not to the liking of the Princes who wanted to hang on to their gains and neutralise the growth of Indian nationalism. The Butler Committee recognised certain demands of the States in that their rights and obligations will not be transferred to any other Indian authority without the agreement of the States. Thus there were the following categories of States:

(a) States, the Rulers of which were members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right. (108 States).

(b) States, the Rulers of which were represented in the Chamber of Princes by 12 members of their Order elected by themselves (127 States).

(c) Estates, Jagirs and others (327 in number).

All these States had varying degrees of relationship with the Crown.

"It was based on Treaties, Engagements, Sanads as supplemented by usages and sufferance and by decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice. The rights that the Paramount Power claimed in exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation to the States covered matters both external and internal," observes the White Paper.

In other words the British exercised their paramountcy under conditions suitable and beneficial to them. The Indian States Committee of 1927 viewed this as:

"Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

Further changes in the reorganisation of the States on a federal basis took place under the Government of India Act of 1935. Even though the accession of the States to the federation was voluntary and was to be conditional on the basis of the Instrument of Accession, it was an important step towards unity and co-operation. This change could not be tried out properly as World War II broke out soon after and the scheme was abandoned in 1939.

During the war the Cripps Mission arrived to solve the Indian political complications. But it was a failure and this gave a new turn to India's po struggle.

After the war the Cabinet Mission arrive India in 1945 to make another effort to solve the tical deadlock. This time the efforts were cessful and India was divided. This division country completely broke the geographical cohe of the country and hence active efforts were ma solve the problem of the States.

After partition it was vitally necessary to re the "unity of what remained as India" as it "most essential not only for the political strengh economic development and cultural expression of Indian people but also for facing the aftermath partition," remarks the White Paper. This point been further ably substantiated by Coupland when says:

"An India deprived of the States would lost all coherence. For they form a great cr form barrier separating all four quarters of country. If no more than the Central I States and Hyderabad and Mysore were excluded from the Union, the United Provinces would be com pletely cut off from Sind. The strategic and eco mic implications are obvious enough."

After various negotiations the States eventu agreed to join in the Indian Union under the "Sta still Agreement." Thus the first phase of fitting States into the constitutional structure was achieved.

The next step of integration took the follow three forms:

(a) Merger of States in the Provinces geo phically contiguous.

(b) Conversion of States into centra administered areas.

(c) The integration of the territories of t States to create viable units as Union of t States.

These various forms of integration had been ba on the following: (a) Sizeable and viable units, Geography, (c) Linguistic and Cultural affinity, Man-power and wealth-power, (e) Economic po tiality.

With the reorganisation of the States, the relati ship with the Centre was based on the following pr ciples:

(a) The Union Government have authority the reconstituted States over the same range of sub jects as in Provinces.

(b) The Union Government exercises its fun tions in States through its own administrati agency as in Provinces.

(c) The States contribute to the finances of the Union on exactly the same basis as the Provinc and receive grants and other forms of financi assistance on the same basis.

The reorganised set-up as it exists today h brought about many benefits. It has given the peo a stable, popular and democratic government; effect economy in governing agencies, pooling of resour and national wealth; enabled people to have more amenities of life and benefits of social welfare schem improved communication system; given the peo

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justice and law; in the new set-up there should be no room for special previleges of classes, immunities from taxation, judicial and quasi-judicial privileges, and other feudal practices," remarks the White Paper.

Even under the Constitution of India the States are as much a part of the country as the Provinces and there is no discrimination on this account.. The whole system is operating efficiently with the exception of a few states whose political future has yet to be decided. These are Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh.

Under the new constitution, the constituent units are of three classes:

(a) *Part A States*
These are former Governor's Provinces.

(b) *Part B States*
These are Unions of States, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) *Part C States*
These correspond to the former Chief Commissioner's Provinces.

Thus the distinction of Provinces and States has vanished and that those States which had merged with the Provinces have lost all vestiges of existence of separate entities. Henceforth the word "State" has its proper shade of meaning and not as coined by the British.

Thus under the new set-up,

"The Union of India will conform to the pattern of other Federations and function with the same rights and obligations throughout the country, and that all the units will likewise have equal rights and obligations. Only so can the Union of India make an effective contribution to the solution of the difficult economic problems that face India, meet the strains and stresses of the post-war world and maintain the national unity," sums up the Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee.

After a study of the historical background it will be seen that the present set-up requires some changes though small, to conform to the organisation of the growing and vital needs of the security and defence of the country. In most cases all the salient factors were considered before merging and forming unions. But in the case of border states other factors should not have outweighed the security and defence aspects. It is, therefore, now for consideration as to what principles of reorganisation should be particularly applicable in the case of border States of India. Before we enumerate these principles let us first consider the salient requirements of national defence.

Requirements of National Defence

War in modern times has a totally different scope.

"Modern war is total, involving every branch of national life. All phases of the national war effort are inter-dependent, from the fields and the factory to the front line".—*Conduct of War* by War Office.

Today the strength of a nation is not measured in terms of the number of the armed forces. It is much more than that. All aspects of national life have to contribute their best to the adequate and efficient defence of the country. Even work in connection with the defence of the country is closely inter-related with others and thus make up a gigantic and a strong single national war machine.

The nature of war of the by-gone days has passed into history and oblivion. Today war engulfs every individual in the nation and depends for its success on the unbending will of the people as a whole. Soldiers may win any number of victories in the front line but if the home front collapses, the successful prosecution of the war may be jeopardized.

Every branch in a nation—the Government, the armed forces, the civil administration, the farmer, the labour, the factory worker, the businessman, and every other individual, whatever his work in life may be, is an important member of the team and has an important part to play. All components of the national effort are thus geared to the ultimate goal of successfully defending the nation at war.

What then are the basic factors on which the national strength is based? These are: (a) A strong national character and indomitable will to fight, (b) Economic stability, (c) Industrial and self-sufficiency, (d) A high national physical standard.

How can these conditions be achieved and developed? It is only by national unity and creating adequate opportunities for the people to enable them give out their best in times of war. All these points are closely interlinked with the suitable grouping of the states, so that all concerned can develop their spheres of contribution under a congenial atmosphere.

From a study of the principles underlying the organisation of the various states it will be noted that certain points have been considered but some are yet to be given their due weight and importance. This emphasis on the principles will vary in each state but the border states need a different consideration. It is felt that under the present set-up, the States on the border of India, need reorganisation. The problem will be considered in detail in the succeeding paras.

The Border States

The present border of India is vulnerable. It has not been based on defendable features but only on political factors. India's border, therefore, requires a more stable and secure governmental organisation than the other States of India.

India has a very long border with the adjoining countries, with all of whom relationship is not very cordial.

The border States are: (a) Jammu and Kashmir, (b) Himachal Pradesh, (c) Assam, (d) Manipur (e) Tripura, (f) Saurashtra, (g) Rajasthan, (h) Kutch.

The geographical position of the above states will reveal that these border States are situated on India's vulnerable portions and therefore should be organised on a different level. With the exception of Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Saurashtra and Rajasthan all the other States are centrally administered. There are at

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present a few other States, such as Bilaspur, Bhopal and Bindhya Pradesh, which are also centrally administered. The main points for such a step are backwardness of the area, economic wealth, nodal points and location of vital natural resources. These may have some importance but not to the exent admitted. In a vast country like India there are many other places which have equally and even more important items essential for the very national existence but it is not possible to have all of them centrally controlled and administered. A line must be drawn somewhere for the demarcation.

It is therefore for consideration as to which of the states on the border of India are strategically important from the national defence point of view? All the border states are not so placed as to be important but some are. These States have already been indicated in the foregoing paras. The principles to be followed should be the following:

(a) Political and military importance of the State.

(b) Location of strategic communication system.

(c) Existence of strategic industrial and natural resources.

(d) Vital points in India's defence system.

These principles should be borne in mind in the case of the States only on the border. But other States may have some or all of these items and it is not necessary to give them special consideration.

The defence requirements are many. Already the main points have been enumerated and for successful conduct of defence of a country the salient requirements are political and economic stability. The forces operating in that part of the country should never be hampered by disrupted or disorganised conditions in their rear. Then, distances being vast they have to depend on local resources for their maintenance and this the area must be able to give to the troops stationed there. Similarly, the will of the people inhabiting must be strong so that they can stand up to all kinds of stress and strain.

During the process of organisation of the States the Government took into consideration the wishes of the people, their desire to have unions on linguistic, cultural and ethnic considerations, geographical proximity, economic factors and such other matters akin to them, but in the case of border States these may not all be taken notice of.The over-riding and primary considerations of defence and security must influence the decisions in the case of border States.

The units as they exist at present are already constituted according to the wishes of the people who want to be together, but the question that has to be decided relates to the governmental responsibility of these States. Also all border States have not been considered previously. Hence, it is necessary to review the lem of reorganisation with special refere defence requirements. Other requirements of tion will have to be considered but the ov importance should have to be given to the poin tial and vital for national security.

All the border States should be centrally a tered. The appointment of the chief should b by an able soldier statesman. This will ensu ciency and stability of government, continuity uniformity of administrative procedure, co-ordinat national defence programme between military and requirements and adequate and efficient consid of defence requirements of the State. Direct C control is necessary not only for adequacy of m but also for implementing defence measures which central subject and is formulated and controlled a highest level of the government.

Conclusion

In view of India's geographical position, t considerations are of vital importance to the co Under the present set-up the Centre has little control in the internal affairs of the States on th der of India which are not centrally admini All the border States are not under central contr therefore many important defence requirements be overlooked. To carry through any proposal, p to implement and control the machinery must And to bring about such a control it is necessa reorganise all the important border States which considered vital in India's chain of defence set-up the subject of re-organisation of the States is a under consideration the question of border S should also be carefully gone into.

It will be noted from the historical evolution the States to the present day, the existing organis had followed certain principles but in all cases e mic factors were given more importance. This m have been so in some cases but not in all. The bo States should have been viewed with a different look.

It has to be admitted that the present set-u the States is the best that was possible under th cumstances and the speed in which it was done. it was not the last answer in all aspects. It c have been better and it is now the opportunity to d

Whatever might have been the basis behind organisation of the other States in India, it is o dered that these should not be made applicable in to the border States. Some factors should be c in preference to the requirements and necessity defence and national security. This fact has rather regrettably missing and is vital to our s solidarity and independence.

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"JIBANDEBATA" CONCEPTION IN RABINDRANATH'S POETRY

As Seen in the Light of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By SANTOSH KUMAR BRAHMA, M.A.

Very few people will disagree if we say that Rabindranath was a poet-philosopher. Now philosophical poetry, like poetical drama, is a peculiar genre composed of warring elements. And one naturally asks where poetry ends and philosophy begins.

But one thing is certain. Poetry is not the same thing as philosophy. Poetical experience and philosophical concept are different things. Philosophers look behind and after and find that "all is right." But poets sing in a different tune. Poets when they look before and after pine for what is not. There is always an element of sadness, an undefinable yearning, in the poetic mind. No one can miss this longing whether he reads the love-laden lines of Keats or the lovely lyrics of Shelley.

The conception of *Jibandebata*, be it poetic or philosophical, has aroused much controversy among the critics of Rabindranath. One school of thought led by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis argues, not without reason, that Jibandebata is personal. In the words of Prof. Mahalanobis:

"Jibandebata is personal—the presiding deity of the poet's mind—not quite that even—the Innerself of the Poet, who is more than this earthly incarnation."

The other school goes the other way in suggesting that Jibandebata is impersonal. It suggests the idea of Universal Godhead. As against these conflicting views we have the opinion of the poet which on the authority of Dr. Thompson runs as follows:

"The idea has a double strand. There is the Vaishnava dualism always keeping the separateness of the Self and there is the Upanishadic monism . . . when the Jibandebata came to me I felt an overwhelming joy—it seemed a discovery, new with me—in this deepest self-seeking expression . . . Today I am on the same plane as my readers. I am trying to find what the Jibandevata was."

The words of the poet even do not carry us far. To his mind the conception of Jibandebata is at once personal and impersonal.

Rabindranath like Sri Aurobindo is opposed to the doctrine of the monistic spirituality. In a famous lyric the poet has condemned in unmistakable terms what Sri Aurobindo has called "the great Refusal of the Ascetic" to recognise the material world. The poet and the philosopher are at one in regarding both Matter and Spirit as real. As Sri Aurobindo says:

"But there is also this other indubitable experience that the Divine is here in everything as well as in all things, that all is in that and is that when we go back from its appearance to its Reality."

Sri Aurobindo goes further and makes the disquieting reflection that the Divine descends into the world of matter. So it is possible to realise the Divine, however imperfect that realisation may be, in the material world. One need not get completely beyond the world of senses to catch fleeting glimpses of the veiled Divine which we can get in the "Overmind stage." This leads us to the conclusion that Rabindranath's *Jibandebata* is a partial realisation of the Divine or Absolute Spirit in the world of Matter. It is not the Supreme Being of God which can only be realised, in Sri Aurobindo's words, on the Supramental stage.

The first thing to note about the idea of Jibandebata is that it is an experience of the poetic mind. No less a person than the Poet himself has said in his "Kamala Lectures" on the Religion of Man that

"All that I have tried to speak about Jibandebata is an experience of the poetic mind."

Any attempt to philosophise on them will lead us wrong. The second thing that strikes us is that we do not find in the poet's conception of Jibandebata that decisive experience or spiritual certitude that characterises a spiritual aspirant who has realised God. Hence, the poet has called it by various names.

The conclusion seems irresistible that the Jibandebata in Rabindranath's poetry is an experience of the poetic mind and not a philosophical concept as some learned professors and critics of Rabindranath make us believe.

—:O:—

THE SPELL OF AMERICA

By Dr. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

Round the world!

Yes, I went as a pilgrim in quest of principles that should guide human life in modern times. I went to give what Indian culture has to offer to the world and the world has to offer India. My job was to find out a harmonious relation between scientific knowledge and the art of life and to preach the world-view given by our ancient seers.

Alas, how many can say that he has spent his time as he will like to recount it. I am not surely in that favoured group. But still I am proud of my travel-experiences. The days I spent in foreign land will remain unforgettable for their varied experiences on the world-background.

Among the many countries I visited, I liked America the best and I shall try to analyse the spell

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of that mighty country to the best of my power.

What strikes a foreigner on his first arrival in the United States of America is the wonderful living democracy in that wide and beautiful country.

In a letter of June 8, 1783, the first President, George Washington, wrote:

> "The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years are laid open for our use and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government."

This boast is amply justified by the achievements of the American people in the domain of politics.

America is the *oldest* republic on the face of the earth. The American people is world-conscious. Its people is conscious of its peculiar role on the face of the earth. It wants to voice forth the hopes and aspirations of the whole human race upon the wilderness environment of a new country—it wanted to build a new history and it has not failed to fulfil this destiny. It is because of this feeling that the American people are very hospitable, without much introduction I was able to live as guests in different American homes.

America is the great melting pot of races where individuals of different nations, speaking different languages and having different customs and manners are changed into a new nation by the alchemy of two powerful forces, puritanism and democracy, to become the great American nation. The average American is frank and cordial and he is generally hospitable and affectionate. He has no prejudice against you. He, therefore, soon becomes an endearing friend and remains so for your life, for, he has an abundance of the warmth of heart and ardent enthusiasm. I remember meeting a young divorced wife and her mother coming to listen to my lecture. Thereafter they invited me to have a round of the beautiful San Francisco city in their car. In our journey, the old mother talked with me in a very friendly manner and divulged to me the secrets of their personal lives. In no other country on the face of the earth such intimacy can be found. It is the frankness and brave attitude of a brave people.

I remember also the many conversations I had with one of my pupils. She wanted to read the Vedas with me but unfortunately she was the only student I got and the Dean stopped my classes. But I shall never forget her eagerness to learn about the great mysteries of India. She invited me to her flat and had deep discussions on the intricate problems of life. When I had to leave San Francisco, she invited her [illegible] into a small meeting and asked me to give a talk so that she and her friends may offer something for my lecture.

America is a favoured land. Because of its natural resources and its wonderful human [illegible] America is the land of plenty. It gives chance young men and women to make something of life this abundance, this plenty does not make them Even the richest man in America could find wrong in driving his car nor could his wife d a dishonour to look after the home-affairs. The of labour is not a copy-book maxim in America the general practice. I loved America because of

I was the guest in the riverside drive of hatten of a very respectable professor of Columbia University. He used to wash dishes after dinner and I tried to help him best of my power and ability.

I had occasion to criticise the love problem America in some of my lectures. My listeners lis to my pungent remarks with good graces. But the problem remains and every third marriage America ends in a divorce. In spite of Hollywood pictures which give many the idea that America the land of poetry and passion, the fact is America has the largest number of divorces. But of the many reasons for it is that an average Amer woman looks out for glamour in his marital life it is for this reason that she seldom bears with adjustments in life's partnership.

Success is the keynote of American life. Everybody is working hard for achieving success. Mil of men are daily panting and sweating to mak success of something or other. There is endless e to make things work perfectly. The average Amer is a man with great faith. He believes that there keyword which would solve all the intricate pu of life and some one or other knows it. Because this nationol conviction, everybody is moving moving.

This speed, this hurry, tires our eastern con tions of life but it is part of the American life. A with this, there is always tall talk and self-glori tion. Everything of America seems to the Amer to be of the superlative degree. In this brag, th is a childish joy of a new nation which does hurt you.

The Americans are directly a commercial peop Dollars influence their outlook in life. To wealth and not the enjoyment of wealth, seems to the principal aim of life but still they are the generous people on the face of the earth. The table institutions of all descriptions bears gifts fr the wealthy classes in profuse numbers. This cha is not simply confined to the four corners of Amer

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The Sanskrit maxim that to the high-minded the whole world is kith and kin is true to American character than to our own.

Matthew Arnold did not find elevation and beauty in America but I cannot agree with his view. There is a deep earnestness in the American character and they are the most ardent lovers of beauty. An American is eager to identify himself with world-wide and age-long adventure of mankind.

America today is a leader of nations. I found everywhere from the gleaming Pacific to the wide Atlantic, peoples of the different states eager to know more of India. I personally believe that we should gain much if we can have the friendship and love of America, for, America will help without expecting any obligation on our part.

The dramatic and picturesque expansion of America will be an inspiration to Free India. The spirit of freedom and enterprise which characterises the American nation when mingled with our depth of spirituality will usher in a far more glorious India.

George Warrington Steevens wrote about the American:

"You may differ from him, you may laugh at him; but neither of these is the predominant emotion he inspires. Even while you differ or laugh, he is essentially the man with whom you are always wanting to shake hands."

I must agree with him wholeheartedly when I remember with gratitude the many friends I made in America and their courteous and warm friendly services.

——:O:——

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

In the centre of the Soviet capital, on the largest of its seven hills, stands the Moscow Kremlin, the greatest memorial of Russian culture. It houses the Soviet Government, is the venue of Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and all important conferences.

The gates of the Kremlin are hospitably open to excursions of the working people and to numerous foreign guests. In 1954 alone it was visited by over half a million excursionists including delegations from Britain, France, America, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Japan, Rumania, Finland, China, Korea, Albania, Belgium, Sweden, Israel, Norway, Germany, India, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and other countries.

The Moscow Kremlin is a magnificent architectural ensemble which has been developed and added to over a number of centuries.

Of great historical value are the superb collections of applied and decorative arts kept in the State Oruzheinaya Palata, the oldest museum in the country, which make it possible to trace the development of almost all the branches of Russian applied arts. Especially well represented there are metal handicrafts, articles of carved bone and wood fabrics, gold and silver embroidery.

Most of the art valuables collected in the museum are closely linked with Russia's history beginning with the eleventh century and, specifically, with the history of the Moscow Kremlin. These articles testify to the high level of Russian art. Under Soviet power the Oruzheinaya Palata collections have been replenished by the more historically important treasures from Russian palaces and the patriarchic vestry.

The Moscow Kremlin is rich in architectural monuments. To them belong the Uspensky Cathedral dating back to 1479, the annunciation (Blagovesh-chensky) Cathedral erected in 1489 by Moscow and Pskov architects, and the Archangel Cathedral built in 1509.

Each of them contains a large number of painting memorials. The Blagoveshchensky Cathedral, for instance, is decorated with works by Andrei Rublev, Feofan Grek and Prokhor of Gorodets. To better preserve these memorials the Cathedral has been air-conditioned. Restoration of 17th century frescoes and paintings is nearing completion in the Archangel Cathedral.

Visitors to the Kremlin can see some magnificent samples of the art of foundry, such as, for example, the tsar cannon, cast in 1586 by the Russian master Andrei Chokhov. This 89 centimetre piece of ordnance weighs forty tons and is five metres thirtyfour centimetres long. It was built to defend the Kremlin against a Tatar invasion at the end of the 16th century. The enemy never reached Moscow, however, so that the cannon was never used though it has all the necessary requisites.

A no less interesting monument of the art of casting is the tsar Kolokol, standing near the Ivan the Great belfry. This giant bell, 6 metres 60 centimetres in diameter and weighing over two hundred tons, has no equal in the world either in weight or the quality of work. It was cast by the Russian master Ivan Motorin and his son Mikhail. After the casting it was raised on scaffolding for further treatment. During the great fire of 1737 the scaffolding collapsed and the bell, heated by the flames, fell into a ditch with cold water. The metal cracked and a piece weighing 11.5 tons broke off. The bell lay in the ditch one century, and it was only in 1836 that it was raised and placed on a granite pedestal.

The architectural memorials and other structures in the Kremlin underwent restoration last year.—*Tass.*

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THE ALEXANDER-VON-HUMBOLDT FOUNDATION

THE Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation was originally established in 1925 and reconstituted in 1953 by Chancellor Adenauer to commemorate one of Germany's greatest scholars, scientists and diplomats. Alexander von Humboldt was a friend and contemporary of such figures as Goethe, Schiller, Bunsen, Gauss, and others. Primarily a naturalist and botanist, his voluminous writings were based on an amount of personal exploration, which would have been remarkable even today, but which, in the eighteenth century, was nothing short of phenomenal. In addition to his native continent, von Humboldt's explorations led him through large parts of North and South America and Asia. His name is immortalized by such discoveries as the Humboldt Current in the Pacific Ocean, which flows down the west coast of South America, and by rivers and mountain ranges in many parts of the Americas. His whole life was devoted to bringing spiritual values of classical idealism into harmony with the newly emerging spirit of the natural sciences. That he combined both spirits in himself is best proven by the fact that in addition to his achievements as a naturalist, he had a notable career in diplomacy, serving his country at embassies and legations in France, England and Denmark.

It is perhaps only fitting that in keeping with the great tradition embodied in its name, the Humboldt Foundation today has as its chairman the internationally famous physicist and Noble Prize winner, Professor Werner Heisenberg of Goettingen University.

The Humboldt Fellowships are awarded on an international basis, *i.e.*, there are no fixed number awarded to any one country. The holders of Humboldt Fellowships may therefore rightfully be considered members of an international elite. The fact that many Indians have held Humboldt Fellowships in the past is a tribute to the high level of Indian education and to the respect which her scientists enjoy in the eyes of the world.

* * * * * *

Dear Sir,

I take great pleasure in informing you that applications may again be made for the Alexander-von-Humboldt Fellowships for the academic year 1955/56. As you are perhaps aware, the Humboldt Foundation makes a limited number of fellowships available each year to enable a select group of specially q foreign students and scientists to pursue their and research at Universities and Institutes of Te in Germany. The fellowships normally have a of ten months, but in special cases can be ex for a further 10-month-period.

To qualify for an Alexander-von-Humboldt ship, the applicant must be the holder of a post-g degree who intends to make a career of u teaching or research, or who may be expected to a leading position of some other kind after leavi university. Only highly qualified and particularly recommended applicants will therefore be considere

During the period of his fellowship, the receives a stipend of 350 DM per month, of wh room rent will amount to about 50 to 75 DM food to approximately 175 DM. All tuition f well as transportation costs from the German bo his place of study and return, are paid b Foundation.

The applicants must possess an adequate kn of the German language. The letter of appli should be handwritten in German, and contain a ment of the reasons why the applicant desires to in Germany. The accompanying application should be completed in triplicate and forwarded gether with three photographs, to this office pri *March 1, 1955.*

A memorandum stating the terms of the fell in detail, together with application forms, is en Selections are made by the Fellowship Commit Germany, the result of which will be announc July 1st.

While the number of these fellowships is li limited, we would very much like to see a hig centage of them awarded to qualified Indian s and would therefore appreciate it if you circularize this information at your institution as as possible.

Should additional application forms be require Consulate General will be happy to supply them request.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Schafhausen
Vice-Consul, the Federal Republic of Ger

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GURU GOVIND SINGH AND THE KHALSA

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

...u Nanak was the founder of the Sikh religion ...ch had to make its way through organised opposi... and tremendous difficulties. At the time of his ...earance (1469—1539 A.D.) India was groaning ...er the tyranny of the Moslem rulers. The nine ...ceding Gurus kept the spiritual lamp lighted by ...akji burning in the midst of tempest. The advent Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru, ...e latter part of the seventeenth century, opened ...w chapter in the annals of Sikhism and the Sikh ...ion. During the period Aurangzeb, the orthodox ...ghul autocrat, was the ruling Emperor. His ...otry, fanaticism and unscrupulousness reached ...r zenith due to which the sufferings of the ...Moslem subjects knew no bounds. His sole motive ...s to convert the non-Moslems to Islam by any ...ns fair or foul and failing that to cow them down ...to turn them into a race of helots. That very ...y, pursued by Aurangzeb with much hope and ... not only proved abortive but also brought about ...downfall of the great Moghul Empire built by ...r, a far-sighted Emperor and statesman, who ...wed a reverse policy.

When Guru Govind had to take his seat as the ...h Guru he was only ten years old. He decided ...live the life of a recluse in a solitary and safe ...e for the purpose of gathering strength both ...oral and spiritual through *sadhana*, devotion, ...itation and study. He retired to the Siwalik hills ...he Nahan State of the Punjab where he spent ...t two and a half decades. He appointed several ...ted scholars and poets with whose assistance he ...t Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabi. He made a deep ... extensive study of Pouranic, epic and scriptural ...ature of the Hindus. The young Guru was deeply ...ressed by the message conveyed through Sanskrit ...rature that when righteousness would face decay due ...he domination of unrighteousness, a divine saviour ...ld descend to the earth from time to time for the ...ival of religion by rescuing the righteous and ...roying the unrighteous. Guru Govind came to ...lieve that God the Almighty had ordained him to ...harge the noble duty of the deliverer by eman... ...ating the good and the oppressed and annihilating ... bad and the oppressors. He mentioned this in ... autobiography *Vichitra Natak*. He may be said ...have inherited his poetical gift from his forefathers. ...developed a style of his own in composing Hindi ...ns through which heroic sentiments and martial spirit found expression. It was Guruji who introduced blank verse in the Punjabi literature. His poems, which were extensively read, infused a new spirit into the hearts of the Sikhs.

During the period of his seclusion Guruji evolved a new scheme of regenerating the Sikhs and with a view to shaping it he directed them to rally on the first of Baisakh, 1756 Sambat (1699 A.D.) at Anandpur in the district of Hoshiarpur. About eighty thousand Sikhs assembled on the occasion. They eagerly waited to have a *darshan* of their Guruji and to listen to the message to be personally delivered by him. The people assembled were astonished when they saw Guruji coming out of his camp pitched nearby with an unsheathed sword in his hand. Addressing the congregation he said that they had gathered there at a time when the Sikh religion and the Sikh nation were in a critical position. Never before the Sikhs had to face such a crisis. If they wanted to save their religion and nation, they would be required to sacrifice their lives. Then he asked whether they were prepared to do that. None responded. Then he repeated his question for the third time. In response thereto a Sikh proceeded to the rostrum and standing before Guruji with his head bending in reverence said: "I shall feel blessed if Guruji orders me to lay down my life." He was forthwith taken to the tent wherefrom Guruji came back alone after some time holding that unsheathed sword as before. His call for sacrifice was heard by the mammoth gathering for the second time with rapt attention. Another Sikh appeared before him and offered himself for sacrifice. In this manner when the fifth Sikh offered himself as sacrifice there was no further call. After some time Guru Govind Singh with his flashing sword in hand appeared before the congregation accompanied by those five Sikhs all of whom were dressed in new clothes. Some of the people got unnerved and slipped away from the gathering.

Guru Govind called those five disciples *panch piyara* which means the Five Beloved Ones. They were baptised by him. He sprinkled baptismal water with the pointed portion of his sword to the accompaniment of *Gurbani*. He then requested his five followers to administer baptism to him in the same way. His request having been complied with he told them that he was their Guru and collectively they too were his Gurus. They were called the *Khalsa* which

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means pure. Guruji laid down a two-fold doctrine for the Khalsa:

"Blessed is he who repeateth God's name and is ready for war for a righteous cause."

The conversion into Sikhism was hereafter to be performed jointly by five Sikh devotees. Guruji gave this message to his co-religionists:

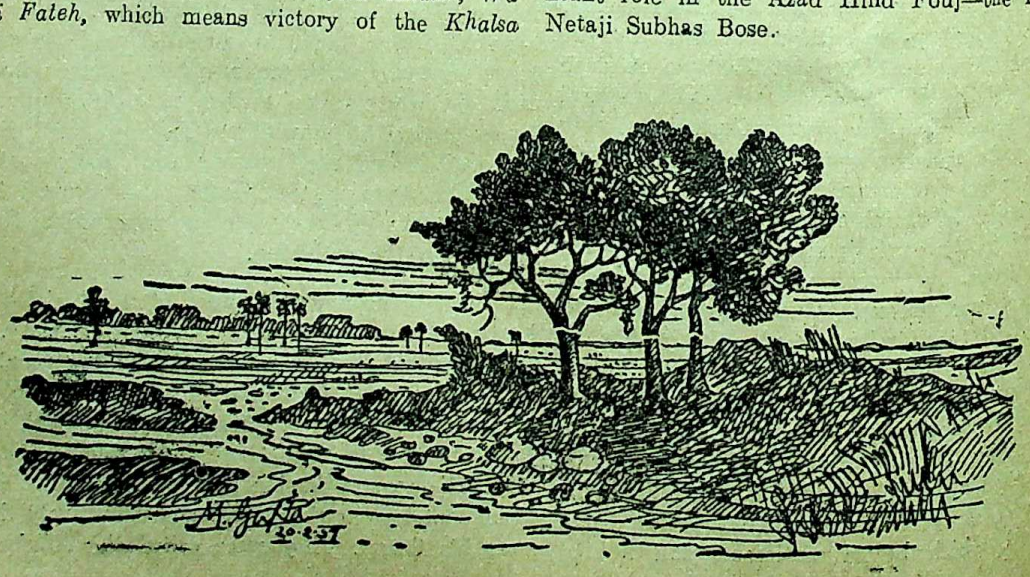
"Where there are five Sikhs there is God."

It was on this auspicious day of first Baisakh known as *Baisakhi* about 256 years ago Guru Govind, the far-sighted spiritual leader of the Sikhs, inaugurated the *Khalsa* through which not only a brotherhood of faith but also a brotherhood of arms was built up. His *Khalsa* which subsequently turned into an invincible army, fought the oppressive Moslem rulers, faced death as martyrs in defence of their faith and liberated their land of birth, the Punjab, from Moslem domination. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the famous Sikh warrior, himself a devoted member of the order of the *Khalsa*, conquered Lahore, Kashmir, Jammu, Dera Ismail-Khan and other important places and turned out the Moslem rulers from the Punjab and the adjoining places. He founded a Sikh State extending from the banks of the River Jamuna up to the Khyber Pass.

Along with the inauguration of the *Khalsa* Guruji introduced some changes in the customs of the Sikhs. The word Sikh was replaced by the word Singh as title. In Punjabi, the word Singh means a lion and this title was used only by the Rajput Kshatriyas. He wanted the Sikhs to be as fearless as lions. The form of salutation by touching the feet was dropped; in its place the custom of folding hands for saluting or exchanging greetings was introduced. Furthermore, while greeting each other the Sikhs were to utter this couple of sentences, *Wa Gurujika Khalsa, Wa Gurujiki Fateh*, which means victory of the *Khalsa* is victory of God. He made it mandatory for [illegible] Sikh to carry a *kripan* (sword) with him [illegible] constant companion. He asked his followers to [illegible] equal preference to the cult of *bhakti* as well [illegible] the cult of *Shakti*. The *Khalsa* brotherhood [illegible] recognise caste system and untouchability. [illegible] human being is a son of God and service to h[illegible] is service to God—this universal truth, propaga[illegible] Guru Nanak, was again placed before the Sik[illegible] Guru Govind with an appeal to follow it with [illegible] tion. "The Fatherhood of God and the Brot[illegible] of man" is the *summum bonum* of the K[illegible] brotherhood.

Guru Govind was not a visionary but a m[illegible] action. He himself did what he asked others [illegible] and this was the characteristic of the Sikh Guru[illegible] himself fought battles and encouraged his son[illegible] fight like a true Sikh. Four of his sons died i[illegible] battle-field. His family had a glorious recor[illegible] martyrdom which was a source of inspiration t[illegible] His great grandfather Guru Arjun Dev was c[illegible] with treason and executed by Jahangir (the [illegible] father of Aurangzeb); the grandfather Guru Govind was clapped in prison by Shah Jahan (father of Aurangzeb); and his father Guru Bahadur was executed under Aurangzeb's orders. Govind had unswerving faith in his religion and love for his mother-country and the nation to service of which he dedicated his life.

Through unflinching devotion to the leader, [illegible] fices and sufferings for the sacred cause of re[illegible] and national freedom, and death-defying courag[illegible] spirit of martyrdom, the great *Khalsa* of Guru G[illegible] created a tradition of its own which has no pa[illegible] in history. This glorious tradition inspired the [illegible] to fight gallantly in our national struggle for li[illegible] tion from British imperialism. They played a s[illegible] ficant role in the Azad Hind Fouj—the I.N.A [illegible] Netaji Subhas Bose.



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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

THE CALL OF THE VEDAS: *By Abinash Chandra Bose. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1954. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 1-12.*

This is one of the most important monographs that have appeared so far in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Book University Series. It consists of quotations of single verses, numbering three hundred in all, selected mostly from the *Rigveda Samhita* and partly from the *Atharva-veda Samhita* and the *Vajasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda*. The quotations with appropriate titles are accompanied with English translations and short commentaries. In his Preface the author claims to have limited his choice to the texts about which there is no divergence of interpretation between the orthodox scholars and the [Western] Orientalists, but in explaining their spiritual and religious significance, he has drawn upon "Indian sources (including the work of Indian spiritual leaders)," instead of following "the anthropological approach" of the Orientalists. The three hundred verses have been grouped by the author after his own system of classification under five sections representing different spiritual attitudes in the manner of the *Bhagavada-Gita*. These are (a) the Path of Devotion (*Bhakti-yoga*), (b) the Path of Knowledge (*Jnana-yaga*), (c) the Path of Mysticism or Spiritual Realisation (*Raja-yoga*), (d) the Path of Splendour (*Vibhuti-yoga*), and (e) the Path of Action (*Karma-yoga*). The fourth Path in this list is, in the author's opinion, "the most characteristic of the Vedas with their poetic approach to the Divine." The author's long introduction (pp. 1-75) is specially valuable for his very thorough and critical account of Vedic theism differing alike from monotheism and polytheism and conveying a wider connotation than henotheism (the term coined by Max Muller for this religion), as well as his detailed analysis of the basic principles of the Vedic religion comprising truth, order, consecration, austerity, prayer and ritual. The introduction ends with an estimate of Vedic Realism, collectivism and universalism.

The above analysis will help the reader to judge the nature of contents of this work. On some points (e.g., in the author's system of classification, admittedly based upon the late *Bhagavad-gita* and in the relative paucity of the texts quoted from the *Atharva-veda* and the huge literature of the *Yajur-veda*, which is utilised here only in its shortest recension), there may be legitimate grounds for criticism. The present reviewer again finds it difficult sometimes to follow the author's interpretation, as when he makes the sweeping assertion (p. 260) that "the word Brahmana does not imply a caste in the Vedas," nor again is he convinced that the Path of Splendour is "the most characteristic" attitude of the Vedas, in view of the prominent part played by charms, spells and incantations especially in the Atharva-veda. These minor defects of omission and commission however do not detract from the high value of this monograph alike for the general reader and the scholar.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA—1955: *Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.*

We have received a copy of *India—1955*, a "Reference annual compiled by the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India."

This year's annual shows a distinct advance on the previous years. The arrangements are more compact and the range of sections slightly wider. The reference value, as seen with a cursory glance through the pages, has also increased due to the inclusion of comprehensive tables and statistical data.

Two sections are wanting in this publication as in the previous ones. Firstly, there should have been a survey of efficiency in the services, public utilities and industrial production. This would have given a better idea of real progress than mere bald figures of moneys allocated and spent and structures erected. Secondly, there should have been a comprehensive bibliography of official and other authoritative publications, wherein there is more detailed information about the various sections included. Nevertheless the publication is useful and handy.

K. N. C.

STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: A survey based on case studies in Bombay and Madras: *By A. V. Raman Rao, M.A., Ph.D. Publication No. 28. The Gokhale Institute, of Politics and Economics, Poona-4, (India). 1954. Pp. 218 + iii. Price Rs. 7 or 11s. or $1.50.*

The volume is a consolidated report on the structure and working of Village Panchayats in Bombay, Kolhapur, Aundh and Madras. It sums up the results of investigations carried out by Dr. A. V. Raman Rao as the Besant scholar at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, during the years 1946 and 1947. As Sri D. R. Gadgil says in his Foreword, ". . . the study was directed towards obtaining field data regarding the working of Panchayats. It was planned as a series of case studies of a selected sample of Panchayats from different administrations."

In the report Dr. Rao has first of all described the administrative and legislative position of the Panchayats on the eve of enquiry. Next, he has analysed the facts revealed by the survey under four heads: (*a*) Structure, (*b*) Finance, (*c*) Functions, and (*d*) Supervision and Control. Lastly, he has made

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his own observations. On the whole, Dr. Rao's report with its factual material, comparative data and intelligent *obiter dicta* is a very useful publication.

Village Panchayats as units of self-government and schools of citizenship have appeared and reappeared in Indian history. In the first decade of the 20th century, the Decentralisation Commission appreciated their vitality and recommended their revival. But practically nothing was done till 1920. Since then experiments in democracy in rural areas have spread and these 'little republics' have proved their worth. Indeed, Village Panchayats will play an increasingly important role in the near future. Organisation of Village Panchayats is one of the directive principles of State policy. Article 40 of the Constitution of India may be referred to. The Planning Commission visualize Village Panchayts as agencies for carrying out rural development programmes. Thus the more the citizens of New India know about Village Panchayats, the better for the country. Against this background the importance of Dr. Rao's book is to be judged. It will serve as a valuable guide to our understanding of perhaps the most interesting sector of public administration in the India of tomorrow.

NIRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

RUSSO-AMERICAN RIVALRY IN ASIA: *By Hector Abhaya-Vardhan. Published by Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Mr. Abhaya-Vardhan's Russo-American Rivalry in Asia is a well-written study of what is perhaps the most important international problem of our age, *viz.*, the relation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and their rivalry in Asia.

In Part I, comprising eight chapters, the author surveys the former's policy in and attitude to Asia in general and China in particular during the last one hundred years. American policy in Asia, the author holds, aims at the subordination of Asia to American capitalism and imperialism. The objective is to be achieved by peaceful means, if possible, and by war, if necessary.

The nine chapters comprising Part II survey the Soviet foreign policy. The aims of this policy too, the author contends, are the subordination and exploitation of China and the rest of Asia. Hence, the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The gulf between them widens and our planet draws nearer the edge of the precipice.

The eight-page epilogue (pp. 175-82) of the volume under review is in the nature of the peroration of a prosecution counsel's argument, the U.S.A. being the prisoner in the dock.

The author, it is true, does not openly champion either the Russian or the American cause. Yet it is evident that he is anti-American, more anti-American than anti-Russian, at any rate. His work is however on the whole, an honest, "critical and non-partisan narrative and analysis of the Foreign policy of the U.S.A. and Russia" in Asia and merits a perusal. All his conclusions need not be accepted.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJEE

A HANDBOOK OF SAIVA RELIGION: *By Subramaniyar Katiresu. Second Edition. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Pp. 114. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The author of the book under review is a retired lawyer and law lecturer of Ceylon. He has half a dozen books on Ceylon law and Saiva religion. The Tamil Telegraphic Code invented by him is a [illegible] mark of his genius.

This small book treats within a brief compass essential features of Saiva *siddhanta* mainly in the Tamil province and Ceylon. It is free technical terms and pedantic discussions and meant English-educated devotees and students. That the University students of Ceylon have taken to an introduction to their deep study of Saiva dhanta. Sivagnana Bodham and Sivagnana Siddhi the two foundational scriptures of Saiva Siddhanta are summarised in the third chapter. The last chapter gives a descriptive list of the scriptures and books of this school of Hinduism.

Kashmir school of Saivism is another important branch of Hinduism and is different in several aspects from Saiva Siddhanta. The sacred books of the former sect are in Sanskrit whereas those of the latter are in Tamil. Thus various aspects of our religion and philosophy have to be studied and broadcasted as widely as possible in this age. This is needed to enliven the cultural revival necessary for the preservation of our Swaraj.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE GREAT SECRET (Six Monologues and a Conclusion) : *By the Mother. Published in 1955 by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pages 27, 6[illegible] Price 8 annas.*

In it six world-famous men—The Statesman, The Writer, The Scientist, The Artist, The Industrialist, The Athlete—have been thrown together in a life-boat where they took refuge when the ship carrying them to a World Conference on Human Progress sank in the middle of the Ocean. When there was no hope and death was certainty they narrated the stories of their lives, and expressed utter disappointment in their ultimate achievements. There was an Unknown man in the boat who was so long taken to be a negligible quantity. Now he is full of serene power and opens before them the meaning of life. Further he advises them to invoke the intervention of Grace. On invocation, Grace descends upon them and leads them out of despair to salvation and new life. These Monologues can be staged with profit by students of both schools and colleges.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT STUDIES: *By M. Hiriyanna. Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore. Price Rs. 4 or 6*

We have here a collection of nine 'papers' of general nature relating to Sanskrit literature. The language of the late Prof. Hiriyanna.' In a simple and attractive style they mainly seek to focus the attention of readers on the characteristic features of Sanskrit literature with special reference to Kalidasa and a number of works of Bhasa and Bhavabhuti. In the last paper on the study of Sanskrit valuable advice is given as to the way in which a serious student of Sanskrit should proceed in his studies. The book occasionally gives a new insight which will interest and benefit the students.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY: *By Rao Bahadur Prof. A. Chakravarti, M.A., I.E.S. Printed at the Diocesan Press, Madras. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-8.*

The author of the book under review is a retired educationist and a retired member of Indian Educational

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Service. For very many years he served as a distinguished Professor of English in several Government Colleges in Madras Presidency.

This small volume is a collection of ten articles written by the learned professor in different times and is prefaced by Sri C. S. Mallinath, ex-editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, Madras. The first seven of the ten articles appeared in the *Jaina Gazette* between 1919 and 1933 and the last one was specially written for this booklet. The philosophical, political, social, economic and other aspects of Indian culture are generally dealt with in these essays. Rightly Sri C. S. Mallinath observes in the preface that the views of the author are as true to-day as when they were originally written. The present generation of students and youths will be immensely benefited by a perusal of these suggestive and readable articles. But it is strange how a professor like him can pass such a perverted opinion about the dominant religion of India. In his extreme exuberance of appreciation of the Jaina practices he has gone so far as to call 'animal sacrifice of the Hindus a barbaric act' without trying in the least to realise its underlying significance. There is a number of cases which can be cited from the booklet where the writer has unjustly attacked Hinduism from an irrational outlook. We expected from the learned professor a more sober and dispassionate view of our religious practices. If the book were free from this limitation, its value would have been greatly enhanced.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

COMMERCIAL FRUITS OF INDIA: *By G. S. Cheema, D.Sc., I.A.S., Fruit Development Adviser to the Government of India, S. S. Bhat, M.Ag., Horticulturist to the Government of Baroda, and K. C. Naik, B.Ag., M.Sc., Ph.D., Fruit Specialist, Madras:—It bears a foreword of Mr. Ronald G. Hatton, Director, East Mailing Research Station, East Mailing, Kent, England and a preface from Sir R. G. Allan, Commissioner of Agriculture (retired), Baroda.*

The book is the fourth in a series of authoritative manuals prepared for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on subjects relating to agricultural and horticultural research and practice. It deals in considerable detail with the culture of banana, mango, orange and allied citrus, fruits, guava, pomegranate, papaya, grape, sapota, fig and ber. And these ten fruits have been dealt with in about 400 pages, and this alone will indicate how exhaustibly the culture of each fruit has been described and discussed. In fact all available literature, whether it is a leaflet or a pamphlet or a treatise has been consulted and useful information relating to each fruit has been embodied in it. A bibliography has been annexed with regard to each of the fruits dealt with in the book. And it has to be admitted that the authors have spared no pains to present an authoritative treatise on the ten fruits they have chosen for their book. And it will indeed be very valuable to those who are interested in the cultivation of fruits—whether on a large or a small scale.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have printed and published the book. Its get-up is excellent and it contains a good many illustrations. It is priced at Rs. 18 only. A treatise of this nature in vernaculars is likely to be more popular and useful towards the development of culture of fruits in the country.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

JUSTICE AND PEACE FOR ALL: *By Abdul Hasanat. Published by Pakistan Co-operative Book Society Ltd., Chittagong. Price Rs. 7-8.*

There is something about law and justice that at once attracts and repels. In this book the author wades through the intricacies of law, as it prevails in India and Pakistan, to see if justice, peace and normal living bliss can be had more cheaply and expeditiously. The book is full of practical suggestions for improvement of our laws and the instruments through which they are administered; but how far they will appeal to our rulers is a different question. For example, the author calls our Jury system, and we think rightly, a farce, but in India, at least, it is going to be put on a firmer basis.

Reform of the police is a baffling task; yet an account of the author's own experiments (and he is one of the Police Chiefs of East Pakistan) in this behalf at Chittagong seems to be encouraging. It will, I hope, attract the serious attention of those who have the police reforms in view.

On other cognate subjects, namely, the civil and criminal laws, the judges, the lawyers, the litigant public and the like, the author's constructive criticisms are also thought-provoking. But we miss in his discussions a systematic treatment. Perhaps the author was thinking of the possible dimension of the book if he entered fully into those subjects; but then he might save much of his space if he had reserved an account of his own experiments for a separate monograph. We hope that in the next edition the author will devote more pages to the reform of other agencies of the administration of law.

Law's delay, at least, should have received fuller attention from the author who has, unlike many similar other writers, vast practical experience added to learning and good sense. In Chap. XX relating to factors vitiating administration of justice the author might, for greater effect, cite Indian cases instead of American.

On the whole, the book is an original contribution to our not very copious literature on law and as such it will, we hope, be welcomed by all who are interested in the study of law and legal institutions.

P. C. ROYCHOUDHURY

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE: *By Dr. R. N. Poduval, Ph.D. (Lond.). Premier Publishing Co., Fountain, Delhi. Pp. 83. Price not mentioned.*

The book contains two lectures delivered by Dr. Poduval at the Madras University in February 1950. In the first lecture, the author discusses the changing pattern of India's foreign trade. Since the beginning of the Second World War and after its close India's foreign trade has passed through several stages. A further development commenced since 15th August, 1947, when two independent Dominions emerged as a result of the partition of the country. Emergence of India after the Great War as a creditor country had new implications in her trade relations with the outside world. Birth of Pakistan has made trade relations between India and her neighbour foreign. Division of India has made one portion mainly producer of raw materials and the other industrial, thus breaking the economy so far enjoyed by the whole Indian Empire. Devaluation by India and non-devaluation by Pakistan of their respective currencies in respect of Dollar have created complications whose result it is not possible to foretell in all its aspects but it may be stated without fear of contradiction that these actions are sure to be disastrous to economies of both, apart from unfriendly political relations already in existence.

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The second lecture discusses the commodity balance of trade before, during and after the War, visible and invisible trade, trade balance with Pakistan, effects of devaluation on Indo-Pakistan trade—Disequilibrium—Balance of Trade Problem in International context. The treatment of the subjects is illuminating even to a layman.

A. B. DUTTA.

HINDI

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: *By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.*

SARVODAYA SIDDHANTA: *A Symposium. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.*

There is a fundamental difference between the ideology of the Communist and that of the believer in the principles of Sarvodaya or Gandhism, though both avow that their sole objective in pursuing their particular path of reform or revolution is the creation of a classless society. For, violence or non-violence as a means to this end makes all the difference between the two ideologies. Shri Mashruwala brings this out clearly in his book while the symposium on Sarvodaya, to which Gandhiji, Vinobaji, Shri Narhari Parekh and others have contributed, only helps to confirm this difference, emphasising at the same time that justice must be assured "unto this last."

G.M.

GUJARATI

VIJNAN MANDIR: *By Prof. Dr. Kantilal C. Pandya, M.A.,Ph.D. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. [illegible] Price Rs. 4.*

Dr. Pandya has served for a long time in St. John's College at Agra as the Professor of Science and is therefore naturally interested in spreading knowledge of scientific subjects and of scientists in his own mother tongue. He is a practised and known writer connected with literary families both on the paternal and the maternal sides. Biographies of famous scientists of both hemispheres and of India have been set out in easy language, with narration of the works turned out by them and their discoveries. A thoroughly valuable work.

KALBHOJ: *By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay-2. 1954. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. [illegible] Price Rs. 4-8.*

Kalbhoj who is identified with Bappa Raval of Mewad (A.D. 734—753), was a king who valiantly withstood the coming onslaughts of Muslim invaders of India, and reigned over a country glorious in every way: a sort of golden age in the history of old Bharat. The practised pen and the splendid vision of the unique novel-writer of present Gujarat, has recreated the state of society prevalent then and presented an enchanting picture of the times which leads the reader into believing as if he was living in those times. It is a novel which will live.

K.M.J.

TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

By

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA

The object of this publication is to bring within the easy reach of our student population a small, cheaply-priced yet representative selection of the Swami Vivekananda's message to the sons and daughters of India.

Page 168 :: *Price Re. 1/12/-*

ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Draft Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61)

Science and Culture writes editorially :

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 as prepared by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis seeks to supply a logical foundation and a consistent frame-work for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan 1956—61. The chief aims are :

(*a*) to increase the national income by 5 per cent per year, that is, to double it in about 14 years; and

(*b*) to create opportunities of work for about 11 million persons during the plan-period.

This is sought to be done, on the one hand, by large investments in the heavy industries and construction, and on the other hand, by expanding the household and industries to the fullest extent. The development of heavy machineries, iron and steel, coal, irrigation and electricity, cement, heavy chemicals, etc., would lay a sound foundation for rapid industrialization in future. The expansion of hand industries would create a large volume of employment and increase the production of consumer goods to meet the increasing demand caused by large investments in the heavy industries.

Tentative targets of production have been given in the draft Plan-frame. It is not claimed that these are final. In fact, the chief object of the Plan-frame is to have the targets revised as necessary by detailed examination at a technical level. The Plan-frame emphasizes, however, that the targets are related to the rate of increase of national income and the volume of new employment sought to be created during the plan period. Secondly, there are technological connections between the different items ; a change in one item may require consequential changes in other items. Finally, the targets of production obviously are related to capital investments. The targets are thus basically inter-connected and also related to the rate of investment, the rate of increase of national income, and the rate of creation of new employment.

The chief merit of the draft Plan-frame lies in the attempt to give a coherent and logical structure to the second plan. This is why great emphasis has been laid on the consistency between different objectives and targets of the plan and balances between supply and demand at every stage.

It is interesting to observe that this type of planning requires thinking at a physical level. In fact, at one time there was a good deal of controversy about the alleged conflict between physical and financial planning. The fact of the matter is that a financial counterpart can always be arranged for any programme which is physically realizable but the converse is not true. The draft Plan-frame has clearly pointed out that the physical and the financial approach are but two aspects of the same reality.

Some of the basic ideas of the new approach were given by Professor Mahalanobis in two papers in 1952 and 1953, in which he reached the conclusion that for a satisfactory growth of the national economy it would be necessary to have an average rate of investment of at least 10 or 11 per cent and that a large part of such investment should be allotted to the heavy industries. Both these ideas have found expression in the draft Plan-frame.

Work on this subject in the Indian Statistical Institute was more systematically organized when basic studies on planning for national development were inaugurated in the Institute by the Prime Minister in November 1954. Since then there was rapid progress.

We understand that the Central Statistical Organization (which works under the technical guidance of Professor Mahalanobis) has been closely associated with the studies on national income form the beginning. From December 1954 leading economists in the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, began to work with the statistical group and the draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 represents much of this joint thinking. The group was also helped in many ways by exchange of ideas and experience with a large number of foreign economists and statisticians who worked as visiting professors in the Indian Statistical Institute during the cold season of 1954-55.

It is important to notice that the draft Plan-frame is not a copy of any foreign model. In the economy of more advanced industrial countries there is a conflict between consumption and investment. It is usually stressed that investment can not be increased without tightening the belt, that is, without reducing consumption. In the draft Plan-frame, the strategy is to increase both consumption and investment at the same time. In fact, it is the surplus production of consumer goods in the hand industries which would enable large investments being made in the heavy industries.

The draft Plan-frame proposes to restrict further expansion of factory production of such consumer goods as would be competitive with hand-made articles until unemployment has been eliminated. This emphasis on the use of hand products is in keeping with the cultural traditions of the country. However, once the fear of unemployment is eliminated, it is proposed to expand the factory production of consumer goods to attain a continually increasing level of living in future.

Although much-needed emphasis has been given to industrialization, the draft Plan-frame has taken into full consideration the need of expanding agricultural production and giving increasing attention to rural welfare through Community Projects and other measures.

It is also worth noticing that the draft Plan-frame does not contemplate nationalization of organized industries on ideological grounds. In fact, its emphasis is on the expansion of hand and household industries which are all in the private sector. It advocates the use of electricity to supply power for small-scale and household industries and is thus in favour of a wide disposal of industrial producton.

The pattern of economic growth visualized in the draft Plan-frame is thus quite different from develop-

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ments in U.S.S.R. and the socialized countries. The present approach has its roots in Indian traditions, is suited to Indian conditions, and has been the outcome of some hard thinking on the part of Indian scientists.

As far as we can judge the proposals made in the draft Plan-frame would be of great advantage to the agriculturists, artisans, the labouring classes as well as to the intelligentsia. There would be no nationalization on ideological grounds. The public sector would expand at a faster rate, and the private sector would have an expanding and assured market. The only basic change would be a restriction on the unlimited expansion of big business which is inescapable in the context of the Avadi resolution of the Congress party affirming its faith in progress towards a socialistic pattern of economy in India.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 is accompanied by a supporting paper of 21 March 1955, giving more detailed information about targets and the financial position, prepared by the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs in consultation with the Central Statistical Organization and the Indian Statistical Institute. The draft Plan-frame and the Secretariat working paper represent much joint thinking and are consistent with each other but not identical. The draft Plan-frame is more comprehensive, and covers a wide range of questioon of economic policy and administrative and constitutional changes.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 and the supporting Secretarial paper of 21 March 1955 were considered by the Panel of Economists (consisting of 17 leading economists of India with Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Minister of Finance, as Chairman and Professor D. R. Gadgil as Vice-Chairman) of the Planning Commission on the 8th, 9th and 10th April 1955. The Panel of Economists submitted a Memorandum on the draft Plan-frame which also has been released by Government. This Memorandum (which is practically unanimous with only one note of dissent) gives general approval of objectives of the draft Plan-frame and strongly supports the broad lines of policy. At one time there was some controversy between statisticians and economists which now seems to have had a happy ending with practically complete agreement about the present approach to planning.

The three papers were considered by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council on the 5th May and by the full Council itself (which consists of the Central Cabinet, the Planning Commission and the Chief Ministers of all the States) on the 6th May; and the draft Plan-frame was accepted as a basis for detailed formulation of the second plan. It is intended to get ready a draft outline of the second plan by October or November of this year, and the plan itself by March 1956. The Prime Minister, who presided at both the meetings, desired that wide publicity should be given to these papers.

The most important feature of the present approach to planning is its emphasis on the need of detailed technical work to ensure the internal consistency and the balances of the plan. It is fully recognized that the work of planning itself would call for a large staff of economists, statisticians, scientists, engineers, technologists and administrators (Chapter 6, 1.3). The draft Plan-frame emphasizes the need of a large scale organization for the training of technical personnel; and stresses the importance of re-orienting scientific and technological research to serve the needs of national development (Chapter 2, para 16). It also gives a warning that the existing administrative machinery of Government may prove the greatest obstacle to the implementation of the plan, and emphasizes that such a bold plan, roughly twice the size of the first plan, can be undertaken only with the full support of the general public.

In view of the importance of the subject it is hoped that every one interested in the future progress of the country would make a serious study of the new approach to planning and offer constructive criticisms.

Whatever changes may be made in the targets and other details, the draft Plan-frame can give a definite direction to economic thinking and scientific and technological research in this country.

The readers of *Science and Culture* will find it of interest to note that more or less similar points of view were expressed in a series of articles on 'Rethinking our Future,' which appeared in this journal early in 195[illegible]. These articles were the result of a special study of planning by Professor M. N. Shaha and were later published by the Indian Science News Association in the form of a booklet, *Rethinking Our Future*. The following may be quoted:

"It is clear from the foregoing sections that the economic laws which any Plan for a country has to follow are:

(*a*) that the existing productive machinery of a country (the word machinery is used in a figurative sense to include all means of production) must be maintained at full strength by the compulsory provision of adequate depreciation (or amortisation). This is not being done in India in many industrial groups (jute, coal, tea, cotton, chemicals, iron and steel etc.).

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(*b*) There must be large new net investments in new productive enterprises which should be geared to the natural resources of the country. For India, if we want really an increase of national income, and if the per capita income has to be increased within a reasonable period (doubling of per capita income in 10 years) we must have $a=.20$ *i.e.*, invest annually two thousand crores for the next 5 years in national enterprises. The amount should go on increasing as the national income increases.

(*c*) The investments should be such that they yield large over-all dividend *i.e.*, large *B*.

(*d*) In an overpopulated country like ours the rate of population growth should be kept down as far as practicable.

It does not appear possible that the Government can take much active steps in (d), except by propaganda and education. This must be left to "God" for the present, as one of the Bombay planners said to Professor A. V. Hill.

The conclusions (*a*), (*b*), (*c*) emerge as consequences of the general laws of economics which are of universal application, and are independent of any type of political ideology. But the political ideology can certainly affect all the three factors (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) either favourably or adversely, as is apparent from the analysis of planning in the three countries given above."

Mahalanobis's FYP has taken $a=.12$, and insured for large *B* by accepting Prof. Saha's advocacy of of heavy, or producer goods industries.

It is a happy augury that the Planning Commission and the Government of India have now a large measure of agreement with the patterns of planning which Professor Mahalanobis and his able workers of the Indian Statistical Institute have indicated in their studies. We hope that the Second Five-Year Plan will be based on these principles and lay the foundation of solid economic well-being of India's 370 millions.

Some Aspects of Life in the U.S.S.R.

Professor Dr. B. C. Guha, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institure of Culture* :

On the invitation of the University of Mosrow, a delegation of six Professors and twenty students from six Indian universities visited the Soviet Union last autumn. I went as a delegate from Calcutta University with three students whose respective subjects were history, law, and applied mathematics. The delegation represented also other subjects including economics, political science, languages and literature, chemistry, medicine, pharmaceutics, etc. While that delegation visited some general institutions like libraries, museums, and art galleries, different members of the delegation had also ample opportunity to visit the institutions and departments of studies, to which their own activities were related. It was therefore in no sense a 'conducted tour,' as has been alleged. Because of our regrettable ignorance of the Russian language, it was, of course, necessary to have interpreters with us, but these interpreters belonged to Moscow University and were not professional. Our students moved freely in Moscow and actually travelled on their own by bus and the underground railway to different places including the Indian Embassy. Where the Russians could speak English or any other language known to us, such as French, German, Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu, interpreters were not needed and conversation went on freely.

We spent a considerable part of our time in the different departments of Moscow University according to our specializations. The new thirty-two-storeyed Moscow University building on the Lenin Hills is indeed an architectural beauty. It combines massiveness with refinement. It houses not only the teachers and their families, but also seven thousand students, of whom fifty-one per cent are girls. Each student has a cosily furnished single-seated room, and every two rooms have an attached bath-room. I do not think there is in any other country such a gigantic residential university with such amenities.

In the Faculty of Chemistry alone there are one hundred and ten teachers including thirty-six professors. This indicates the scale on which the different departments are staffed. The pay of professors is as high as eight thosand roubles a month. In fact, in the entire Soviet Union professors and similar intellectuals are very well, perhaps too lavishly, looked after. Over ninety per cent of the students of Moscow University receive stipends varying from two to eight hundred roubles a month. This is sufficient, as the monthly room rent in the University is twelve roubles and food may cost five roubles a day. The University course is of five years' duration after the school-leaving examinotion, which the students take when generally they are seventeen years old. In the last year of the course, they have to do a certain amount of research. After they pass out with a diploma from the University, they may take employment or may choose to be 'aspirants' and pursue a research career. After three years' research they are eligible for the *Candidate's* diploma. After this, they can proceed for the doctorate degree, for which some more years of research work are necessary.

The universities cater for fundamental subjects, such as literature, history, economics, chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, etc. The institutions for applied subjectes, such as technology, engineering, medicine, and agriculture, are not under the universities, but are directly controlled by the Ministry of Higher Education with the exception of medical institutions, which are controlled by the Ministry of Health.

In discussion with the Vice-Minister of Higher Education, it was revealed that the Minister of Higher Education was a metallurgist and gave regular lectures at a metallurgical institution, and also the Vice-Minister of Agriculture was an agricultural geneticist and gave lectures in an agricultural college. He said that in this way the ministers kept contact with both teachers and students. They do not believe in an 'administrative caste.' People go into different fields of employment

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according to their ability and aptitude. The system is flexible, and it is clear that this arrangement ensures unity between administration and the people and prevents the administration from degenerating into a bureaucracy.

The scale on which science is supported in the Soviet Union is indicated by the fact that the Soviet Academy of Sciences has an annual budget of one billion roubles, with which it runs one hundred and ninety institutions. Besides the Academy of Sciences, there are several other academies, such as the Academies of Agricultural Science, Medical Science, Fine Arts, Architecture, Pedagogy. All these are financed by the State, and they all run numerous institutions. Besides these there are smaller academies in the constituent republics. Altogether there are about one hundred thousand research workers in the different institutions of the Soviet Union. The universities of the Soviet Union, including those of the constituent republics, are financed by the Centre. A comparatively small university like the Stalin University of Tbilisi (capital of Georgia) receives an annual grant of about thirteen million roubles. We had also occasion to visit the Lenin University of Tashkent (capital of Uzbekistan), which was also generously financed by the Soviet Government. All the scientific institutions I visited in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, and Tashkent had modern equipment, and quite a few of them used electron microscopes and radio-active isotopes—all maunfactured in the Soviet Union. Their progress, particularly in some applied fields, appears to be revolutionary. In Tashkent it was found that phosphatic fertilizers sprayed on the leaves of cotton plants were better unitilized than fertilizers applied to tht soil. In this work they are using the most modern isotopic and radio-autographic techniques. Agricultural scientists in Russia have shown that high yields of crops are obtained from a plot of land if it is ploughed only once every three or four years, though sowing is done every year. This builds and maintains the structure of the soil and also eliminates the labour of annual tilling. A plough developed by Maltsev has been very useful in this regard. In the hydrobiological laboratory in Leningrad University they have succeeded in the artificial fertilization of millions of fish eggs in ordinary vessels with fish sperm, both being obtained from male and female fish by means of hormone injections. In the laboratory of Academician Engelhardt in the Bach Institute of Biochemistry in Moscow, further research is proceeding in the successful rearing of these fertilized eggs. This is a method which promises to give enormous yields of fish, if suitable conditions are worked out.

The exchange of professors and students between India and Soviet Union has been discussed. It is probable that in future such an exchange relation may be established. This will be of great mutual benefit to our two countries.

As regards the general aspect of life in the Soviet Union, one cannot say much, as our visit lasted only about a month. But, generally speaking, people seem happy and are working hard to build up a new life. Seriousness in work was found in all walks of life. Even children queue up for entrance into the children's section of the Lenin Library and that in the evening after school hours. Highly technical books are sold out in a few days after publication.

Construction is going on apace. In Stalingrad where only ten buildings were said to have been standing after the great battle, so many thousands of houses have been built, and also new theatres, avenues, parks, etc., that it is difficult to find traces of the battle. Both buildings and roads are constructed by mechanized methods and the progress is extremely rapid. One of the members of our delegation said that she had gone over a very rough road in a car in the morning and returned in the evening on the same road which had meanwhile been concreted! To widen roads, huge buildings are pushed on rails under the foundation and moved. I have no doubt that in technical efficiency the Soviet Union is now eminent and we should learn the method of fast construction from them as soon as possible.

Religion, as is well known, is not encouraged by the State. On the other hand, citizens are free to practise the religion they like. Churches and monasteries are left as properties of the believers, who pay for their maintenance, elect the synods that manage them and appoint the priests. Churches are fairly full and monasteries have considerable numbers of young men who are being trained as monks. In the Central Asian Republics there are mosques but religion is not a force among the people.

The dominating feature of life in the Soviet Union is people's love for peace. The word 'peace' is on everybody's lips. Children in schools sing hymns of peace. The big Kirov stadium in Leningrad carries the slogan *Mir miroo*, Peace to the world, in huge letters. Talk of war is punishable under the law. The accusation that such a country has aggressive designs does not square with these facts. If peace is maintained in the world the Soviet Union will attain unprecedented peaks of production in record time. It is clear that the paramount necessity before the Soviet Union and the entire world is the maintenance of peace, for which unremitting efforts have to be made.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Age-Old Ties

Lev Uspensky, Soviet writer, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, June 7, 1955:

Russians have long known India. True, many people don't know how ancient and firm are the ties that link our two peoples. That is something well worth dwelling on.

A thousand years ago swarthy, enterprising Indian merchants unrolled before the admiring eyes of Northern beauties luxuriant, colourful Eastern fabrics in the market-places of Greater Novgorod, freedom-loving Slav republic. Through the Khazar town of Itil, on the broad Volga, caravans of Russian goods—honey, wax, sables, and clear amber from the Baltic seaboard—flowed down to the Caspian and from there along peaceful trade routes across the Himalayas into India.

Since that time there live in Russian folk songs, tales and legends delightful images connected with that distant land of sunshine, a land of wonderful treasures and dark-faced people. "India the rich."

The hordes of Genghis Khan divided the world of the time into two, cutting off the peaceful ties of the North with the South. But the Russians did not forget India: they remained filled with determination to renew their friendship with her.

In the 15th century, some thirty years before the rapacious beaks of Portuguese caravels first plunged into the golden sands of the Malabar coast, a Russian appeared in India. He had made his way there by land and by sea, and his name was Afanasy Nikitin, merchant and traveller, a man of intelligence and kindness. He spent several years wandering about the Indian markets and temples, living in towns and villages, studying the unfamiliar world with eyes that were keen and sympathetic. Reverently, without a trace of arrogance or superiority, he noted and recorded everything that he saw, like a true friend. For centuries afterwards his words were read and re-read in his snow-covered native land, arousing an undying interest in the sultry land of the south. The years flew by, the decades marched past, the centuries elapsed. Not only the people but the Moscow government itself began to show a far-sighted interest in the life of their distant southern neighbour. Hardly had the great turning-point in Russian history that is bound up with Peter I begun when the Embassy of Semyon Malenky departed for India. Shah Aurangzeb received the "Muscovites." For five years Russians lived and traded peacefully beneath the blue skies of India. When they departed for home they bore with them a strange gift from the friendly land, an elephant, an animal never seen before in the north.

Again Indian merchants appeared in Russia. Entire settlements of Indians had sprung in Astrakhan, beside the Caspian, by the beginning of the 17th century. Indians made their way up to Moscow along the Volga, and proceeded even farther north, to Yaroslavl.

All these, of course, were no more than separate, rare meetings between two great and powerful peoples.

In the 18th century these meetings grew more frequent. Now, as in times past, resourceful, brave Northerners found their way to the alluring lands of the East. Filipp Efremov, the Atanasov brothers, and Rafael Dolibegov laid new paths in that direction. A lively interest in Indian languages and the culture, art and literature of the country crystallized and grew steadily among our scholars.

At the turn of the century Karamzin, a well-known Russian historian of the time, enriched our literature with a treasure of Indian letters when he translated scenes from the *Shakuntala*. Karamzin spoke with admiration of the pearls of poetry, not inferior to Homer's that were scattered through Kalidasa's immortal work. At about the same time he found among a bunch of old manuscripts a work by Afanasi Nikitin written three centuries before, his *Travels Beyond Three Seas*. "The Indians heard of Russia before they knew about Portugal, Holland or England". Karamzin wrote with justifiable pride.

Finally, modern times. During the 19th century Russians learned more about the life, the joys and sufferings of the industrious, freedom-loving Indian people, weighed down by the unbearable yoke of foreign occupation. A hundred years have already passed since our children first read in Zhukovsky's briliant translation the touching, wise story of the love of Nala and Damayanti. The Mahabharata has become as familiar to us as the Odyssey and the Iliad, as one of the finest productions of antiquity.

In these one hunderd years no little water has flowed down the Volga and the Ganges, but our eyes still drink in with eager curiosity the wonderful monuments of Indian art, from the cave temples of the Ajanta to that miracle of miracles, the Taj Mahal, and we think to ourselves: there is something elusively similar between Indian architecture and the masterpieces of old Russian architecture, in the flight of Indian mortar and the fantasic laciness of St. Basil's Cathedral, the most beautiful of Moscow's old churches.

We listen attentively to the majestic strains of Sanskrit verse, and our Russian ear detects many familiar sounds, while dwellers in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus find familiar roots in it as well. The lace of the carved temple of Madura, and the sonorous verses of the Ramayana, and the marvellous lines of the portico of the Kondana chaitya grow more and more dear to us. But dearer than the marble and porphyritic tombs, more alluring than the beauties of Bengal roses and tall palms, is the friendship of those who sculptured and wrote, raised and created all that, those who mined the rubies and sapphires for the altars of the grim gods of old, friendship with the tireless architect, ploughman, songwriter, sage and fighter, with our wise and noble brother, the common man of India.

For years our boys and girls have suffered the sorrows of the Indian people. Among all the characters in Jules Verne our children have chosen for their

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favourite Captain Nemo because he fought for India's freedom.

Generations of Russians have studied with wrath and indignation the magnificent painting of our Vereshchag in showing British guns aimed at the backs of the Sepoi heroes of 1857. Women gaze at the painting with anguish in their eyes, men with clenched fists.

In the 19th century we heard about India, but we heard it from alien lips. At the beginning of the 20th century India first spoke to us herself through the great Tagore. Her voice moved and captivated us. But only in recent years have we and you had the opportunity freely to stand shoulder to shoulder in mankind's peaceful endeavours, and, stretching out our hands looking straight into each other's eyes, to say: greeting, brother!

The last few years have brought us Soviet people great joy: India has come to visit us!

In Moscow and Leningrad and Kiev people have stood from morning till night waiting to view the work of India's artists. Huge crowds jammed the cinema houses where the unfortunate owners of "Do Bigha Zamin" collapsed from exhaustion, Raj Kapur struggled and triumphed in "Awara", the downtrodden characters in the "Andhiyan" died. Soviet men and women were delighted by the age-old art of Gopinath, admired the tender litheness of Tara Choudhari; with bated breath they listened to the voices of your peasants and the chords struck from instruments unknown to us. In all this they persistently sought what is most important: the life of a great people, their joys and hopes.

What joy in the consciousness that although thousands of kilometres, dozens of degrees of latitude separate us, although the histories of our countries are so dissimilar, and our cultures different, your artists draw tears from our eyes, and your songs go straight to our hearts! We are brothers! If we really understand this no evil force on earth can oppose us.

When tender birch leaves are beginning to burst in our groves, wreathing the distance in a faint greenish haze, cool, transparent and acridly fragrant, your eternally burning sun pours down its rays on trees and grasses unfamiliar to us....

Everything in our two countries is different, individual. But both here and there we, the people, are the same, exactly the same on Cape Comorin as on Cape Chelyuskin, with the same desire to live, not die, to rejoice, not suffer, the same desire freely to inhale free, human happiness.

That is why the same human thoughts, hopes and desires live in the Madras jungle and the Siberian taiga, in Bombay and in Leningrad, and the same passionate words—peace, joy, friendship of nations, freedom—ring out.

Man is weak when he goes into battle alone. But together with his friends he can overcome all enemies. United, the peoples of the world can do anything; they are invincible in the struggle for peace; there is no force capable of standing up against them.

Bhoodan Called Typical of Free World Spiritual Forces

Washington, May 26—Bhoodan Yagna, led by Vinoba Bhave, has been cited as an outstanding example of current spiritual movements that differentiate the free totalitarian societies.

Columnist Malvina Lindsay, writing in the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* today says, "This Gandhi disciple" is stepping up by voluntary means the distribution of land to the landless.

Miss Lindsay says further that "Vinoba's band of followers describe their activities as 'looting with love.' The movement is spiritually akin to that of the Abbe Pierre in France, who is crusading for a 'roof for every Frenchman!'

"The Indian movement, which is demonstrating that 'Bourbons' of any nationality can experience a change of heart, also has an analogy in the distribution of land by the Shah of Iran.

"Young Briton, Hallam Tennyson, great-grandson of the poet, who travelled for a while with Vinoba's band, believes that *bhoodan* is largely the answer to India's need to hasten economic change by democratic methods."

Miss Lindsay recalls that Tennyson recently lectured in Washington on his book *India's Walking Saint*. Tennyson, the columnist says, pointed out to Washingtonians that "many if not all of India's 100 million landless eventually will cultivate 5-acre tracts on a free tenure and have a new purpose in life, as a result of Vinoba's efforts."

Describing the scope and success of *bhoodan*, Miss Lindsay says it is "giving Indian peasants new confidence in the future."

Such confidence, she said, "is synonymous with the 'sense of progress' that Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India, recently told U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee was especially needed by people of industrially underdeveloped areas of the world."

Miss Lindsay concludes: "If *bhoodan* can materially increase the tempo of India's land reform, it will have great importance on the entire democratic world. For India's results in bringing about economic improvement by democratic means are being measured by all Asia against those of China, where totalitarian techniques are being employed.

"But the success of the *bhoodan* crusade—and of the other spiritual movements now under way against economic distress—would even have greater significance in demonstrating that the heart is mightier than the ukase."—*USIS*.

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Dr. Jonas E. Salk, Discoverer of Anti-Polio Vaccine

To millions of American parents, the name of Dr. Jonas E. Salk now means freedom from an annual summer-time worry: Is there danger of my child contracting poliomyelitis this season?

The announcement earlier this week that the vaccine developed by the 40-year-old University of Pittsburgh researcher is 80 to 90 percent effective has brought comfort to people throughout the world. Regarded as the first great advancement in the fight against the crippling disease, the Salk vaccine is also being hailed as "one of the greatest events in the history of medicine."

What of the man behind this momentous discovery? Jonas Salk was born in Manhattan, New York City, in 1914, the eldest of three sons of a women's wear manufacturer. He was a precocious youngster with unusually neat and tidy habits and equally precise ways of classifying ideas. At 16 he graduated from Townsend Harris High School and at 19 from the City College of New York.

After a period of internship, which followed his passing from New York University's Medical School, Salk was already so interested in research that he did not even consider going into routine practice. Instead, he won a National Research Council followship for work on viruses, and went to the University of Michigan to work under his one-time professor, Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr. It was Dr. Francis who was in charge of evaluating the success of the mass Salk vaccine tests made last summer.

In 1947, Dr. Salk with his wife and two young sons (there is a third now) went to the University of Pittsburgh to start a virus laboratory. For the first few months he stuck to his first love, the influenza virus; but soon he decided to "look into this polio problem to see what it was about."

Under a grant from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Salk started work in 1949 classifying the various known strains of polio virus. The task took three years and cost $1,370,000. And by this time Salk and other scientists had found that all known strains of polio virus could be classified into three types, which meant that any successful vaccine would have to protect against three different viruses.

Of great value to Dr. Salk's research was the earlier work done by Doctors John F. Enders, Thomas H. Weller and Frederick C. Robbins, who had found a way to grow polio virus in non-nervous tissue kept alive in flasks and test tubes. This discovery brought the three scientists the 1954 Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology.

Step by painstaking step, Dr. Salk made experimental vaccines and tested them in monkeys. In June 1952 he was satisfied he had a vaccine safe enough to be given to human beings. Still, for utmost safety, he decided that the first subjects should be those who had already recovered from polio. Thus they should be immune to further disease, but he could measure a rise in their antibody level if the vaccine produced, as he expected, a booster effect. It did.

Salk's vaccine consists of viruses of all three types of paralytic polio, with a solution of formaldesyn to make them harmless. When injected, the vaccine induces the human body into setting up a defence against polio virus invasion by producing antibodies.

In 1953, Dr. Salk described his encouraging results in a nation-wide radio broadcast, and—though fellow scientists were still sceptical—by this time he had gained the confidence of the officials of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

The National Foundation last summer financed the gigantic project, involving altogether approximately 1,830,000 American school children. Of this number 440,000 were actually inoculated with the Salk vaccine, the remainder being given injections of a placebo (which has no effect) or merely serving as controls.

In all, there were 113 cases of polio among the vaccinated children, with 71 of the cases resulting in paralysis. One child who had been inoculated died of polio, but it was found that there were special and unusual circumstances in this case. Among the children under observation, but not vaccinated, there were 750 cases of the disease, of which 445 involved paralysis.

The evaluation report on the mass tests revealed that even when paralytic polio struck, the severity of paralysis was lessened by the vaccine and chances of complete recovery were improved.

Dr. Salk himself said the tests showed him how to make the vaccine even more effective—by giving the third "booster" shot seven months after the first two injections, instead of giving all three in a five-week period as was done in the tests. He believes the booster injection should have the effect of extending polio immunity for an indefinite period, perhaps years.

The success of the anti-polio tests sets in motion a U.S.-wide programme of immunisation against the disease, which will inoculate nearly 60 million American children. Already six U.S. pharmaceutical firms have started distribution of the vaccine, and the U.S. Government announced that validated export licences will be granted for shipping the vaccine overseas. One pharmaceutical firm has announced that it plans to export 10 percent of current production of the vaccine through established commercial channels.

While the National Foundation, which has a Salk vaccine stockpile for 9,000,000 vaccinations, will carry out an extensive immunisation programme in 1955 in U.S. schools, its participation in the production, distribution and administration of the vaccine will cease after this.

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It is well to remember that the entire cost of developing and testing the Salk vaccine was paid by the American people through their voluntary contributions to the National Foundation's annual "March of Dimes" fund-raising campaign.

To Dr. Salk, his success brings no near-fortune, as the vaccine is an unpatented product. His reward is the satisfaction of serving mankind. But to the man who, when asked why he devoted his life to research, said: 'Why did Mozart compose music?,' this is reward enough.—*USIS*, April 15, 1955.

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Another Anti-polio Vaccine

The Press has already pointed out, in connection with the discovery of an anti-polio vaccine by Doctor Salk, the existence of another anti-polio vaccine discovered in France by Professor Pierre Lepine.

Jean Diwo writes on this subject in the French Weekly *Paris-Match*:

"This vaccine is identical in its principle with that of Dr. Salk and differs from it only in a few technical details: in particular through a composition more appropriate to the fight against poliomyelitis such as is observed in Europe and through its preparation from chickens' embryos instead of Rhesus monkeys' kidneys.

As for Pierre Lepine the problem is not posed in the same way as for his famous American fellow-scientist. "We must not forget, he recently stated, that in France at least 80% of the children get spontaneously immune."

Indeed, through a curious paradox, polio is the unexpected counterpart of hygiene. The disease takes various forms is countries where children are not naturally immune from it, because they live in almost perfect conditions of cleanliness: such is the case in the United States and the Scandinavian countries. Hygiene in this country, actively pursued in America, has developed exactly in the same proportions as poliomyelitis.

"If all children would rub the slice of bread and butter against the walls before eating it, there would be much less polio," a specialist of the Pasteur Institute declared recently. It was of course a sally, but there was some truth in it. For one serious form of poliomyelitis there are 99 others which disappear and leave no more trace than a cold in the head would. We catch them without even noticing it, but they are miraculously useful to us: they vaccinate us against the acute form of the disease."

Professor Andre Lemaire writes in his turn in the journal *Le Monde*:

"It is not really a question of discovery. (1) The general principles of vaccination have been known for a long time. Pasteur had clearly defined them and he knew, according to the cases, how to use germs, killed or only attenuated. (2) For a long time formol has been used in the preparation of vaccines. Formol is an energetic germ-killer and is used as such in the preparation of "killed" vaccines. It is also an agent for the denaturation for proteins, thanks to which the doctors Ramon and Zoeller were able to transform co-

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tain toxins into antitoxins, that is to say prepare very simply efficacious and safe vaccines, which were very soon used the world over.

Formol has the same denaturing effect on certain virus which it transforms into anavirus free from pathogenic power but capable to confer to the organism a specific immunity. According to Dr. Ramon the anti-polio vaccine is an anavirus.

(3) Anti-polio vaccination is not summed up in this sole vaccine made with formol and killed. They have made experiments with live vaccines but attenuated, viz., containing living virus capable of giving immunity without giving the disease. Experiments are proceeding.

These principles having been known for a long time, why have they waited so long to perfect an efficacious vaccination? It is because the means of obtaining the necessary quantities of virus have been known only for a few years. There lies the true discovery made by Dr. Enders who received for this the Nobel Prize. The principle is simple: as the virus develops only on living cells, the queston is to use, as breeding place, a culture of tissue or tissue kept alive in a proper nutritive fluid.

Starting from this principle, numerous workers became interested in the making of virus and of vaccine in every form, killed or attenuated, injectable or ingestable. And in this competition French scientists were not the last, since from the very beginning of 1953 the Doctors Blanc and Martin of the Pasteur Institute in Casablanca have vaccinated in that town, with attenuated ingestable virus, 5699 children.

Admitting that the vaccine of Dr. Salk gives proofs of its capacity, must one make use of it everywhere, in France, in particular? Nothing is more unlikely, for poliomyelitis is not exactly the same in all the countries of the world. Thus the distribution of the three stocks of virus, source of the disease, is not the same in America and in Europe. On the other hand, the disease is more spread and more serious in the United States than anywhere else. Finally, one should know what is the duration of the immunity given by the Salk vaccine.

For all these reasons, Professor Pierre Lepine, who has long been engaged in the research of an efficacious vaccine, thinks that at least in Europe the latter must be different from Dr. Salk's vaccine, and he has perfected a particular technique of preparation. But he deems that only after a series of most strict checkings, and when sufficient proofs have been gathered on the innocuousness and efficacy of the vacccine and as to the degree and the duration of immunity given by the vaccine, the latter can then be placed at the disposal of the medical profession."

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International Short Feature Film Festival Held in Tokyo

The success of the International Short Feature Film Festival held recently in Tokyo attests to the tremendous interest in this type of motion pictures.

Short features from eight nations were shown at the Yamaha Hall in Tokyo on November 18, 1954, and drew an overflow crowd with more than 500 people turned away.

The festival was arranged by the Educational Film Producers' Association of Japan, sole organization of short feature motion picture companies, which boasts a membership of more than 100 production outfits.

The purpose of the festival was two-fold: To improve the quality of short feature motion pictures; and to stimulate an understanding of international problems in this field.

Films From 8 Nations

Among the films screened were the following:

Ski Sport Bariloche (Argentina), *Australia Today* (Australia), *Dozere Mondragon* (France), *Darjeeling* (India), *Primavera Sull Etna* (Italy), *The White Continent* (England), and *Art of Japan* (the United States).

Darjeeling especially won tremendous acclaim with its magnificent colour and excellent arrangement winning the admiration of all concerned. The success achieved by the festival demonstrated the strong desire among the ordinary people for knowledge of foreign affairs through this medium. Furthermore, it was strongly urged that this type of film festival should be continued in the future and should be held at least two or three times a year.

Japanese Short Win Prize

A Japanese short feature, *Life in the Railway*, won second prize in the documentary film section of the 1952 International Film Festival held in Venice. This gave impetus to the production of short feature motion pictures in Japan.

At the same time, the use of motion pictures for educational purposes has gained wide popularity.

In 1951, 233 short features were produced in Japan. The following year, the number jumped to 304. Last year, 350 shorts were made, and indications are that production will exceed 400 this year.—*Information Bulletin*, Japan.

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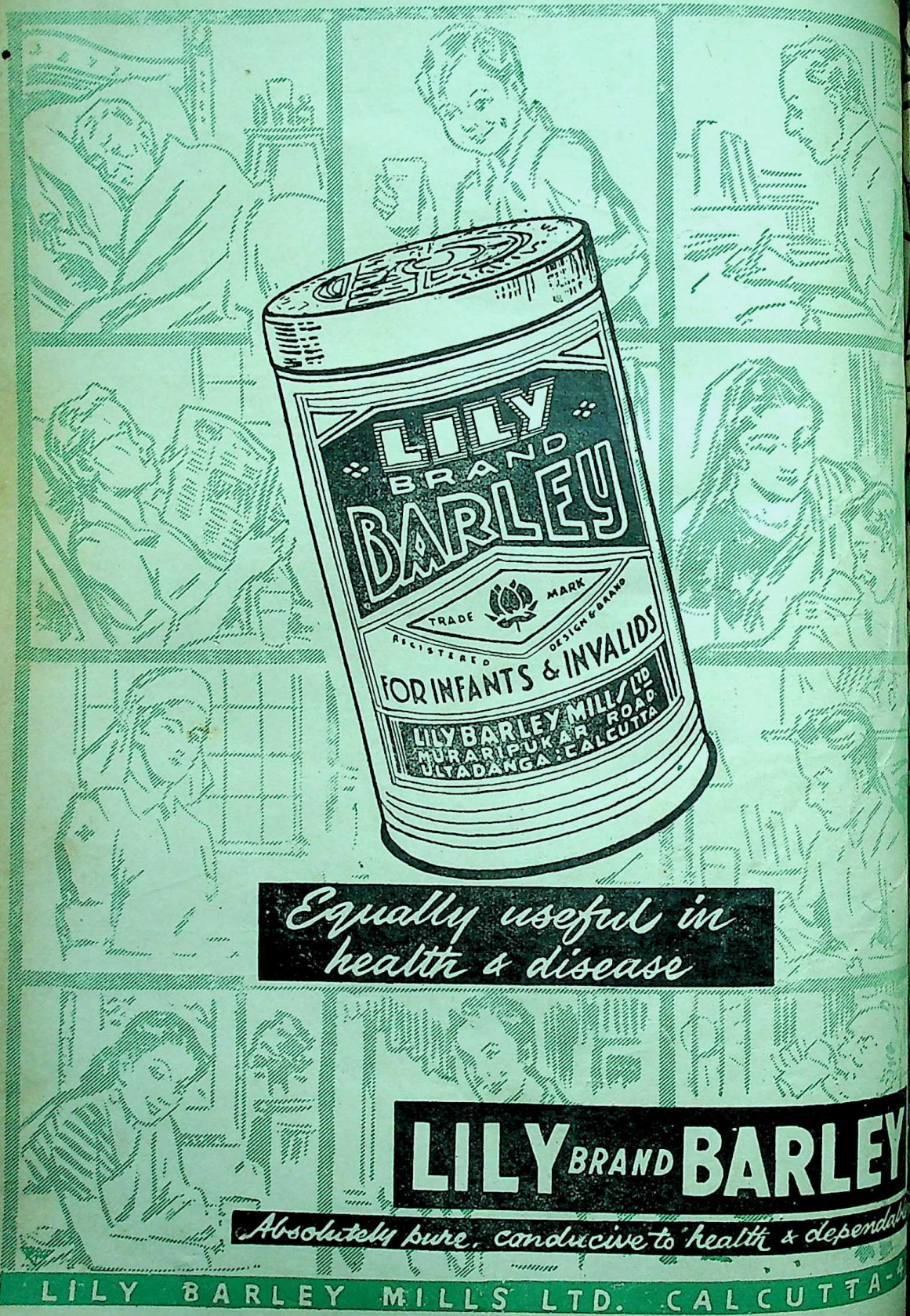

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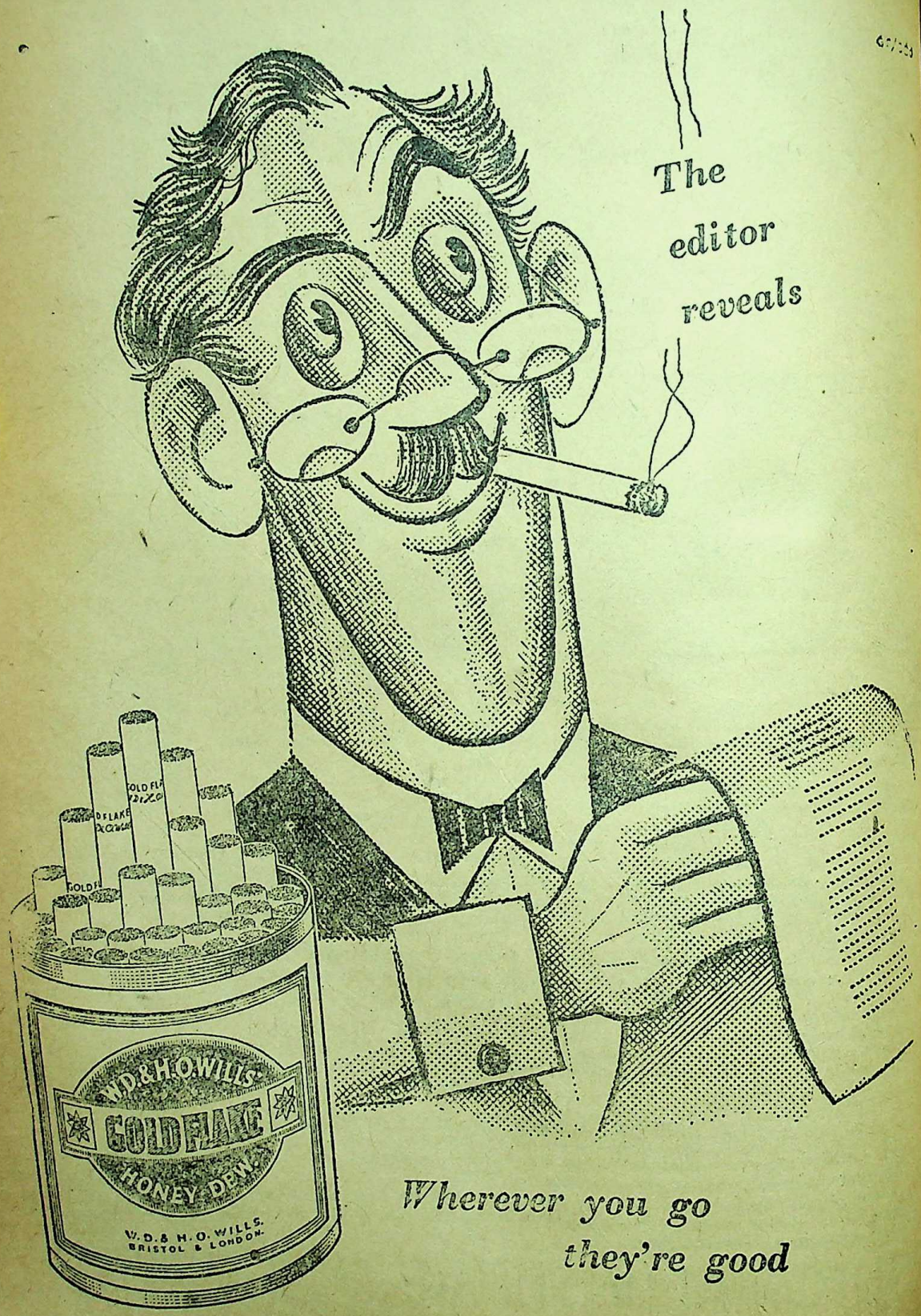

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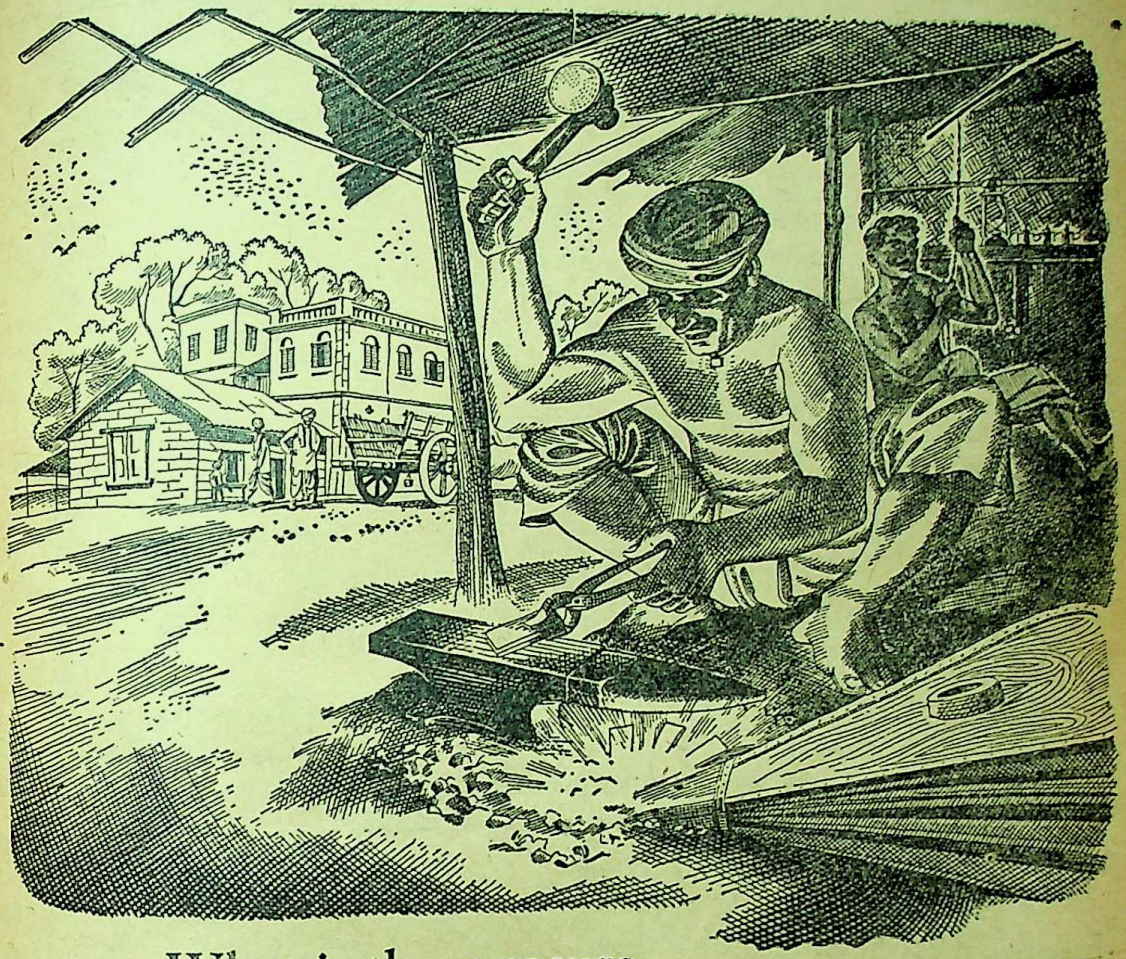

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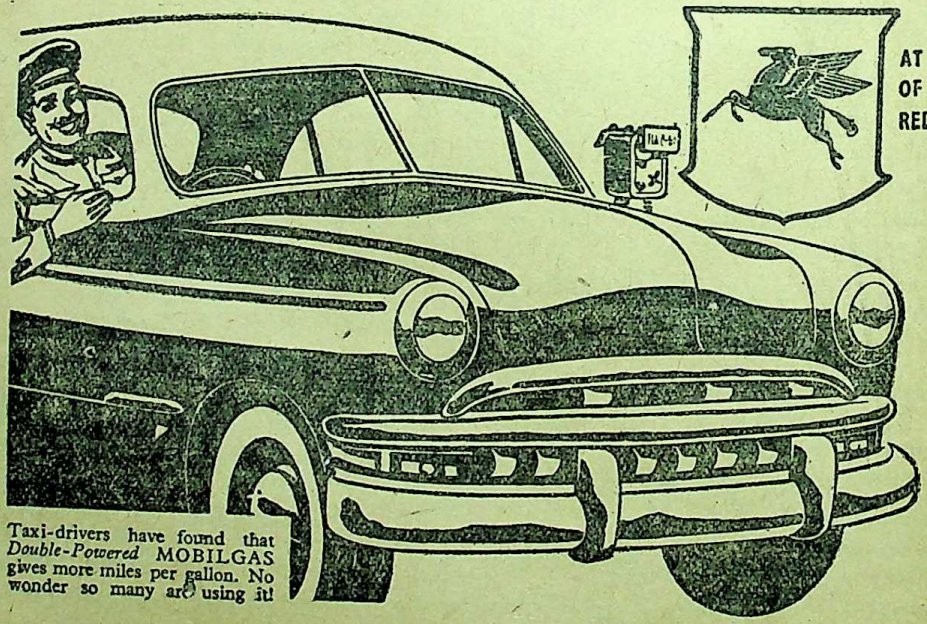

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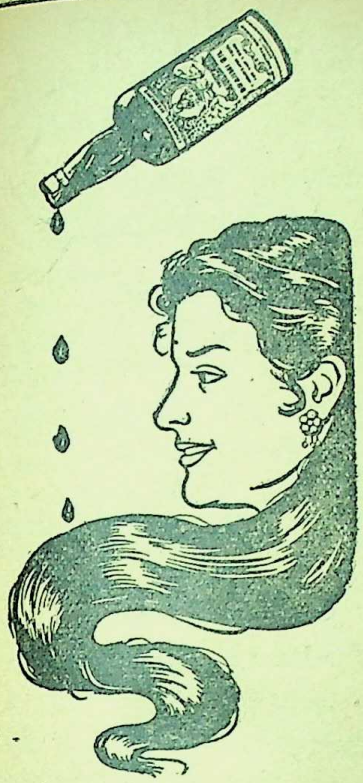

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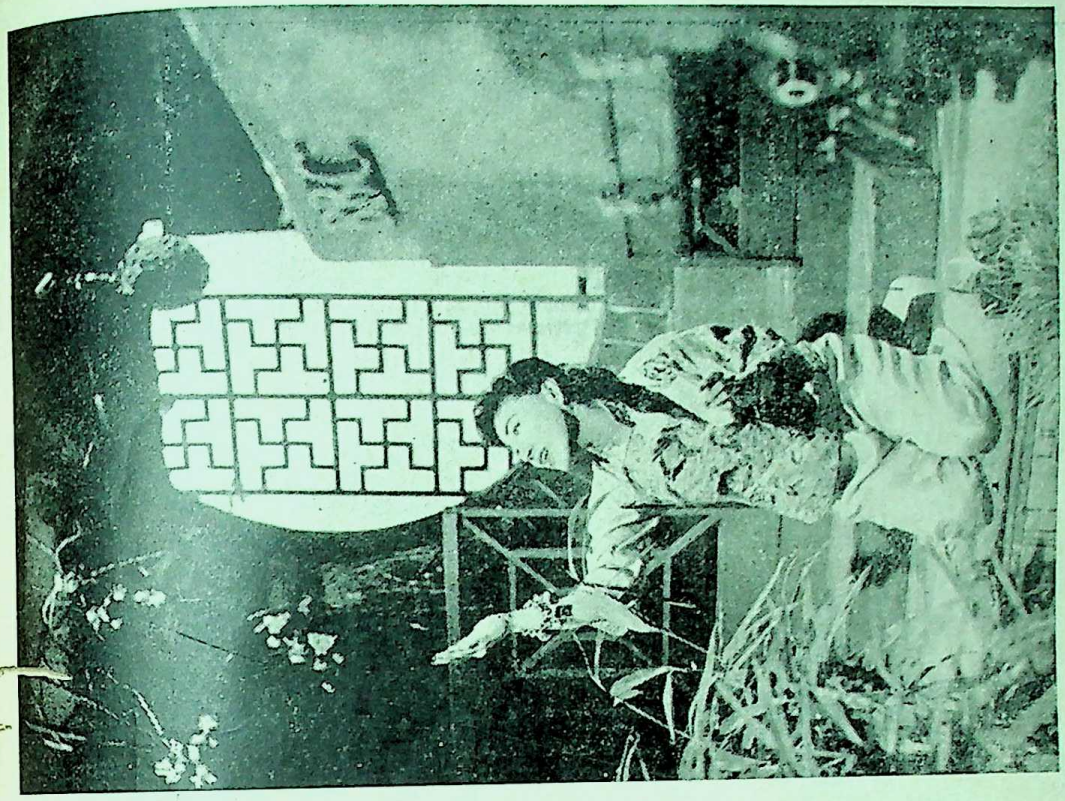
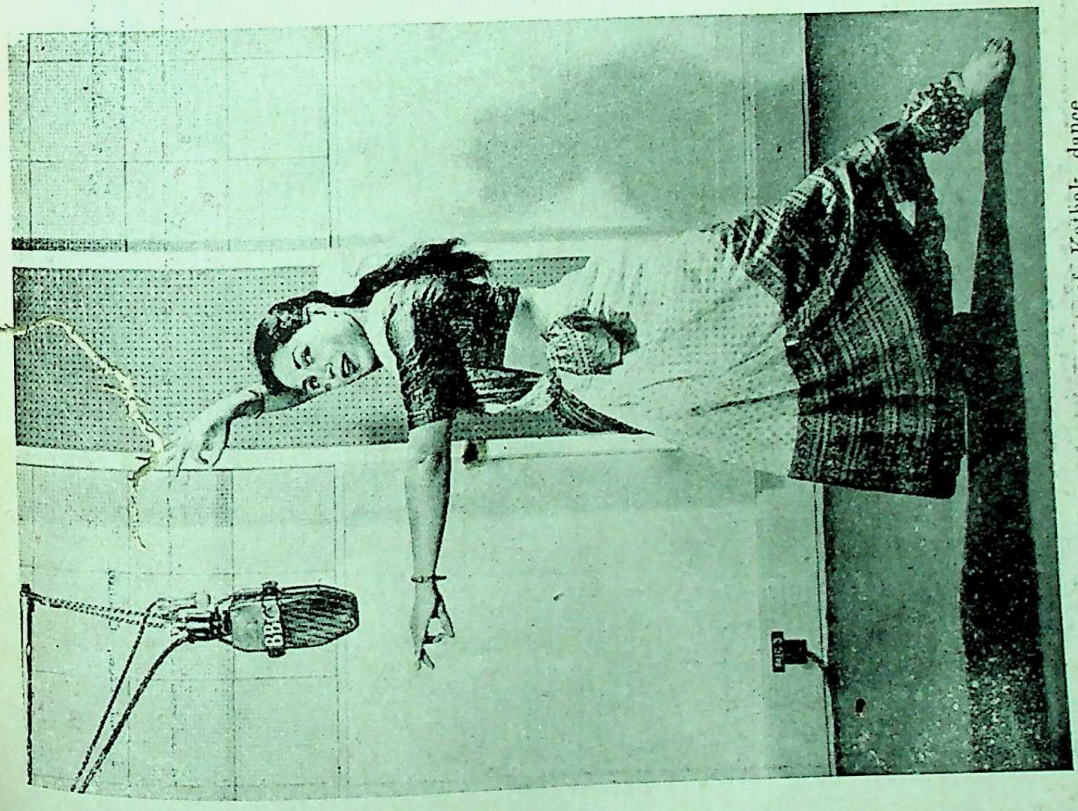


Chinese actress on BBC Television



Sitara Devi, well-known exponent of Kathak dance, in the BBC Hindi Service

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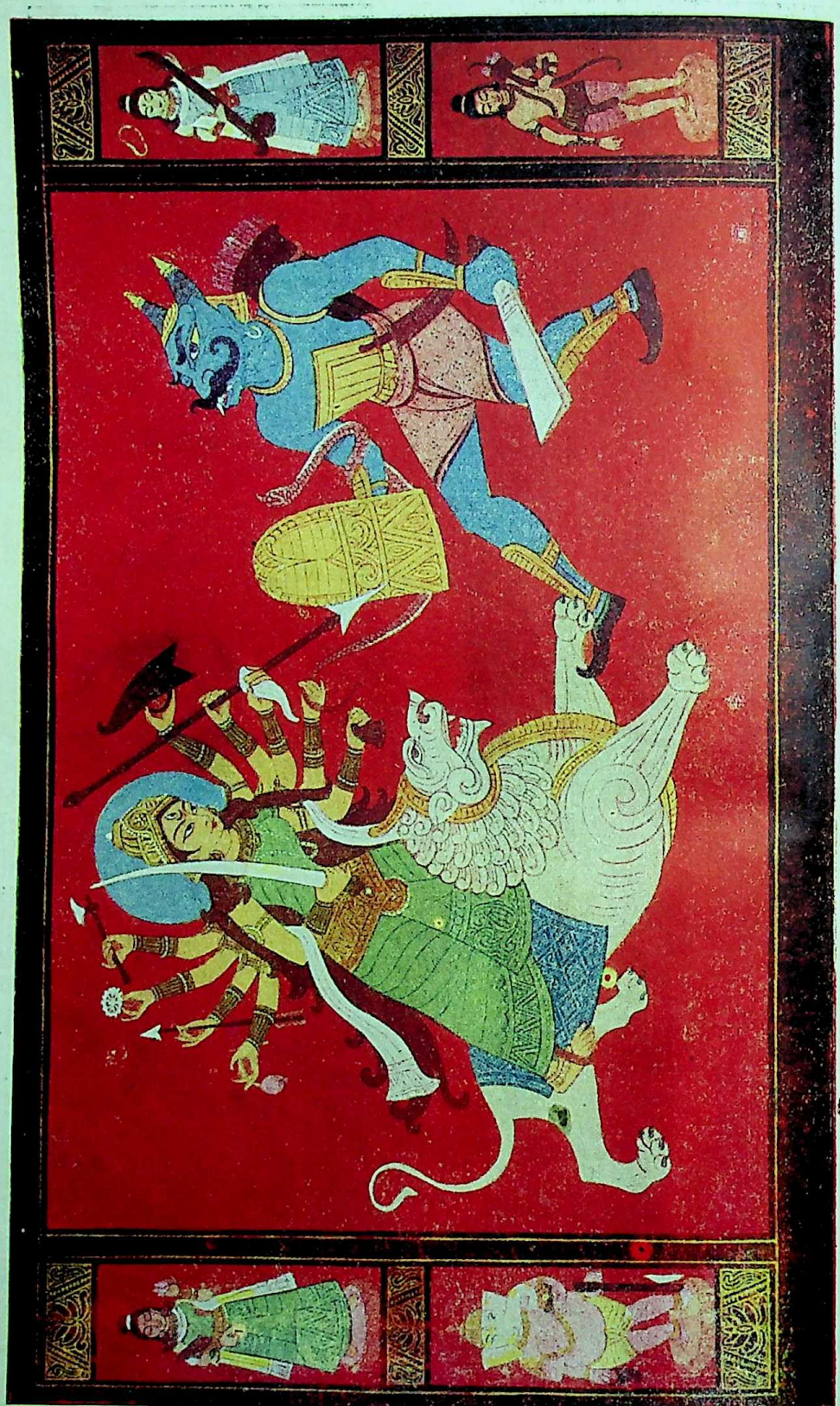

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THE MODERN REVIEW.

NOVEMBER 1955

VOL. LXXXVIII, No. 5 WHOLE No. 587

NOTES

Moral Values

A few years ago we saw a book that gave a survey of *Morals* in Britain, in the fifty years from 1900—1950. Sex-morals were included but in a minor way. The measurements taken were principally of Moral values, as obtaining at the turn of the century and as prevailing today, where Britain was concerned. Needless to say, the survey, which was made by a group of eminent research workers in social and economic affairs, indicated a change for the worse in every way, although the findings were as cold, dispassionate and unbiassed, as should be, from the point of view of a detached sociological study.

It is about time such a survey was made in India, of Moral values, by a group of completely impartial research workers. We believe the results would be startling.

We are not writing a denunciatory sermon, nor are we launching upon a tirade against the powers-that-be. We are constrained to write in this tone because we find that the foul murders recently committed in Barabanki, do not seem to have left any impression on the minds of the thinking public, nor did it attract the attention of Authority, excepting an almost casual reference, in the best official pattern, in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly. We quote the report in the daily press:

"Lucknow, Oct. 17.—Yet another member of the U.P. Assembly has been killed, and again in Barabanki district.

"The victim of yesterday's mob violence in the village of Baddupur on the Barabanki-Sitapur border, was Mr. Avadh Saran Verma who belonged to the P.S. Party. It was a case of double murder, the other victim being Mr. Siaram, a local P.S.P. worker.

"According to first reports the incident took place at a public meeting which was raided by an armed mob of 500. The murderers took away the bodies of their victims.

"Mr. Avadh Saran Verma died while trying to save the life of Mr. Siaram. While the meeting had been in progress for some time it was suddenly overwhelmed by the mob armed with lathis and shouting that they wanted to kill Mr. Siaram who was at the meeting. The mob yelled the warning that nobody should come in its way and demanded Mr. Siaram. Mr. Verma rose to the defence of Mr. Siaram, who was being attacked. He covered Mr. Siaram with his body. Both were cruelly done to death.

"On September 7 Mr. Bhagwati Prasad Shukla, a Congress M.L.A., was shot dead in broad daylight in Barabanki town.

"News of the latest outrage was given to the House by Mr. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister, and on his request the Speaker adjourned the sitting for the rest of the morning.

"Mr. Sampurnanand said that Mr. Avadh Saran Verma was 40. He was a prominent nationalist worker of the district and had been to prison twice. He had a pleasant disposition and a

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remarkable gift for making friends which he said other members of the House would testify. The manner in which he met his death was in keeping with his character. He died while trying to save another person."

The scanty reports that have appeared in the Press indicate, beyond all doubt, that the murders were premeditated and that the plans were known to the local authorities in charge of law and order prior to the mass-attack.

It has been made out that the murders were the outcome of a private feud. But it seems most curious that a private feud should result in a mass-attack on a political assemblage in a public place and in broad daylight. As investigations are presumably proceeding we shall not expand on the matter.

What we would like to impress on Pandit Nehru, who after all is a Uttar Pradesni whatever his Brahmin sub-caste might signify, that it is about time to enquire as to why moral values are degenerating in his home province. We do not mean to say that any other province is better placed in that respect, but the Uttar Pradesh, being the biggest, should naturally be the best example of progress, of social and moral uplift and of culture. It is up to Pandit Nehru and other prominent representatives of the Uttar Pradesh, to find out which way their province is proceeding.

The Man Singh chapter has not yet been closed. An unbiassed historian, if allowed to investigate the causative and subsidiary factors that led to the immense growth of power and influence of that band of freebooters, would unearth factual material that would astonish and shock all right-thinking men. The complicity of men in authority, the direct contact with Congress leaders and the wholesale corruption of the lower ranks of services, that enabled Man Singh's myrmidons to levy tribute over three States, is common knowledge in all that area.

But why pick up the Uttar Pradesh? There is a general down-the-grade movement all-round and all over India. Corruption, theft and bribery is rife in the railways, as never before. The Police record, bad as it was in the past, has reached a "new low" in majority of States, although individuals are trying their best to reform and reorganise that body where corruption has been endemic since the days of John Company. In this work they are actively hampered by Congress bosses, most of whom are no better than the worst gaol-birds, as integrity and moral purity is concerned.

The Post Office, which had a fine re... of service in the not-so-distant past, ... degenerated beyond count. It is now ... before service" in every case, and time ... become a secondary consideration in all ... excepting that of pay. The telephone ser... also has degenerated beyond measure.

What is the root cause of this flood ... corruption that is tending to plunge the en... country into a morass of evil urges and indi... pline? We believe it lies in party-politics ... the consequent degeneration of the Congress. ... the Congress today is like a festering marsh ... corruption in all States and at the centre. A... the evil is spreading even into the realms ... *Sarvodaya* and the allied programmes.

Khaddar used to be a symbol of Tr... Pure Ideals and Self-Abnegation. Today ... stands for corruption and rapacious s... interest in the vast majority of cases. T... at the top are satisfied with self-aggrandis... ment, being drugged with flattery to a st... of ectatic Narcissism. But their myrmido... are wide-awake to the main chance, and ... ethical consideration is allowed to stand in t... way of those vile blood-suckers.

Millions are being spent for the spread ... the *khaddar*, spinning as well as weaving. ... pains people like ourselves, who have tried t... abjure all evil passions, to the best of o... conscious powers, with the wearing of *khadd*... to see that 90 per cent of the money is on th... way of being wasted, through misappropriati... and through waste. A check survey by an... group of non-political auditors would confir... our statement. And the same is the case o... every Congress or Congress-Government-... sponsored betterment effort, be it Cottage ... Industry or Community Projects. The men ... in charge, almost without exception, do not ... believe in anything else but self-interest and ... self-advancement.

India is progressing, in the terms of con... crete and steel and material output. But the ... very soul of India is being corrupted, through ... the total rejection of moral values, as being of ... no account in this world of Statistics and ... Plans.

We have adopted the old Tammany Hall ... methods as our ideals, so what else could be ... expected? Unless the Congress is purged fro...

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of all the intrusive elements of evil, the future is black indeed.

The Barabanki incidents are merely indicators, as were the acts of violence perpetrated by Hitler's supporters like Roehm, in the early days of the Nazi Party. We are not inclined to believe the story of private feuds, unless substantial proof is forthcoming. Indeed, we shall be very pleasantly surprised—and astounded—if the real culprits are ever brought to book in this case.

It is no use prating about *Sarvodaya*, about soul-force and about India's mission of world uplift, unless the speakers are willing to foreswear the vices of self-aggrandisement, addiction to flattery and fetishism. Where the Nation is concerned, these vices are even worse than alcoholism or plain theft. Super-Brahmins of the old days brought seven centuries of slavery and abject degradation on an India that was materially the most prosperous and advanced in the world of the early mediaeval days. Our Super-Brahmins, through their craze for fetishes and a totally un-Gandhian lack of humility and self-introspection, are leading the country the same way.

The writing is on the wall. Would our Nebuchadnezzars take a lesson in history from the ancients?

The Sugar and Wheat Racket

Calcutta is a city where the markets are in charge of groups of racketeers, the equal of whom is hard to find anywhere else. Last year the citizens of Calcutta were mulcted to the tune of over a crore of rupees through the black-marketing of wheat, sugar and cloth. This year there is a repeat performance. The State authorities, be it said to their credit, took firm action in the matter of cloth. But in sugar and wheat they were powerless as the following news report indicates:

"Calcutta's sugar market has been showing signs of instability during the last few days. This is suspected to be the result of speculation by traders taking advantage of the increased Puja demand.

"During the last four or five days, the price in the wholesale market has increased by over 8 annas a maund. As is always the case, the increase in the retail price has been disproportionately high—about one anna a seer, or Rs. 2-8 a maund.

"To check the rise and help stabilize the market, the Government of India has decided to release imported sugar from its stocks in the city at a reduced price, the reduction being 8 annas a maund.

"For similar reasons the Government of India has agreed to resume direct sale of imported wheat from storage depots in Calcutta."

Last year representations were made to the then Minister-in-Charge at Centre, the late lamented Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and he was finally convinced of the necessity to investigate whether those in charge of distribution were involved in the racket. Unfortunately his sudden demise upset all the programme.

We would like to enquire whether the Centre still has the same officers in charge and control in Calcutta as it had last year. It is most curious that the racket developed and went along the identical lines as in last year. This year too the public has been defrauded out of their hard-earned moneys to the same tune and on the same items.

In any case, we consider that there is a case for enquiry at the top. This racket could not have been repeated without those in control being either totally inefficient and careless about public interest, or being corrupt.

States Reorganisation

If inconsistency is a virtue of the great then the members of the States Reorganisation Commission have certainly attained greatness through their report. For that document may be regarded as being remarkable in its inconsistencies and illogical deductions. The only consistency lies in the adherence to the principle, "What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose."

Let us not cavil at the start on account of those incongruities and inconsistencies. It should be taken into account that the Commission had been set a very hard task, and it should also be put to the credit side that they have worked hard in striving for a solution, in the face of claims and counter-claims.

That they have not succeeded in formulating an impartial solution, in which strict justice had been meted out, is due mostly to the political and parochial hulabaloo that had been set up by those who wanted to stick to their possessions, justice or humane considerations notwithstanding.

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What is more difficult to excuse, is the constant shifting of ground in order to suit the requirements of political exigency. The shift starts right from the formulation of the main premises, in which linguistic considerations were pushed aside, as being of no consequence. In this matter let us quote Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, as given in the columns of the *Harijan*, in the matter of languages and linguistic redistribution:

"The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the *lingua franca—Rashtra Bhasha*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. *It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces*—much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India."

"I may note here an observation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which is very apt and pertinent in this connection. He said that all our Indian languages are our national languages; Hindi as defined in Article 351 of the Constitution of India will have the distinction of being used for inter-State and all-India intercourse, as it is known to the largest bulk of our people."

Now Pandit Nehru is attempting to further the argument advanced by the Commission. On October 30, he made the following statement in a public address at Surat:

"Shri Nehru asked the people to eschew petty things, parochialism, casteism and narrow outlooks.

"Shri Nehru deprecated bickerings in the name of religion, region or language which, he said, would hamper the nation's progress.

"Shri Nehru said : 'We have made some progress during the past few years. Given some time, we shall achieve more. But it is not the progress of a few. It is the progress of everyone. In a democracy in a people's Raj, the people have a greater responsibility. Unless they understand and fulfil their responsibilites, we cannot progress.

"'We should not, therefore, be lost in futile controversies and rivalries and lose sight of the goal.'

"Shri Nehru characterised 'talk of socialism and revolution as childish' and said 'Many talk freely of a militant policy, a struggle and a revolt against the existing order of things. A socialist pattern of society means equal opportunities for everyone and a welfare State. For this we have to work. Mere struggles and movements are counter-revolutionary. How can you bring socialism in a poor country ? We have to first work and produce the goods we need. Then we can talk of distribution. Can we divide and distribute poverty amongst our people ?"

"Shri Nehru said that those who talked in the name of a region or language forget for the time that we had to rise or fall as a nation. Every one of our languages has to be cultivated. We shall have to, of course, adopt one language for the whole country. We shall have to learn even foreign languages, especially English, if we have to know the world.

"'The reorganisation of the States is just for administrative convenience. We do not become a separate State and independent of India, if we are organised on the basis of a language. We should not get lost in small quarrels. We should put down in a determined way such parochial tendencies.'"

Prior to that address, he had made a statement in which he expressed himself as being strongly in favour of the Centre acquiring powers to safeguard the rights of minorities in every State, which is one of the recommendations of the Commission.

Both the recommendation and its support by Pandit Nehru can have only one meaning which is that in certain States linguistic minorities are being denied their constitutional and fundamental rights by the State Government concerned. It also means that the Commission was convinced of the correctness of that accusation against those State authorities and that Pandit Nehru is also aware of that fact.

It is about time Pandit Nehru understood that the Union cannot be established on firm foundations unless Party-Caucus rule is replaced by a truly democratic form of Government. In most States, as at the Centre, everything is run on party lines.

If that be so, then what is the point in talking of People's Raj, of the nation's progress and so on and so forth? In a country where any substantial minority has outrages perpetrated on them by those in power, all talk of progress and of People's Raj is just moonshine.

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Problems of Indian Shipping

India is a maritime country with a coastline of about 3,500 miles; but India hardly owns 2 per cent of the world shipping tonnage. The second world war gave a crushing blow to the Indian shipping strength as it came down from 125,000 GRT in 1939 to a mere 75,000 GRT at the end of the war. In coastal trade the share of the Indian shipping was only 12 per cent and in foreign trade it was barely 2 per cent. Since the attainment of independence, the Government of India took up the cause of Indian shipping and announced a national shipping policy. The tonnage was raised to 280,000 and the share of Indian shipping in the coastal trade increased to nearly 25 per cent. The Shipping Policy Committee in 1947 recommended a target of 2 million tons. Under the First Five-Year Plan, the shipping target was placed at 600,000 GRT to be attained by 1955-56. The total tonnage at the end of the fourth year of the Plan is expected to reach 4,81,739 GRT. There will be further additional tonnage following the acquisition of several vessels by some shipping companies. For the expansion of shipping a sum of Rs. 19.45 crores was originally provided in the First Five-Year Plan and this was subsequently raised to Rs. 23.16 crores.

The following table will give an idea of the comparative tonnage of merchant fleets of the countries of the world: (In thousand tons)

	No.	*Gross Tons*	*DWT Tons.*
U.S.A.	3,346	25,483	35,930
U.K.	2,538	17,522	22,876
Norway	1,056	6,559	9,379
Japan	598	3,242	4,760
France	589	3,540	4,330
Italy	581	3,634	4,688
USSR	581	1,729	2,284
Sweden	576	2,492	3,684
Germany	558	1,992	3,098
Panama	519	3,935	3,925
Netherlands	507	3,083	4,042
Liberia	363	3,487	5,452
Spain	285	1,070	1,420
Denmark	315	1,451	2,099
Finland	215	643	967
Brazil	192	753	1,058
Greece	198	1,148	1,707
Argentine	146	908	1,171
China	143	424	601
Australia	131	480	644
Turkey	129	459	631
India	97	458	674
Portugal	92	441	540
Canada	86	358	403
Belgium	76	439	602
Others	876	3,528	7,789
Total	14,793	89,258	124,754

During the first three years of the Plan, only a sum of Rs. 6.54 crores was employed in the ship-building industry. With the subsequent relaxation in the terms of the loans given by the Government of India to the shipping companies, the latter have availed themselves of Rs. 23 crores as loans. From the year 1946 to March 1955, 15 ships have been constructed by the Hindusthan Shipyard which is now owned jointly by the Government of India and the Scindias. The progress of the Hindusthan Shipyard is not very satisfactory and its plan is said to be faulty by experts. The team of French experts that was appointed by the Government of India did not much improve the productive capacity of the shipyard. Recently there has been a change in the design and type of vessels that are constructed in the shipyard. The estimated cost of construction of the new type of ship is nearly Rs. 113 lakhs as compared with Rs. 74 lakhs for the older type.

The Plan frame for the second five-year Plan has placed a target of 1.5 million GRT. The Ministry of Transport has drawn up a plan for the building of 72 ships at a cost of Rs. 80 crores. But how would be the capital raised to the extent of Rs. 80 crores? According to the Study Group (composed of representatives of shipowners) the private sector can provide at most Rs. 10 crores only during the second five-year Plan period. The balance shall have to be provided by the Government. As already noticed, the Government have advanced a sum of Rs. 23 crores to shipowners. The interest charged is 4.5 per cent on loans for developing coastal trade and 2.5 per cent on those for expanding overseas trade. The period of repayment varies between 10 to 12 years. At present nearly 75 per cent of the cost of the ships are advanced as loans by the Government, while the shipowners demand a loan of 90 per cent of the cost of the vessel.

Under the second five-year Plan about Rs. 70 crores shall have to be provided by the Government to the private sector for the purpose

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of constructing vessels. Now the question is, will it not be desirable for the authorities to start new shipbuilding yards for constructing more vessels, rather than lend such a huge sum to the private sector and allow it to earn profit at the cost of the State? In the early days of the Company rule Calcutta was famous for its shipbuilding yards and ships. Now that the Government are contemplting the establishment of a second shipyard, it should be set up on the river Hooghly near Calcutta. It should be provided with modern equipments and it should be a cent per cent Government concern. The resources of the private sector are much too inadequate to undertake shipbuilding on a large scale and we do not think it desirable that the State should lend a sum of about Rs. 70 crores to the private sector for this purpose.

The Industrial Finance Corporation

The latest annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation shows considerable progress in its activities for the year ended June 30, 1955. Since its inception to June 30, 1955, the Corporation has sanctioned loans aggregating Rs. 28.08 crores. The amount actually disbursed to the borrowing concerns was Rs. 14.53 crores or nearly 50 per cent of the total granted. Of the undisbursed amount, Rs. 3.78 crores have been declined by the applicants. This is a normal practice every year that some of the applicants decline the loan sanctioned to them. They do this on account of some favourable changes in their financial position or changes in their plan. Financial assistance has been rendered to various industries including cotton textiles, chemicals, cement, sugar, automobiles and paper. The Corporation gave loans for the purpose of setting up new industrial concerns and also for raising the installed capacity of the existing ones. Loans were given also for renovation and modernisation of industrial undertakings and for conversion of uneconomic units into economic ones.

Of the total amount of Rs. 28.08 crores sanctioned during the last seven years, the sugar industry heads the list with a loan amount of Rs. 4.43 crores, followed next by the textile industry with Rs. 4.11 crores. The cement industry occupies the third place among the recipients of loans with a loan amount of Rs. 3.15 crores, followed by the paper industry with Rs. 3.11 crores, chemicals Rs. 2.81 crores, ceramic and glass Rs. 1.45 crores, electrical engineering Rs. 1.36 crores, iron and steel 1.23 crores, automobile tractor Rs. 1.12 c and rayon industry Rs. 1.10 crores. Tw operative sugar-manufacturing concerns, with a crushing capacity of 800/1,000 tons sugarcane a day, received loans for Rs. 83,00

The Corporation's gross profit during year ended June 30, 1955 rose from Rs. 2 lakhs to Rs. 24.70 lakhs. This is the hig gross profit earned by the Corporation in single year since it started operations. But spite of this rise in the gross profit, Corporation had approached the Governmen India for a subvention of Rs. 11.25 lakhs to m the entire guaranteed dividend, as compared Rs. 4.06 lakhs in 1953-54. The total subven received from the Government of India will t stand at Rs. 42.20 lakhs. This subvention w required as the Board of Directors decided transfer a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs to the reserve doubtful and bad debts as against only Rs lakhs transferred in 1953-54.

A notable feature of the working of Corporation during 1954-55 is its disposal of Sodepur Glass Works over which it lost much terms of money and prestige. On this transaction Corporation had to incur a net loss of Rs. lakhs for which provision shall have to be m from the future profits. The Glass Works been sold to Messrs. Asahi Glass Company Tokyo at Rs. 62 lakhs. The price will be p in instalments spread over a period of 17 yea together with interest on the unpaid balances $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year. The Vendee Company form an Indian company immediately to ta over the assets and work the plant so as to be to bring the factory into production early ne year. The Asahi Glass Company has reputation of being one of the largest and mos efficient glass-manufacturing concerns of th world today.

International Finance Corporation

The P.T.I. reports that Mr. G. L. Mehta India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., signed on 16 October, 1955, the Charter of the International Finance Corporation on behalf of the India Government at the International Bank. The Corporation has been established to promote the international movement of private capital in productive enterprises in underdeveloped areas of the world. Early this year the Charter of the Corporation was sent to member-Governments

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for their consideration and acceptance. The Corporation will come into being when at least 60 Governments have subscribed the minimum capital requirements of $75 million. The USA is the largest shareholder in the Corporation followed next by the United Kingdom. The following list will show the share capital of some of the important members: (The figures are in thousands of U.S. dollars) :

United States 35,168; United Kingdom 14,400; China 6,646; France 5,815; India 4,431; Germany 3,655; Canada 3,600; Netherlands 3,046; Belgium 2,492; Japan 2,769; Australia 2,215; Italy 1,994; Indonesia 1,218; Brazil 1,163; Pakistan 1,108; Sweden 1,108; South Africa 1,108; Denmark 753.

The basic objective of the Corporation is to supplement the activities of the World Bank by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member-countries, particularly in less developed areas. It will work in association with private investors, assist in financing the establishment, improvement and expansion of productive private enterprises which would contribute to the development of its member-countries by making investments, without guarantee of repayment by the member-Government concerned, in cases where sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. The Corporation will seek to bring together investment opportunities, domestic and foreign private capital, and experienced management. It will also seek to stimulate, and to help create conditions conducive to, the flow of private capital, domestic and foreign, into productive investment in IFC member-countries.

The membership to the Corporation is open to Governments which are members of the World Bank. The Corporation has an authorised capital of $100 million, available for subscription by members in amounts proportionate to their subscription to to the capital of the World Bank. Subscriptions are to be paid either in gold or the US dollars. The authorised capital is divided into 100,000 shares of $1,000 each. The IFC is affiliated to the World Bank in the following ways : (i) Membership in the World Bank is a prerequisite to membership in the Corporation ; (ii) Each Governor of the Bank representing a Government which joins the Corporation becomes a member of the Board of Governors of the Corporation ; (iii) The IFC's Board of Directors shall consist of those executive directors of the Bank who represent at least one Government which has joined the new institution ; and (iv) The President of the World Bank, who is Chairman of the Bank's executive directors, will also be Chairman of the Corporation's Board of Directors.

The Corporation is, however, a separate body quite distinct from the Bank. The assets of the two institutions will be kept entirely separate, and the Corporation is prohibited from borrowing from the Bank. The Corporation has its own President appointed by its Board of Directors on the nomination of the Chairman of the World Bank. Subject to the policy direction of the Board and the Chairman, the President is responsible for the conduct of the Corporation's business.

The Corporation is authorised to make its investments without governmental guarantee. It can make loans on fixed interest and also investments of other kinds. The Corporation may purchase securities which will give it a right to participate in the profits of an enterprise and such securities, when sold by the IFC, can be converted by the purchasers into capital stock. The Corporation, however, is not empowered to invest in capital stock, nor can it assume responsibility for managing the enterprises in which it invests. The Corporation has been given greater freedom than the World Bank in financing private enterprises. The World Bank can lend to private borrowers only on governmental guarantee and has a discouraging effect both on private entrepreneurs and governments in approaching the Bank for loans. Further, the Bank can make only fixed-interest bearing loans ; but the private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed-interest bearing loans ; but private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed obligations for the purpose of establishment or expansion of industrial undertakings. The Corporation can render financial assistance to any kind of productive private enterprise, including agricultural, financial and commercial undertakings. Besides, the Corporation will serve as a clearing institution to bring together investment opportunities, private capital and experienced management.

Where an entrepreneur is in need of capital and technical skill from abroad, the Corporation will endeavour to interest investors outside the country who are in a position to provide capital and management experience. Again, where an entrepreneur seeks to establish or expand industrial undertakings abroad, the Corporation will

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make efforts to recruit domestic capital and local partners in the country of investment. In such enterprises, the Corporation itself may invest. It should however be remembered that the Corporation will not supplant private investment, but it will supplement it. It is the supplier of finance in the last resort ; where other sources of capital are available, it will not step in.

The IFC can revolve its funds by selling its investments to private investors on satisfactory terms. It has the power to raise additional funds by selling its own obligations in the market. By reason of investments by the IFC, private enterprise will not have any special status under domestic laws and regulations. In matters of transfer of earnings and repayments of principal on its investments, the IFC will be in the position of a private investor and will be subject to the domestic regulations on foreign exchange.

Government of India's Coal Policy

For some time past the coal industry in the private sector is not feeling happy over its future prospects. The rumour is in the air that the Government of India is contemplating to nationalise the coal industry. In the last week of August this year, Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, disclosed during question hour in Parliament that the Union Government was considering the question of nationalisation of coal mines. The Government proposes to carry out all prospecting and establishment of new coal mines as a public enterprise. The private collieries also apprehend that the development of new coal mines will be so defined as to cover even sinking of new shafts and the result will be that the private sector will have very little scope for expansion.

The Government is considering the procedure for cancelling unexploited leases held by existing coal-mine owners and this will facilitate new prospecting and mining by the Government. At present the State Governments are owners of mines in their respective regions and if the coal-mining industry is nationalised, the State Governments will have also shares in the nationalised industry. The Union Government shall have to take leases from the State Governments for exploiting new coal mines. For the present, therefore, there will be partial nationalisation of the coal industry, and the private sector in this field shall have to die a natural death not being allowed to exploit new mines. The Union Government is also considering to revise the target of production in the private as well as in the public sector of coal mining industry.

In June last a conference was held between the Planning Commission and the coal interests and it was decided there to permit the private sector to expand its production by 11 million tons and the public sector would raise its production by 12 million tons—the total increase envisaged was 23 million tons. The overall target for the industry was placed at 60 million tons to be reached by March 1961. Now the Government is considering reduction of the target in the private sector to 8 million tons and increasing that of the public sector to 15 million tons.

Under the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, the coal industry was granted an immunity for ten years. There are still three years to go to complete the said period of ten years, but meanwhile the industry has been thrown into uncertainty as to its future. The private owners of coal mines are further concerned, now that the compensation has been rendered a non-justiciable issue. With the future doubtful the private sector will hesitate to provide the large capital needed for mechanisation of mining operations, stowing and installation of washeries.

The output of coal in 1954 was 37 million tons, of which metallurgical coal accounted for 13.67 million tons. Of the new target of 60 million tons to be attained by 1960, the share of metallurgical coal is placed at 16.5 million tons. The uncertainty about the future of the coal industry has been further aggravated by the fifteenth report of the Estimates Committee of the Parliament on the working of the Ministry of Production. The report was placed before the House of the People on 27th September, 1955. In the opinion of the Estimates Committee, the nationalisation of the coal industry is essential in the long run in the interest of industrial development of the country. The Estimates Committee, however, feels that the Government may not have sufficiency of technical manpower at its disposal just at the moment to take over all the collieries at a time and nationalisation will have to be spread over a number of years. In the meantime the private sector may be allowed a fresh lease of life for a fixed period to run the private collieries on the following terms:

(a) That adequate capital is invested by them with a view to stepping up production

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the limits laid down by Government for each colliery ; (b) that scientific methods are employed in raising coal; (c) that as far as possible, mechanisation and safety measures are to be introduced for quicker and better output ; and (d) that labour conditions are improved according to the standards laid down by the Government in this respect.

The Estimates Committee observes that in exploiting natural resources the private owners are guided sometimes by short-sighted policies of quick returns rather than by considerations of maximum economic exploitation and preservation of national assets. It is well known that for more than a century the Indian coal mines have been subjected to destructive exploitation by the over-greedy private owners with colossal wastage of lower grade coal and bye products. The Estimates Committee has rightly suggested that to prevent destructive exploitation, the following measures should be adopted by the Government :

(i) All new collieries should be State-owned and managed under the ultimate control of the Coal Commission, which should be set up immediately ; (ii) the State, should, as far as practicable, take over all private collieries which wholly or to a large extent are engaged in raising metallurgical or high grade coal ; and (iii) steps should be taken to vest the Coal Commission with powers to take over all those collieries, at present under private management which do not follow its directions and do not function according to the standards laid down by it, or which cannot functoin economically and satisfactorily due to any reason whatsoever.

The Coal Commission should have power to determine whether the management of the private-owned collieries should be acquired by the State for a limited period or indefinitely with a view to imparting efficiency and economy in the working of the colliery. The Commission may also decide whether in the circumstances of individual cases, the State should nationalise particular collieries and in that case compensation according to the general procedure and principle shall have to be paid to the private owners. The Estimates Committee thinks that the constitution of the Coal Commission is only a preliminary step towards nationalisation and towards organising the coal industry on sound and efficient basis. The Commission will take steps for raising production and ensuring quicker distribution of coal at cheaper rates through introduction of new and up-to-date methods of coal raising, and of better labour welfare measures. The Committee suggests that the Commission should be constituted on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority so as to make it clothed with power of Government but possessed of flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. In this connection, the Committee has recommended the observation of the Indian Coalfields Committee, 1946, which runs as follows : "The managerial autonomy essential for business demands freedom from political considerations and control. This does not imply that the Government or the Legislature should exercise no control over fundamental policies. A determination as to whether a particular coalfield shall be developed and necessary railway facilities arranged involves question of broad policy and hence of economic planning for the Government and the Legislature to decide. But once such a decision has been taken, the opening up of the field, etc., is a task to which political consideration ought to be completely unrelated."

The S.R.C. Report

Under the scheme of reorganisation proposed by the Commission, the Indian Union will consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and there will be 3 Centrally Administered Areas, that is Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans.

The prospective units, their area and population will be as follows :

	States	
	Area (In sq. miles)	Population (In millions)
Madras	50,170	30.0
Kerala	14,980	13.6
Karnataka	72,730	19.0
Hyderabad	45,300	11.3
Andhra	64,950	20.9
Bombay	151,360	40.2
Vidarbha	36,880	7.6
Madhya Pradesh	171,200	26.1
Rajasthan	132,300	16.0
Punjab	58,140	17.2
Uttar Pradesh	113,410	63.2
Bihar	66,520	38.5
West Bengal	34,509	26.5
Assam	89,040	9.7
Orissa	60,140	14.6
Jammu & Kashmir	92.780	4.4

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Territories		(Actual numbers)
Delhi	578	1,744,072
Manipur	8,628	577,635
Andamans and Nicobars	3,215	30,971

The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed on December 29, 1953 by a Government of India Resolution to examine "the whole question of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union objectively and dispassionately so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as of the nation as a whole, is promoted."

The Commission consisted of Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali, Chairman, and Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of States, and Shri K. M. Panikkar as Members.

The existing structure of the States of the Indian Union, states the Report, "is partly the result of accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India and partly a by-product of the historic process of the integration of former Indian States. The division of India during the British period into British provinces and Indian States was itself fortuitous and had no basis in Indian history. The formation of provinces had been mainly governed by considerations of administrative convenience and economy and by reasons of military strategy and security.

Factors Bearing on Reorganisation

The Commission observe that an essential consideration is that no change should be made unless it is a distinct improvement in the existing position, and unless the advantages which result from it, in terms of the promotion of the "welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as the nation as a whole," the objectives set before the Commission by the Government of India, are such as to compensate for the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country, which reorganisation of the existing units must entail.

The Commission consider that in the interests of national unity the administrative and political structure of the country should be based on the primacy of the nation. The administrative set-up in strategic areas should be determined primarily by considerations of national security. When border areas are not under the direct control of the Centre it would be safer to have large and resourceful units.

The Commission state it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of a single test of either language or culture. A balanced approach to the problem is clearly necessary, and such a balanced approach would appear to be—

(*i*) to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency, but not to consider it as the exclusive and binding principle over-riding all other considerations, administrative, financial or political;

(*ii*) to ensure that communications, educational and cultural needs of the different language groups, whether resident in predominantly unilingual or composite administrative units, are adequately met;

(*iii*) where satisfactory conditions exist and the balance of economic, political and administrative considerations favour composite States, to confirm them with the necessary safeguards to ensure that all sections enjoy equal rights and opportunities;

(*iv*) to repudiate the "home land" concept, which negates one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution, namely, equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens throughout the length and breadth of the Union;

(*v*) to reject the theory of "one language, one State," which is neither justified on grounds of linguistic homogeneity, because there can be more than one State speaking the same language, without offending the linguistic principle, nor practicable, since different language groups, including the vast Hindi-speaking population of the Indian Union, cannot always be consolidated to form distinct linguistic units; and

(*vi*) finally, to the extent that the realisation of unilinguism at State level would tend to breed a particularistic feeling, to counter-balance that feeling by positive measures calculated to give a deeper content to Indian nationalism.

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Financial viability has an important bearing on reorganisation proposals, but it has to be considered along with other relevant factors. The units should, as far as possible, be self-supporting. They should be so constituted that they have an incentive to raise and are able to raise, on their own initiative, at least a part of the resources needed for their development.

The States cannot be so reorganised as to conform to economic regions. Nor can the principle of economic self-sufficiency within an administrative unit be regarded as a clear criterion. Consistently with these principles, however, it would be desirable to avoid as far as possible wide disparities in resources between the various States.

The units should be large enough to ensure administrative efficiency and the co-ordination of economic development and welfare activities.

The wishes of the people should be regarded as an important factor bearing on reorganisation, but they have to be considered along with other relevant factors.

The facts of the existing situation are more important than the previous historical associations of different areas. Undue importance cannot be attached, therefore, to historical arguments.

Geographical contiguity of the units is important from the point of view of administrative convenience. Other geographical factors have to be regarded as secondary.

Pattern of Component Units

The present classification of States into three categories known as Part A, Part B and Part C States was adopted essentially as a transitional expedient, and was not intended to be a permanent feature of the constitutional structure of this country. The Commission, therefore, recommends that the existing constitutional disparity between the different constituent units of the Indian Union should disappear as a necessary consequence of reorganisation.

Part B States can be equated to Part A States by omitting Article 371 of the Constitution. The institution of the Rajpramukh should also be abolished, as large sections of public opinion view with disfavour its continuance, on the ground that it ill accords with the essentially democratic framework of the country.

As regards Part C States, there is a general concensus of opinion that the existing set-up of these States is unsatisfactory. These small units will continue to be economically unbalanced, financially weak and administratively and politically unstable. Taking all the factors into consideration, the conclusion reached by the Commission is that there is no adequate recompense for all the financial, administrative and constitutional difficulties which the present structure of these States presents, and that, with the exception of two, to be centrally administered, the merger of the existing Part C States with the adjoining States is the only solution of their problems.

In respect of Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura, the Commission recommend that the Central Government should retain supervisory power for a specified period to maintain their present pace of development. Such of the existing Part C States as cannot be merged in the adjoining areas for security and other imperative considerations should be administered by the Centre as territories.

The component units of Indian Union will thus consist of—

(*a*) "States" forming primary federating units of the Indian Union; and

(*b*) "Territories" which are centrally-administered.

Territories

The units or areas which have not been dealt with so far will be directly administered by the Centre and will be known as territories.

1. *Delhi*: If Delhi is to continue to be the seat of the Central Government, it must adopt a model which is sound in principle and administratively workable in practice. The people belonging to centrally-administered territories in India are more advantageously placed than those of centrally-administered areas in other important federal countries, in that full representation in the Union Parliament has been provided for under the Indian Constitution.

2. *Manipur*: Manipur should be a centrally-administered territory for the time being. The ultimate merger of this State in Assam should be kept in view.

3. *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*: The *status quo* in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should continue.

The arrangements in regard to areas which have been or may be brought under Central administration in future, either before or after

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becoming *de jure* part of the territory of India, must be flexible, until the position is finally clarified.

SAFEGUARDS

Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother-tongues at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution.

The Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and take steps, under Article 347, to ensure that this code is followed.

The domicile tests in force in certain States operate to the disadvantage of minority groups. The Government of India should, therefore, undertake legislation under Article 16(3) of the Constitution in order to simplify and liberalise the requirements as to residence.

In examinations regulating entry into the public services of the States, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium, apart from the main language of the State, the Union language, namely, English or Hindi, or the language of a minority constituting about fifteen to twenty per cent or more of the population to the State.

S. R. C. Report and Maharastra

The S.R.C. recommendations have caused wide repurcussions, of which the most forceful were those in Bombay. We append below a report of a meeting addressed by Shri Shanker Rao Deo :

"Addressing a public meeting at Shivaji Park on the evening of 23rd October, Mr. Deo warned Maharashtrians against any acts of violence or slogan-shouting to achieve their goal.

"Their demand, he stated, was just and right and Maharashtrians would not try to snatch anything from others. They would take it only after convincing their opponents of the rightness of their demand.

"Mr. Deo assured Maharashtrians that he would leave no stone unturned to achieve a separate linguistic State.

"The Congress High Command had accepted the justness of the Maharashtrian demand for the City of Bombay, but, because of certain difficulties, it could not be joined to Maharashtra.

"On the question of Bombay City there not be any compromise.

"When the Maharashtrian deputation met Nehru and other Congress leaders in New D it tried to convince them that there was no for minorities to fear as their rights were guarded in the Constitution and by a sp chapter of the SRC report itself.

"He referred to a remark in the report o Maharashtra that there was "fear and misg among the city's minorities if Bombay was the capital of a united Maharashtra State.

"He said, it was a grave injustice and honour to Maharashtrians."

The "Slow-down" Policy

The Industrial Tribunal that sat over adjudication on the slow-down and strik the Indian Iron and Steel gave its awa the first week of October. We reproduce of the report below as it is a clear indict of "slow-down" methods in industry :

"The fifth Industrial Tribunal adjudi on the slow-down in the hot mills (sheet section) of the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Burnpur, in 1953 has given its award in favo the management in all the four issues ref to the tribunal.

"As a result of the go-slow, there had a loss of approximately 100,000 tons of fini and semifinished steel to the country from mill, which had been declared a public u concern since 1951.

"The tribunal said : 'A slow-down can be justified under any conceivable circumsta It is a misconduct, as it interferes with and pa down production. It is an insidious pra which not only does hamper production but acts unfairly to the employer. The workers pay, and so they are duty bound to give pro tion. But if they do not give that amount production which they are normally expected give but move slowly and sit idle, then should not earn wages. To earn wages and to give production can never be justified."

Nehru's Speech at Perambur

We append below part of Pandit Neh speech at the opening of the Coach Factory Perambur, as it clearly shows his attitude wards basic industries :

"In the speech, explaining Gandhiji's id Mr. Nehru said the Mahatma would h been glad about the opening of this factory,

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"Like all other factories it did not come in the way of development of village industries and generally raising the standard of the rural and urban population. Some people took a rather narrow, lopsided view of Gandhiji's ideals, without understanding all the aspects of their many-sided character.

"Many, he thought, laid emphasis on the philosophy for which the Mahatmaji stood, without understanding the spirit underlying it. For the functioning of a great movement in India, and as the leader of the great struggle against a mighty Empire, he laid stress on village industries. Curiously enough, those who were sceptical of him then, now stood for development of village industries.

"'But today,' said Mr. Nehru, 'we stand on the threshold of an atomic era. Atomic energy is an enormous new source of power at our disposal and you cannot ignore it. Even if you ignore it, others will not ignore it but will use it to their advantage. Therefore, we have to use this source of power when the time comes. At the same time, everything has ultimately to be judged in terms of human welfare—in terms of the welfare of the millions of our country.'

"Therefore, he said, it was fitting that this day should be chosen for the factory's opening.

"This Integral Coach Factory, he said, was a symbol of something bigger—some bigger integration—that was taking place. In the factory they were making integral coaches by a process of welding. 'Some of us are also engineers—human engineers—trying our utmost to weld and integrate the nation.

"'We, as a nation, suffer from some kind of split personality. We talk in terms of high ideals and act in a completely opposite way. No one in the world talks of higher ideals than we do, but our deeds do not wholly conform to our talk.'

"He said there were powerful forces—forces working for integration and consolidation—while others were working for disintegration and disruption. There was bound to be a conflict between such forces more especially at the time of transition.

"The new integral-type of coach is a light-weight all-welded steel coach. The factory, initiated by the late Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, three years ago, is designed to meet the country's increasing needs in respect of passenger coaches, while the Chittaranjan Factory takes care of the locomotives.

"The Rs. 7.35-crore factory will assemble 20 coaches in the first year, this figure rising to 350 coaches under a phased programme. The factory will provide employment to over 4,000 workers ultimately."

Nehru at Indian Industries Fair

Pandit Nehru spoke much in the same vein as at Perambur, at the Indian Industries Fair as the following report indicates:

"New Delhi, October 29: Mr. Nehru, who visited the Indian Industries Fair for over two hours in the morning, later formally opened it and said: 'It is truly an international exhibition.'

"Credit for giving it this character deservedly went to the foreign countries which had so eagerly participated in it. It was due to them, said the Prime Minister, that the exhibition had become so unusual, not only for India but for the whole of Asia.

"It contained pavilions from diverse countries including 'those which were not considered friendly by some others.' The exhibition, therefore, had become an experiment in co-existence, added Mr. Nehru.

"India, he said, was also changing in the rapidly changing world. Anybody returning to India after two or three years could easily notice the difference.

"The new technical changes, he said, were promising the world an age of abundance for every individual. Yet, at the present moment, some countries not only lived in scarcity but in extreme poverty. The fact remained that in theory, the truth of which could be demonstrated, there was no justification for continuing poverty.

"So far as India was concerned, it stood on the threshold of industrial revolution or a big-scale change, and it was time, he added, it did so. It could not be forgotten, however, that when India did cross the threshold of industrialization, other countries would think in terms of atomic power. Thus, if India took ten steps towards her goal, other countries would be able to move much faster. It was, therefore, necessary that the tempo of progress should be increased if India was to overtake the more advanced countries.

"Mr. Nehru said he was a firm believer in the utility of machines. He wanted them to be bigger and better. The only question was how far the machine could be controlled or was it

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likely to be allowed to dominate man or his mind.

"It was clear that India could not run away from the machine. It solved many problems of the day. Therefore, India must have machines, the purpose being advancement of the lot of man. If India had to have machines it must have the latest and best machines.

"Though the machine was inevitable, 'it cannot be allowed to run away with you.' It was necessary to utilize it with understanding, tolerance and compassion.

"While in other countries there was conflict between ideals and objectives, India had yet to satisfy the primary needs of her people and the secondary needs of some of them."

Prohibition

We append below the news-item giving a summary of recommendations of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee.

We have italicized the second paragraph of this news-item in order to lay emphasis on the extremely doubtful procedure of enquiry adopted by the Committee.

Let us state to start with that the policy of this journal is, and always has been pro-prohibition. We have no use for alcohol as a beverage ourselves nor do we like the use of it by others.

But that does not alter the fact that the Committee's assertion that there is strong support for nationwide prohibition in every State, is just a figment of fancy. How do they know it without making a nationwide enquiry at all? It is a total untruth to say that anything like that has been made. We do not like the gilding of truth, or its assumption by fanciful fanatics, and that is the long and short of it.

"New Delhi, October 25: 'We recommend that the target date for completing nationwide prohibition should be April 1, 1958,' says the Prohibition Inquiry Committee appointed by the Planning Commission in its report, issued today.

"The committee points out that there is strong support for such a nationwide prohibition policy in every State it visited and also a demand to put that policy into effect as early as possible.

"'We are of the opinion that to focus the attention of all States to this end and to mobilize popular sympathy in favour of prohibition, it is necessary to fix a definite ... date to bring into effect complete prohi... throughout the country,' the committee ...

"On the experience of prohibition in S... like Bombay and Madras, the committee ... that 'prohibition is not only a sound policy ... also a practical proposition. The aim sh... be to promote nationwide prohibition and ... achieve better and more lasting results thr... effective implementation.'

"In recommending the target date—A... 1, 1958—for nationwide prohibition, the c... mittee explains that it has taken into co... deration both the urgency of the situation ... the practical difficulties which have to be c... come by the State Govtrnments concerned.

"New Delhi, October 24: In a dissent... minute to the Prohibition Inquiry Commi... Report, Mr. Kodanda Rao says that there ... something wrong with orthodox prohibi... when several Governments stimulate consu... tion for the sake of public revenue and pri... the Congress High Command and the Gove... ment of India advise the State Governments ... 'go slow' with prohibition and the police ... not keen in enforcing prohibition and ... magistrates unenthusiastic about deterr... sentences.

"He regrets that the Prohibition Inqu... Committee should have been asked to rev... only the administration and not the poli... concerning prohibition. He suggests that t... policy of prohibition should be reviewed by ... high-powered commission representing ... shades of opinion, similar to the Americ... Wickersham Commission.

"He disagrees with the majority rep... which stigmatizes consumption of liquor ... 'moral turpitude, a vice, a sin.'

"'Excessive consumption offends the mo... conscience of the world but not moderate co... sumption,' he adds.

"He refers to the example of progressi... nations which treat moderate consumption ... liquor as harmless, normal and even an honou... able social custom.

"Mr. Rao adds: 'If their great and env... able progress in a variety of directions wa... compatible with such consumption; if foreigner... and Indians may consume liquor in foreig... countries and foreigners may do so in Ind... and only Indians in India may not; if so... communities do not feel any moral compun...

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on in consuming liquor; if some of the most spected Indians, official and non-official, take quor without moral qualms; if liquor is used r sacramental purposes among certain reli- ons, the moral elevation claimed for prohibi- on is somewhat weakened.'

"In its very nature, he says, the appraisal prohibition policy lends itself more to sub- ective pre-conception than to objective con- usions. In the circumstances, he adds, it ould be presumptuous to dogmatize.

"He also reveals that instead of asking her States to follow their example, both ombay and Madras had, in fact, somewhat arned them off' although the advice was rged 'with a view to furthering prohibititon.'

"Mr. Rao also regrets that the Committee ad ignored the advice of Bombay and Madras the two States whose experience was most aluable in considering extension of prohibition other States."

Goa

The question of Goa is still in a liquid ate. Ferocious sentences are being imposed satyagrahis, Indian and Goanese, by the egenerate Portuguese colonial government.

Indeed, nothing better could be expected om a nation whose entire colonial record is undiluted brute passions, black treachery nd arrant cowardice in the face of a superior orce.

The Hindu in an editorial on the 30th October gives the present position as is iven *infra*:

"As early as May of last year our Prime Minister made it clear in Parliament that the Portuguese claim for military aid, from the signatories to the North Atlantic Treaty Organi- sation, for retaining her colonial possessions in Asia cannot affect our claim for the re-union of Goa with free India. Mr. Nehru proclaimed categorically that 'to us it is quite clear that those alliances do not concern any foreign establish- ment in India.' Since then France has volun- tarily surrendered her sovereignty over her settlements in this country without calling on any NATO Power to come to her aid for resist- ing the just claims of the people of the settle- ments. But Portugal continues to be adamant and there is reason to believe that she may be banking on outside help. For, in April of this year, Mr. Nehru reverted to the subject at the Afro-Asian Conferenence during the debate on colonialism in Asia. He commented on the extraordinary stand taken by some members of NATO. Following Portugal's request to them to tell us, 'You should do this and that', India was getting letters from some of the so-called Big Powers along those lines. He did not mention which Powers wrote but it must be mentioned that the United States has never given countenance to the Portuguese stand on Goa. If anything, her leaders have openly and more than once come out against colonialism under any guise. We have already noted the Canadian Prime Minister's declaration that NATO could not be invoked by Portugal for this purpose. Mr. Nehru has observed that it does not matter who these Powers are, 'but it is gross impertinence and the new Republic of India has told them that it is gross impertinence."

Macao and Goa

The Portuguese colony of Macao, on the mainland of China, has been the worst plague-spot in Asia for centuries. It is a huge conglomeration of brothels, gambling dens and resorts of international drug and opium smugglers. The Chinese have declared their policy regarding Macao, as the following news-item indicates.

It is to be noted that subsequent reports indicate that this note of displeasure was enough to force the panic-stricken Portuguese to abandon the "celebrations":

"Hongkong, October 25: Peking Radio said today that China had the right to demand the return of the Portuguese colony of Macao which adjoins the Chinese mainland.

"The broadcast in English was described as 'a late message.' It said: 'Macao is Chinese territory and the Chinese people have a right to demand the return of their territory from the hands of the Portuguese colonialists.'

"The radio broadcast a report which, it said, had been received from Canton saying that the Portuguese authorities were compelled last week to announce cancellation of their plans for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the opening of Macao as a port.

"Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, declared his support for India's stand over Goa and asked for the prevention of extensive celebrations planned in Macao of the 400th anniversary of the founding of this tiny colony on the Chinese mainland, according to authoritative sources here today.

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"Mr. Chou, according to the sources, told Mr. O'Neill, British Charge d'Affaires in Peking and Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hongkong, at a luncheon in the Chinese capital early this month that the people of China and the Chinese in both Macao and Hongkong would be 'very displeased' with the celebrations.

"The sources said that Mr. O'Neill had reported this to the British Foreign Office which in turn had sent a report to the Portuguese Government through the British Ambassador in Lisbon."

Buraimi Oasis

The Persian Gulf is the key to the vast British (and allied) petroleum concessions in Iran, Bahrein and the neighbouring territories. There has been a long-standing dispute, between Saudi Arabia and the potentates of the oil areas of the Gulf, regarding the demarcation of frontiers. Recently there has been a resort to arms as the following news-item indicates. Fighting has broken out after the occupation:

"London, Oct. 26.—Troops of the Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, Arab rulers of Persian Gulf States in treaty relations with Britain, today occupied the disputed Buraimi Oasis which has been claimed by Saudi Arabia, Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister told the House of Commons today.

"Sir Anthony said that the troops had occupied the oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937.

"The Prime Minister told Parliament that the decision to move in troops had been taken because of the breakdown of the recent arbitration proceedings in Geneva on the status of the oasis.

"Announcing the breakdown of proceedings before the tribunal Sir Anthony said the actions of the Saudi Arabian authorities in the disputed area and during the arbitration 'amount to a repudiation of the arbitration agreement and have made a continuation of the arbitration impossible.'

"He said the Saudi Arabian Government was being informed of the decision to reoccupy the oasis up the modified 1935 frontier line.

"I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare, he concluded."

South Viet Nam

In Indo-China the last traces of Fre colonialism has been eliminated apparently the news-item below would indicate. French puppet Bao-Dai has lost his last thr

"Saigon, Oct. 26.—Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem Prime Minister, today proclaimed South Viet N to be a republic. The proclamation fol last Sunday's nationwide referendum in whi large majority of the voters chose Mr. Diem t place Bao Dai as Head of State.

"The Premier read the proclamation to m than 30,000 people from the balcony of his of residence.

"It followed a Cabinet meeting which cussed the referendum results.

"The day has been declared a public holi in celebration of the event.

"Mr. Diem told the crowd outside his re dence : 'In the darkest hours of our history o people have always joined together, and now i moment of supreme unity we have broken t bands of iron and fibre which encircled us, tak the path of independence and liberty.

"We shall see a unified, free and prosper Viet Nam emerge triumphantly.

"Thailand and Japan today recognized M Diem as Head of State."

French North Africa

French colonialism is still trying to re its hold on North Africa, now by an atte at compromise. The French *colons* still w forcible suppression of the demand for liber and on the other side are the implacable i of colonialism in the shape of the children the soil. Prime Minister Faure is now tak desperate chances in mediation. The reac as indicated in the news below, is still u favourable:

"Casablanca, Oct. 18.—A fresh upsurge terrorism in French North Africa has taken a t of 21 lives during the past 24 hours.

"In a new series of attacks and rioting the principal cities of Morocco, eight M cans had been killed by tonight and a num of Moroccans and Europeans injured.

"Algerian rebels claimed 13 victims, se of them Europeans, when a band of 100 a tack a packed bus on the Bone-Berbillon road yes day.

"Marakesh, Morocco's third largest c has been the scene of the worst disorders in t protectorate.

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"For the fifth day running bands of youths roamed the streets of the Arab quarter, setting the torch to shops and knocking down telephone poles. Saboteurs cut the telephone cable between Morocco and Algeria tonight.

"The demonstrations are in protest against the composition of the Moroccan Throne Council to replace Sultan Ben Arafa."

Apartheid

The U.N. Commission has given a mild report on the apartheid policy of the degenerate anti-diluvians of "Africans" South Africa. We append the news-item below, for all its worth:

"New York, Oct. 12.—The general lines of South Africa's policy of apartheid had not changed during the past year, the U.N. commission of inquiry into the racial situation in South Africa said in a 15,000-word report presented today to the current session of the General Assembly.

"During the year, a series of legislative measures were enacted which were consistent neither with the obligations assumed by the Union of South Africa under the Charter nor with certain provisions of the universal declaration of human rights, the commission said.

"At the same time, the commission said that the programme of apartheid had during the past year been proceeding extremely slowly, cautiously and carefully. 'At the rate at which the Government is promoting each day a fuller measure of apartheid, it may well take many years before the theories of the new apartheid bear even a modest resemblance to actual fact. By then, the succession of generations, white and black, will have changed the course of events.

"The South African Government is the only Government in the world which believes that it can carry out such a fabulous experiment successfully,' the report said in another reference to apartheid.

"The members of the comission are Dr. Herman Santa Cruz, of Chile (chairman); Mr. Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti; and Mr. Lagier, of France."

Pakistan and Afghanistan

The uneasy truce in the Pak-Afghan disputes has again been broken up, over the issue of Pakhtoonistan. The news report given below summarises the situation:

"Karachi, Oct. 18.—The Pakistani Government this evening announced its decision to withdraw its Ambassador in Kabul, Col. A. S. B. Shah, following Afghanistan's decision to recall her Minister from Karachi.

"Government sources said that Col. A. S. B. Shah would soon return to Karachi. The immediate cause for the recall of the Afghan Minister was the refusal by Pakistan to discuss the formation of a One-Unit West Pakistan Province.

"Afghanistan is opposed to the integration of Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province inhabited by Pakhtoons in West Pakistan Province without ascertaining the wishes of Pakhtoons.

"A Pakistani Government spokesman said that although the country had decided to recall its Ambassador at Kabul, Pakistan would, 'as in the past, always be ready to discuss and amicably settle with the Afghan Government all matters of common interest.'

"But he wished to make it clear that Pakistan could in no circumstances discuss with Afghanistan internal matters like the merging of West Pakistan Provinces and States into a single unit.

"The Afghan National Assembly, meeting at Kabul yesterday, approved the Government's policy on the issue of 'Pakhtoonistan.'

"Reporting this, a Kabul Radio broadcast last evening said that the Afghan Prime Minister, Sardar Daud Khan, explained in detail to the Assembly the Government's stand concerning a homeland for Pathans residing in what now constitutes Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province.

"The Assembly, the broadcast said, offered its full co-operation in whatever steps the Government takes to vindicate its stand."

Result of Saar Referendum

There was a referendum in the highly industrialised area of the Saar, on the Franco-German border. The choice before the people of the Saar was between international control in the guise of a Europanised Saar, and merge with Western Germany. They decided overwhelmingly in favour of merger. The reactions of that decision are given in the news below:

"The German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, declared his 'firm conviction that the outcome of the referendum should not, and will not, prejudice the good relations between our two countries,' and added: 'Knowing that both governments sought a settlement in the spirit of European solidarity and have loyally observed their obligations, I am certain that

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in the future, too, they will go the way of harmony and friendship.'

"The French Prime Minister, M. Faure, replied: 'Like you, I am convinced that the results of the Saar referendum cannot divert our two governments from the path they have taken. The new difficulties in our way . . . will not weaken our common will to serve the cause of Europe and of understanding between our two peoples.'

"The steps now to be taken about the Saar, London observers point out, are a subject for joint discussion between the French and German Governments. The Saar agreement of last October was at once a consolidation and a symbol of Franco-German *rapproachment*. The manner in which the two governments are approaching the new problem raised by the referendum result is regarded as of good augury."

Egypt and Israel

The mounting tension between Egypt and Israel—indeed between Israel and all the Arab world—has reached the breaking point consequent on Egypt's decision to purchase arms, which they could not get from the U.S. group, from Czechoslovakia. The position is well-presented in an editorial in the *New York Times*, international edition, for the 16th of October. We append a long extract:

"Israel and Egypt both maintain they want no war. Yet the pressures for war are strong.

"At present there is believed to be at least a rough military balance between Israel and the Arabs. Israel is reported to be superior in manpower; she has a well-trained army of 50,000 and a reserve force of 200,000. Together the Arab armies are numerically superior—Egypt alone has 50,000 to 60,000 men—but their training is considered poor and they have no reserves.

"In weapons, however, the Arabs may have an edge over Israel. Egypt has 100 combat planes including a squadron of jets and well over 100 tanks; Israel has a small number of planes, including some jets; there are no reliable reports on the strength of her tank force.

"Egypt's Premier Adbel Gamal Nasser contends he is buying Communist jets, tanks, heavy artillery and naval craft solely for 'defense' purposes because, he says, Israel is militarily superior to Egypt and might attack Egypt. Repeatedly Colonel Nasser has assured the West he does not want to fight Israel.

Israel's View

In Israel, the Arab-Communist arms deal is regarded as the gravest threat to the Jewish state since its birth seven years ago. At that time the Arab states were weak; Israel's forces were vastly superior. The war between them was bloody and difficult but the outcome was never seriously in doubt.

But today, Israel contends, the Arabs are superior to her in weapons; she points out that notwithstanding his assertions now, Premier Nasser last July said his army was stronger than Israel's. Once Egypt starts getting Soviet MIG's and other Communist heavy weapons, Israel will be hard put to defend herself.

"Accordingly, there is some pressure for launching a preventive war against the Arabs now, while Israel has the stuff to ensure victory. It is hard to assess the importance of this sentiment. In Israel's parliamentary elections last summer the biggest gains were scored by the two parties which stood for tough action against the Arabs—Herut and the Workers party. They won about 22 per cent of the vote, and that was long before anyone in Israel suspected that the Arabs would receive new supplies of arms.

"Tomorrow Israel is to get a new government. Its political composition will be about the same as at present, but changes of individual members are certain to affect its collective attitude. The most important change will be the return of former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the Premiership next week; he is now resting under doctors' orders. Mr. Ben-Gurion, a firm believer in the Old Testament principle of an-eye-for-an-eye where the Arabs are concerned, is not a man to sit back idly and wait for an Arab attack on his country.

"What then can he do? He seems to have three possible courses of action: (1) purchase of arms from the Communists; (2) enlistment of Western help in the form of arms to even the balance and or a Western guarantee of Israel's borders; (3) preventive war.

Conference in Washington

"Israel has apparently rejected the first course. Reports last week that Moscow was offering to sell arms to the Jewish state met with a hostile "No thanks" from Tel Aviv officials. Israel would have a hard time paying for Communist arms, and if she tried, she would alienate important friends in the United States.

"The second course is obviously Israel's best

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bet. Last week in Washington her Ambassador, Abba Eban, called on the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, George V. Allen. Mr. Eban did not ask for any specific amount or type of arms. But he urged the U. S. to pledge to help Israel match whatever arms Egypt receives from the Communists. Mr. Eban also asked the U. S. to put into effect the guarantees of the borders between Israel and Arabs that Secretary of State Dulles had proposed last summer.

"As for Course No. 3—preventive war—the majority of Israelis obviously oppose it. But there is the possibility that if the West refuses to help Israel, she might feel herself forced to go to war. As Mr. Eban put it, Israel will not sit like a rabbit waiting for the snake to get big enough to swallow her.'

Relief of Arab Refugees

Vast numbers of Arabs were displaced by the formation of Israel. Their homeland occupied by the Israeli immigrants, without any question of compensation or rehabilitation, the plight of these poor displaced people is miserable in the extreme, as the following extract indicates:

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 24) writes: "The report of Mr. Labouisse, Director of the United Nations Relief Agency for Arab Refugees, will receive the more attention because of the new dangers in the Middle East. Over 800,000 refugees are still being fed, and of these nearly 100,000 are still living in tents.

"Mr. Labouisse thinks that new irrigation projects might give livelihood for 200,000. Unhappily, the rejection of the Johnston scheme for Jordan irrigation now puts this in doubt.

"Mr. Labouisse says that the desire for repatriation continues as strong as ever, and he adds an important comment: 'For the majority, repatriation means a return to the conditions they knew in Palestine prior to 1948. It is not possible to know how many of them would, in fact, accept the opportunity to be repatriated if that repatriation would mean something different from their old homes and their former way of life.

"'No prediction can be made until the refugees have been given the opportunity of choosing between distinguishable alternatives —namely, on the one hand, repatriation whose true nature is clearly understood at the time of choice; and on the other, the amount and form of the compensation that would be offered instead.'

"He says that if a major part of the refugees do not become self-supporting soon, the cost of relief will grow. There does not look to be much hope of any improvement soon, though 110,000 have been allowed to return to Israel under the scheme for reuniting families, and Israel is unfreezing the refugees' blocked assets.

"But this only touches the fringe of the problem. Mr. Dulles's recent proposal of a loan to Israel for paying compensation has been accepted by Israel in principle, but on condition that the Arab blockade is lifted.

"The United Nations may see that the refugees do not actually starve, and some of the Arabs may now have grown used to their way of life (and may be apathetically content, though the ration gives only 1,500 calories a day). But to be a refugee is still one of the hardest misfortunes of the modern world."

Turkey To-day

Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows. So does, it seems, unreasoned bellicosity.

Turkey is the strongest bastion in the "Northern Tier" of the Middle East. It is well known, likewise, that the present-day rulers of Turkey are not of the same ilk as Kamal Ata-Turk, or his followers. They are more a throwback to the old Turkey. The following extract from *Time* of October 24, is illuminating, coming as it does from the most reactionary and bellicose of all U.S. journals:

"Oil for the machines of Turkey lay bottled in the bowels of tankers last June while representatives of four big oil companies served notice on the Turkish government: unless some $50 million in past oil bills was settled, the new shipments would not be unloaded. With only a week's oil in reserve, the government did some frantic juggling and scraped together a payment.

"The U.S.'s strongest ally in the Middle East is so strapped that it can barely pay its day-to-day bills.

"A newspaper editor reported one day last summer that while Premier Adnan Menderes was off on a trip, some political scalawagging was going on inside the ruling Democratic Party. 'While the cat's away,' wrote the editor, the mice will play.' The editor was arrested,

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and only by appeal to a higher court escaped a jail sentence of six months. His crime: imputing animal characteristics to the Premier.

"'In Turkey,' said a troubled Istanbul man, 'it is still possible to be a free man, a free journalist, or a free judge—if you are willing to take the risk.'

"Only yesterday Turkey had seemed a solid rock in the free world's sea of uncertainties. Now it is a bothered bastion. Its economy is sick and its government is flirting with bankruptcy. Its brief but intense experience with democracy is afflicted with a return of the familiar weapons of autocracy.

"What has gone wrong, and what can be done about it? These questions, raised for months past, concern more than tough debonair Adnan Menderes, his government and his 23 million countrymen. All the other allies of NATO have cause to worry about the health of the member that anchors NATO's Eastern wing, provides the allies' largest single bloc of soldiers (the entire Turkish army of 500,000 men), and stands stoutly across the Black Sea from Russia. The U.S., in particular, has cause for concern. It cannot let Turkey sink, and Turkey insists that the U.S. owes it the means to stay afloat. The proposed means: a $300 million loan, no strings attached. The U.S. reply: no more loans until Turkey puts its economic house in order. The question: Who will back down first?"

Syngman Rhee Portrayed

Another queer *protege* of the U.S. is that obnoxious little autocrat who now rules South-Korea through the grace of the U.N. We append a sketch of this character from the back columns of the *Worldover Press* of August 26:

"The big issues in Korea are in danger of being lost to sight. When thousands of our allies, the South Koreans, stage repeated and frenzied attacks on American troops defending the safety of the truce commissioners, it is dramatic and distressing. But even if the terms of the commission's mandate now need revision, some sort of supervisory body must do the same job, and it must be representative of both sides. And Syngman Rhee has made it clear that he really opposes any truce commission. For reasons of strategy, he has concentrated his attacks on the Communist members from Poland and Czechoslovakia, but a while ago he was bitterly assailing the Swedes and Swiss.

"If Rhee's record is reviewed, the urge necessity of squelching him becomes appare Nine months ago, Rhee gave the Polish a Czechoslovak members of the truce comm sion a week to get out of Korea, thus act to break the international truce unilateral What was the result? He was 'warned' by United Nations Command that the truce te would be protected. If sterner action had been taken against Rhee, this August wo not have witnessed the wounding of many U troops and the loss of South Korean lives demonstrations. Rhee had the nerve to 'spontaneous' (in good old Nazi style), wh they were actually whipped up on his perso orders. Rhee backed down temporarily; b he never departs from his fundamental aim a new Asian war with the United States co mitted as the major belligerent.

"Even before the war in Korea, Rhee w a hopelessly undemocratic ruler. In the 19 elections, there was scant freedom; he sys matically disposed of his popular opponen During the first two years of his presidenc there were 89,710 arrests, including 10 membe of the National Assembly and the natio Vice-President. The Chief Justice of the co try asserted: 'Any individual Korean is at t mercy of the police.' Seven newspapers we closed down and their staffs jailed. Politi prisoners were treated brutally and of tortured. Some of the victims were not f from the taint of Communism; many were.

"Defying the U.N. Command in ear 1954, Rhee was only stopped at the la moment from using ROK troops and U.N funds and equipment to seize by force, fr the U.N. Command itself, a large area nor of the 38th parallel. Rhee's intention w nothing less than to annex this area, extendi 58 miles north of the parallel.

"The Communists are hard enough handle without the benefit they derive fr the impression, throughout the neutral a uncertain world populations, that Commun sins have their equivalents on the anti-Co munist side. Syngman Rhee is no friend democracy, peace and freedom, and it is hi time the U.S. and the U.N. made unmistak able to world opinion their recognition of th

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MUST INDIA DISINTEGRATE?

By Prof. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. D.Litt., Hony. M.R.A.S. (London)

1. Historic Origin of Our Provinces

Nature has formed India into a self-contained block of land, living in isolation from the rest of the world. Two vast oceans guard her flanks, while her head and shoulders are fenced round by the tallest mountain in the world. But the unity born of this sheltered self-sufficient life has been spiritual, not political. Sanskrit learning and Hindu religion have imposed a cultural uniformity over all the provinces of India, but they have not been welded into one State; a sub-continent cannot quickly be. Indeed, most of India's provinces, though each as large and populous as many a sovereign State of Europe, have failed to acquire a compact frame with oneness of language, tradition and manner of life clearly marking each off from its neighbouring provinces, such as history imposed on Burgundy, Provence, or Lorraine. Our provincial boundaries have constantly changed, since the remotest antiquity, owing to conquest or loss and not to linguistic disharmony. We have a proverb that in this country the local dialect or *patois* changes every ten *kos*!

How the different provinces of India have grown to their present shape on our maps, is a matter of known history. The kernel of each province has remained fairly constant, but its borders have been very elastic, sometimes evanescent. Each has expanded (or shrunk) under the pressure of historical or economic forces, and formed a larger (or smaller) political unit by coalescence (or attrition). Sir Richard Temple in his *Journal* has traced every step of the formation of Kashmir and Jammu (only a hundred years old). The piecing together of the mosaic conveniently called Assam, began even later and has not yet been finalised. Even the changing boundaries of the State of Delhi (I mean the *subah* and not the capital city) is a headache to the compiler of a Historical Atlas of India. The Bombay Presidency, a little older in time, is no better off in this respect.

In the earliest Hindu age traceable in history, each political unit (however small, like the city republics of the Panjab described by Alexander's companions), originated from the settlement of one clan or profession (*i.e.*, caste) and took its name from that body of ruling people. Such was the origin of Malwa (the new home of the *Malloi* tribe encountered by the Macedonians in the Panjab), Gujrat (the Indian colony of the Gurjar or Gujar nomads), and so on. Their bond of union was ethnic, not political, nor linguistic oneness, because two or three clans spoke the same language and yet lived apart in spite of this affinity of speech. Later, in the course of ages, our Hindu empires began to grow and unite several provinces under one political rule, though few of them could retain this union after three generations. Within the empire the diverse subject population held together because the suzerain allowed each locality to follow its own customs, the State's sole concern being to put down rivals and rebels and take one-sixth of the crops for its service,—hence the Hindu king's Sanskrit title of *Sadangsha-bhak* or the owner of one-sixth.

2. Unifying Work of Empires

After the Muslim conquest of Delhi (*circa* 1200 A.D.) the States became larger; in many cases each of them embraced two or even more provinces as we now understand that term; but there was as yet no *political* homogeneity in Muslim India. Under the Mughal empire (a live force from 1575 to 1750), the true political integration of India took place and the provinces became really limbs of one empire. By an imperial edict, issued on 24th November, 1586, Akbar imposed the same type of administrative organisation on each of the provinces (called *subahs*) under his rule.

"Two hundred years of Mughal rule gave to the whole of Northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system, and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca*

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for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. . . . All the twenty Indian *subahs* of the Mughal empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in *all* official records and letters. Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one *subah* to another; travellers and traders passed freely from one city to another, one *subah* to another."

The British paramountcy only extended and perfected this process of political unification. The official languages (Persian in the middle ages and English in the 19th century) were extremely simple and easy to learn, except for those who want to make a rhetorical parade; they gave the key to the cultural heritage of Asia and Europe respectively. Thus, all our administrative work at the highest level was performed very smoothly and universally, during the Muslim and British regimes, and linguistic difference did not *then* raise its head as a disintegrating force.

3. Geographical Changes Inevitable, Why

Not only have our provinces changed their frontiers within historic times, but the centre of gravity of many of them has also shifted in an incredible degree. Pataliputra (Patna), the colossal capital of the Maurya emperors as seen by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes in 290 B.C., had become a desolate hamlet in 630 A.D. Kanauj, the famous capital of Harsha, which the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan Chwang glorified in 640, was later "so completely destroyed that nothing beyond rubbish heaps remain." (V. A. Smith). As for the imperial city where Shah Jahan gloried and drank deep, the very title of Dr. Spears' charming book, *Twilight of the Mughals*, indicates its condition in the British period.

The civilisers and kingdom-builders came to Bengal by the land-route from the west, *via* Anga (Bhagalpur) and Gaur (Malda). In the early Muslim period they moved east, again by land, through Ghoraghat (Bogra-Rangpur) to Mymensingh and then southwards by land through Egara-sundar, Rampal and Bhawal to Vikrampur (Dacca). The river highway in East Bengal was opened in the 15th century after the coming of foreign traders (Chinese, Persian and Portuguese), when Hugli (Satgaon) grew into our greatest seaport, second only to Chatgaon, the "Great Port" of the Portuguese writers. The real conquest of Bengal by Islam Khan (Jahangir's governor, 1609-13) moved the capital of subah Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca; and in the early 18th century, Murshidabad replaced Dacca, only to give way to Calcutta in 1774.

Under British rule, administrative convenience had led to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa being lumped together as one political unit, as had been the case for a few years in Shah Jahan's reign also. But there was no fusion of these component elements.

Thus the chequered board of India's political map has never attained to finality. Administrative (particularly strategic) convenience has always been the deciding factor in changing our boundaries.

Today the exclusive use of the local vernacular in the official work of each province is being proclaimed, as the highest form of patriotism. It will lead to a great loss of time and money to the Government and the public alike. Even the administration will jog on, like the creaking discarded old motor buses on which I have travelled on the wretched roads (rather ruts) in the interior of the Hyderabad State. But how will this new patriotic policy work if the same narrow parochial outlook dominates the field of our education? Can our grandsons under a purely vernacular education attain to sufficient efficiency for standing up against their rivals in the modern world of competition? How will a free India, with her citizens trained on this pure *sanatani* model, hold herself erect in World War No. III? War is the supreme test of a nation's efficiency.

4. Futility of the One-language Province Theory

Let us consider two illustrations. The State of Bombay as drawn on our maps is a purely British creation, without any historic or linguistic unity of its own. It

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six cultural languages, none of which can be ignored,—Marathi (spoken by less than 50 per cent of the people even in the capital, Bombay City), Gujrati (the speech of the richest and brainiest portion of the population, besides being the home language of the Parsis), Kanarese (the heritage of an intransigent minority with millions of brothers across the border), Portuguese and (or) English (for the large Goan population, because more of the educated and enterprising subjects of Portuguese India live outside Goa territory than within it), and Persian (for the ancient cultural heritage of the Parsis and the daily life of the new immigrants, called Iranis, who are prominent in every commercial quarter and even railway station store). Which of these six languages can you safely exclude from free choice by some section or other of the Presidency's population, as the medium of their education? Remember, these classes form the upper layer of society; they are not Chinese coolies of Hongkong and Canton who speak a broken tongue called *pidgin English*, like the *pidgin Hindi* which we use in railway travel. Their cultural ambition will be frustrated and these very important sections of the State population will be rightly antagonised towards the present rulers of Bombay if the monolanguage tyranny continues. I have seen B. G. Kher and G. V. Mavalankar speak Marathi and Gujrati (besides English) with equal fluency and correctness. But they are exceptional men and even they have not gone beyond *three* languages.

5. Linguistic Intricacy of N.-E. India Insoluble

Let us pass on to the diametrically opposite side of India. Geography has made our north-eastern corner the most vulnerable point in the country's defence front. Here our boundary with Eastern Pakistan runs in a criss-cross line several hundred miles in length, which cuts Assam and other districts off from the sea to its south by way of the oceanic river Brahmaputra. Its races and languages are as diversified as its geography. The population is made up of pure Bengalis (in Kuch Bihar and Tippera), cultural converts to Bengali for over four centuries (in Manipur, Kamrup—Goalpara and Dhubri), Indian natives of the old Ahom kingdom (called *Kolitas* and admitted as Bengalis by the Persian historians), Ahom immigrants of Shan stock now completely Indianized, besides a dozen wild tribes of remote antiquity and historical importance. The language called *Assami* is written in Bengali characters, and its grammar is Bengali, though the vocabulary contains a small number of non-Bengali (Mongoloid?) words also. If grammar and vocabulary be the essence of a language, then Assami is only a dialect of Bengali, as Konkani (the Goa vernacular) is of the Marathi language.

Less than 30 per cent of the people of this north-eastern block speak and write Assami. The various other tongues when each of them is taken separately, are spoken by even smaller percentages. Among the English-educated people living in this composite province probably as many know Bengali as do Assami or both for literary purposes. How can linguistic monopoly be imposed on such a mosaic of tongues and races? And the monopoly of *which* of the local languages?

In war-time our entire north-eastern corner's transport and public services must be run by one united command. Such unity of administration cannot be improvised after the war-clouds have burst; it must be a previously perfected and tested machine.

6. Statesmanship and Courage Can Save Unity of India

The conclusion is inescapable that in N.-E. India, as in Bombay, there should be a super-State authority, functioning at the expense of "State rights" which is merely a mask for parochialism and the fissiparous spirit. The whole trend of the history of the U.S.A. has been to curtail the State (*i.e.*, provincial) rights and give the Federal Government more and more power of control in the 33 once-independent colonies. The U.S.A. was saved from the fate of Latin America and prevented from breaking up into the Disunited States of (North) America, only at the expense of a

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five years' war, which cost the victor 359,528 lives and the losing side 258,000,—the victims being mostly "the young, the proud, the brave" of the nation.

True leaders must *lead* and not follow the mob like slaves under the lash. Let our ruling V.I.P's take warning before the situation, bad already, becomes uncontrollable. It will *not* "outlast my time."

I am sure that half the present bitterness between nationals and undomiciled (foreign locusts ! as I have heard the term used), and all the clamour for the transfer of fringe areas to form mono-lingual States, will die out, if we can provide equal opportunities for all citizens of India in all provinces and thus make them realise in their daily lives that "the Republic is one and indivisible" and that the quarrel between the native and the undomiciled (*mulki* and *ghair mulki* in Hyderabad) is only the quarrel of private greed and not one due to political disability imposed by a dominant majority (in the case of N. E. India, by a minority of 30 per cent only) over all others within the State.

7. Compromise Proposals

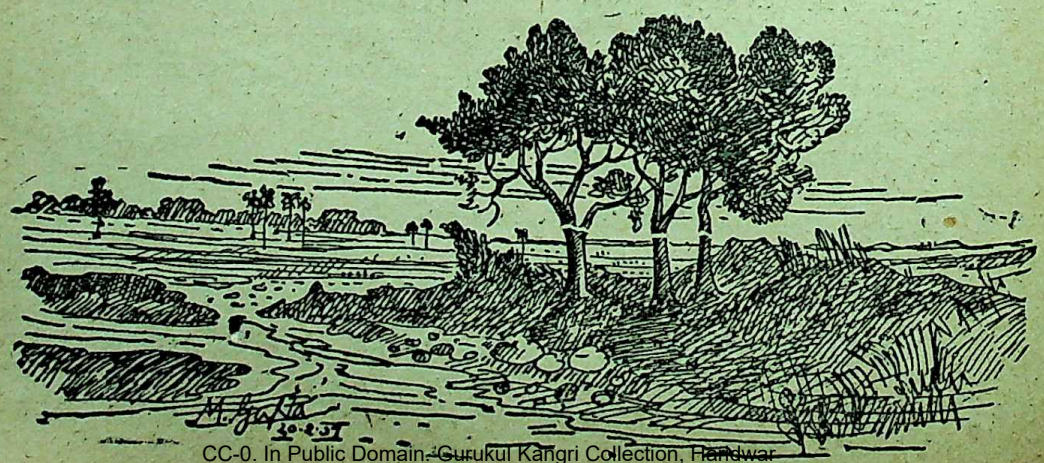
True statesmanship can prescribe only one remedy. And I shall here repeat an appeal I made elsewhere before:—

1. The youth of the province (both domiciled and new-comers) not speaking the local vernacular, should be left free to study in high schools and colleges with the English me... (and primary schools teaching their ... mother tongue), if they can conduct ... institutions for themselves.

2. This academic freedom should ... guaranteed by the Constitution (*pace* S... rights in respect of education as a transfer... subject), and such 'foreign' colleges should ... recognised as competent to grant degrees ... cognisable elsewhere in India. The Un... must create a special University Board of ... own to supervise, correct and finance them.

3. An equitable subsidy, at the sa... rate *per capita* of pupils on the rolls as pr... vails elsewhere in that State, should be pa... by the province concerned to such 'foreig... schools and colleges, and the payment enforc... by the Union.

4. Catch the most promising lads ... every province when young, throw the... together in common mess life in the sa... (Central) institutions as in the case of mi... tary cadets, give them the same education ... the same place, and then let them compe... for the higher administrative services, whi... are all-Indian. Thus only can our futu... leaders be fused into one brotherhood, an... India escape the Balkanisation on a colossa... scale towards which we are rushing amids... the soul-enchanting music of *Ramdhun* an... the rattle of a thousand *charkhas* comin... from our Raj Bhavans.



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A NEW FORCE FOR PEACE

By SOONG CHING LING (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)

The old Asia is no more. The new Asia has arisen.

This is a fact of immense importance, encompassing the radically changed status of almost half the world's population. Whoever wants to judge events correctly must make it the premise of his judgment. The vast multitudes of Asia are moving forward to see that long-delayed justice is done, to better their fortunes according to their own design. Nothing can stop them from fulfilling these sacred obligations to themselves, to their countries and to history.

Arising from circumstances brought about by the character and results of World War II, a considerable group of newly-independent countries has emerged in Asia. The conditions under which they won their freedom, and the methods by which it was achieved, were different in many cases. Yet there was a factor common to all: the protracted and unremitting struggle of the peoples against the foreign oppressors of their lands. This had revived on a new foundation, despite all obstacles, the ties that had bound these countries together from remote antiquity. Since winning independence, basing themselves on this priceless heritage, they have forged fresh links—born of the similarity of the problems they face in safeguarding their hard-won freedom, and of their peoples' efforts to throw off the blight of poverty and ignorance.

Having so much in common in their past and present, these nations find themselves of one mind on many vital issues as they take their place in regional and world affairs today. In expressing their own needs and aspirations, they invariably reflect those of the whole of resurgent Asia. This similarity of viewpoint, it is already apparent, is a new force which has come out of the East to influence the affairs of the entire world. Founded on the struggle for the right of self-determination by each people, it asserts the inseparable connection of this goal with the achievement of world peace. With the interweaving of these two struggles, history has entered on a new course.

In times past, it was typical for each nation to fend for itself. The new attitude is a result of our own epoch, when the interdependence of peoples, nations and regions has been made sharply evident by the scientific advances of Man. It is highlighted with especial sharpness by the facts of life in Asia, where the peoples have suffered so long from outside intrusion and are still suffering from it, where all burn with the desire to lift themselves out of economic and cultural backwardness. As a result, countless millions have come, almost simultaneously, to high political understanding. They know that their progress must be based on a double foundation—independence, which releases the will and genius of each nation; and world peace, which makes possible the co-operation of equals for joint benefit.

The renowned Five Principles, or Panch Shila as they have come to be known in India, are the highest embodiment of this new force for peace. They are:

Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty;
Non-aggression;
Non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
Equality and mutual benefit;
Peaceful co-existence.

The first international documents to make the Five Principles a guide to relations among States were the joint declarations issued by the Premiers of China, India and Burma in June, 1954. These historic statements grew from both the old and new links between Asian countries. They showed what role these countries have undertaken in present-day world affairs. From the outset, the Five Principles were advanced as a code of conduct not for Asian nations alone but for all nations. Since then, governments everywhere have been urged to state their attitude toward these principles, which can do so much to normalize conditions in the world, avert war, and open up bright prospects for the peoples. As Prime Minister Nehru has put it, Panch Shila is a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world and "each country will have to give a direct answer."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam responded immediately. In the past year and Five Principles have been incor-

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porated, in letter or spirit, in joint statements by China and the Soviet Union; China and Indonesia; India and Yugoslavia; Burma and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and India; Poland and India; China and Vietnam; the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Many other events have testified to their value, to the responsible chord they have struck among the peoples of the East and the West.

It was the idea of the Five Principles that formed the basis for the restoration of peace in Indo-China through agreements reached at Geneva in 1954. This settlement stipulated respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three States involved, and non-interference in their internal affairs. That the fuse sputtering in Indo-China did not set off a world-wide explosion was due in a large measure to the positive contributions of Asian States, mainly the Colombo powers and China. Clearly, the Geneva settlement was reached in the spirit of the Five Principles. Clearly, it is in this spirit that it is meant to be carried out.

India, Burma and Indonesia, three countries which subscribed to the Five Principles, joined with two other Asian States, Pakistan and Ceylon, to call the historic Asian-African Conference. Everyone feels now that this gathering has had worldwide influence. The Bandung Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation included ten principles which were an extension and development of the original five. It gave further evidence that the concept of peaceful co-existence, in the minds of the vast populations of Asia and Africa, is directly linked with their own national demands.

The Five Principles, and the results reached in Asia by their application, had their deep effect in helping to bring about the long-awaited meeting of the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France at Geneva last July. One cannot separate from them the fact that the ambassadors of the United States and China sat down, in August, at the same table to discuss immediate outstanding problems.

What is the great hope that the Five Principles, reflecting the new forces for peace, arouse among the peoples? What is it that wins such world-wide confidence in these ideas, not entirely new in themselves, which have issued from the heart of Asia at this particular juncture in history?

The answers to these questions are co... nected with the facts of our time. True, ... principles had been voiced as policy before, ... the United Nations Charter for instance. ... the peoples had seen them announced only ... be side-tracked; they had seen the U... Nations turned into a voting machine ... rubber-stamp the actions of certain ambiti... powers. They saw the resolving of import... international problems impeded instead ... being promoted. They saw relations betw... States deteriorate. They saw the Far E... ablaze with two wars. The world seem... headed for a holocaust. But this ran coun... to the hope and desire of the peoples, who ... had more than enough of war. Because th... had been an immense political awakening ... all corners of the earth, the peoples began ... speak out. A peace movement of tremendo... proportions developed. There were States of ... new type in the world, whose own interes... required that the people's voice be heard at ... times, that the nations return to negotiati... as a way of settling problems, that ever... government pledge itself not to resort to for...

Taking impetus from the actions of th... world-wide peace movement and of thes... States, the Five Principles emerged from th... East. They appeared at a moment when th... peoples, wearied by tension and fear, wa... seeking for an end to the "cold war" th... poisoned all things, and an end to the mon... trous threat of atomic slaughter. Moreove... the leaders and nations who put forward th... Five Principles were obviously sincere. The... ancient Asian lands, which have a long histor... of amicable relations with each other, an... which need peace today for their own progres... were proposing a fair, simple way for a... nations to live together in peace.

The answer to the peoples' urgent searc... for avoidance of world catastrophe came fro... an entirely believable source. It was no preach... ment from suspect mouths, no piece of fine... sounding but empty oratory. It was advance... as a guide to action by those already actin... on it. The peoples, judging it to be a con... structive step to peace, gave it confidence and... support. Events soon proved them right... because the Five Principles not only sound w... but, as the past year's events have shown, ar... very practical politics.

What has the application of the Five... Principles proved? First, it has shown the... validity of their basic premise: that while ... peoples seek a fruitful, healthy existence, ea...

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wants to pursue this goal in its own way, consonant with its own history and conditions. If this premise is accepted, all countries which observe the Five Principles in letter or spirit, no matter how they may differ in structure and customs, are honour-bound to treat and respect others as equals.

Secondly, practice has shown that where respect and equality exist, what the peoples have in common is stressed, and differences are not allowed to grow into antagonisms. When none wishes conflict, outstanding questions between States can be sincerely negotiated. What is more, observance of the Five Principles does not merely prevent antagonism and conflict. It leads positively to the enrichment of mutual understanding, it increases co-operation, it benefits the peoples, and it consolidates international peace.

This is the heart of the Five Principles. This is why they have captured public imagination on all continents and come to the forefront of the world scene.

It was three Asian States—China, India and Burma—which voiced the principles that have won such broad and growing support. In making their big contribution to extending the area of peace in the world, they greatly enhanced their own international position. Never in the modern era have the nations of Asia stood so firmly on their own feet as they do now, defending their own rights and at the same time showing how tolerance and wisdom may be exercised in foreign affairs. Asia has broken with the past, entered an entirely new phase of historical development, and in so doing helped the whole world in the solution of its problems.

Gone for ever are the times when Asian peoples had to tolerate dictation from the outside. Asia is no longer an echo in foreign policy, in deciding which way the world, of which it is so large a part, shall travel. Asia has ideas of her own. They harmonize with those of others who seek peace, justice and co-operation among peoples. They are directly opposed to those of any government that seeks domination over the rest, that sees peoples and regions as war material for its own ends.

This harmony and this opposition are not fortuitous. They spring from life itself. They are a manifestation of the great positive fact of our twentieth century, the standing up of the peoples against oppression wherever and in whatever guise it appears.

It was in the process of the struggle to drive imperialist oppression from their soil and open the path to progress for their peoples that China, India, Burma and other Asian nations revived old links and forged the new ones from which the Five Principles sprang. Our friendship, maturing today, was born in that fiery crucible. Needing peace, knowing that peace coincides with the desires of the majority of mankind, our Asian nations have found how to use their own extensive areas of agreement to generate a new force for world tranquillity.

This has helped to create the climate for further relaxation of international tensions. We are proud that we have played our part in easing the hearts of the peoples. The way we advocate respects the sovereign rights of nations, and regards all as equal. We are sure, therefore, that it will make ceaseless headway in the settlement of outstanding problems.

My own country, China, will continue to seek good relations in this spirit with all nations, East and West. By word and deed, we will strive for the building of mutual confidence and for a relaxed world atmosphere. We will continue to act as the peoples of the world wish, and as the times demand. We will work for peace on earth, for the enjoyment by all peoples of the fruits of their labour and the joy of life.

——:O:——

DEMOCRATISATION OF EDUCATION

By SUSHAMA SEN GUPTA, M.A.,
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Recently I came across a publication entitled *Seven Years of Freedom*, published by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, about a year ago. There is one chapter in it entitled "The Democratisation of Education." It says that

"With Independence and the Constitution that embodied its triumph the democratisation of education had begun. This process of flinging wide the gates of learning to the millions is many-sided, and one of the most important of its aspects is the introduction on a large scale of scholarships at all stages of education."

Going through the article, I looked up the dictionary for the meaning of the word "democracy." I am a student of politics and

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at one time, learnt the definition of the term and in these days of controversy between democracy and totalitarianism, there is no one in the world from the President to the *panwalla* who does not have a say about the word. Each of the two great political groups in which the world is divided today, calls itself "democratic" and there is no third superior body that may settle the dispute or convince either about the truth or otherwise of their claims and the common man is bewildered. Being a student of politics and also one of the crowd, I too have my ideas about this much-talked-of word, but still there may be other meanings which might have escaped me and so I consulted the dictionary. The dictionary says that it means *government of the people* and also *the principle that all citizens have equal political rights.* The word "democracy" though originally having only political significance has now come to be used also in the general sense of having equal rights and I take it that it was in this sense that the article mentioned above, has been written and so I shall discuss its contents in that light.

I find that the achievements in the field of this democratisation of education claimed by the ministry is divided into two parts, one is the "flinging wide" of "the gates of learning to millions" and the other is the provision of scholarships on a large scale for specialised education.

Unfortunately it is too well-known, how wide these gates of learning have been flung open for our millions. Not to speak of the poorer sections (the so-called lower classes) who yet do not bother about education or realise that education is a vital necessity for the fulfilment of man's aspirations and the realisation of his ultimate self, even the middle class people, the so-called *bhadra loks*, are at their wit's end when faced with the problem of educating two, three or four children, which they feel they must. I myself am the head of a Secondary school and I know how many children have to be refused free admission every year and how many are unable to pay regularly even when admitted as regular paying students and this is the case with every school and then there are not enough schools even for the children whose parents can pay.

If all our children and all our adults who had not the opportunity of education during an alien rule, have the equal right to education now, how is our government discharging their duty in the realisation of that right? We do not find the answer to that in this chapter, which is entitled "democratisation of education."

The fact that the number of educational institutions has multiplied after the Independence and with it the number of pupils who are taught therein, has been proudly stated in the appendices given at the end of the book giving statistical figures. Do these figures mean anything? Schools have been established here and there, but not with a definite State policy, aiming at liquidation of illiteracy and providing adequate education for the masses, neither are most of these schools opened by the government. In this big city of Calcutta there are only four government schools for boys and two for girls and the rest are run by private enterprise. Some of these receive Government subventions which cover but a very small percentage of the total expenditure of these schools. But with all this enhanced number it does not provide free education to children. Education is still out of reach of most of the common men, and keen as the middle classes are for giving education to their children, it is managed somehow at the cost of the health of children, by underfeeding them and denying them the minimum demands required for their health. The health of most of the school children is poor. Have the Government any reason to be proud of the increase of the general education of our children in this way?

True, for more than a quarter of a century the Corporations, Municipalities and District Boards are entrusted with the task of providing free education to the children, but the number of the schools run by them is insufficient, and so far as Calcutta is concerned we know that the schools are ill-housed, ill-equipped and ill-cared-for, so that many who really care for their children's education are unwilling to send them there.

Where the children are given free education those who receive always suffer from an inferiority complex and those who impart it suffer from a sense of lofty superiority of doing charity. The poorer classes receiving free education, do not feel that they are enjoying a right and not receiving charity and so they are ashamed to complain, obliged as they feel for the little good that is done them.

This is how the gates of learning have been flung open to our millions. Then coming to the other aspects of democratisation, we find in existence in this country, various types of schools, the Government schools, the Public schools "run on lines of English Public schools," where they have "the chance to develop quali-

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ies of leadership" and schools claiming high fees backed by rich people that have good buildings, better paid staff and equipments and then there are missionary schools and convents, etc., etc. Can we call this equal right and equal opportunity for all citizens to receive good education? Why the Government of India even after the achievement of Independence should allow all this distinction to remain is hard for the people to comprehend? Why should there be any school marked "Government schools" in a country that calls itself democratic? Is it not the government "of the people" and "for the people"? Has not the Government a duty and obligation to educate all its citizens and give all of them equally good education? Why should the Government provide all expenditure of some schools termed "Government schools" and why should the organisers of other schools who have spent their life-time in the cause of education, have to go about with a begging bowl throughout their life to improve the institutions built up by them? Good or bad work is not recognised, originality, freshness and vitality is not given any recognititon, in the words of a Bengali proverb there is "the same rate for *muri* and *mirki*."

Our Ministry informs us that the Public schools offer "the Secondary school child the special benefits of character-training, training in citizenship and the chance to develop qualities of leadership." Without going into the merits of the necessity of the existence of such highly expensive schools in the present background, it can be safely stated that the special chance of that special training is available only to a handful. The Ministry informs us that entry into this *sanctum sanctorum* has been made available by scholarships and in the year 1953-54, 57 candidates were selected out of a thousand candidates. About the total seats in the school there is no mention. The paper goes on to speak of other scholarships also, about research scholarship in humanities, science and technology, foreign scholarships, etc., and there the article ends, giving at the last paragraph again a statistical report of the increase in women's education, leaving us bewildered in a labyrinth to find our way to the democratisation of education.

These scholarships granted to meritorious students to secure places so far closely preserved for a favoured section of the people is regarded by our Ministry of Education as the *summum bonum* of democratisation and that is what made me look up my dictionary and I leave it to my readers to judge how far the equal right of all to education has been recognised or followed according to this report and what is the sense of this glorious caption.

We do not understand why any special institution should be allowed to remain in this country which calls itself democratic. If any special educational method is invented to prepare a better kind of character or citizen, why that knowledge should not be made known or the method introduced in every school, passes our comprehension. Why even in these days of democracy "Vedas" which mean knowledge should be deemed to be unsuitable for "Sudras" which in modern days mean the unfortunate poor? As for the justification of the existence of these special institutions for preparing leaders, does it not sound like a huge joke to think of adorning the top floor, without laying the foundation? Great leaders in history sprang from the people and were not brought out ready-made from factories.

Coming recently from a country, the U.S.S.R., which is called an undemocratic country, I cannot but here put in a few words about what I have noticed there regarding education. There all the schools are run by Government, no private or special schools are allowed, there is no difference in the curriculum of any school, there are no different schools for man or woman, high or low, no school for preparing leaders though that country believed in dictatorship. There are one hundred and twelve languages in the U.S.S.R. and there are schools imparting education through the medium of all these languages. There are scholarships at the University stage, where education is not compulsory and 96 per cent of the University students are given scholarships. Education is at present compulsory for 7 years from the age of seven to fourteen and during the next five years' plan, from 1956 to 1960, the State is bringing in the whole of ten years' school-course within the span of its compulsory educational scheme. For those who have to leave school at the end of seven or ten years to earn a livelihood, there are elaborate arrangements of special education of various types, and people in great numbers at the field, factory or office avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. Examples are not rare where an ordinary labourer has risen to be the director of the firm by learning while earning. The people all over are enthused with a great thirst for knowledge and the State has made ample provision for them to quench their thirst. New

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attempts and experiments are being made every day on a huge scale to bring all the branches and stages of education within the reach of all. We could not but be struck with the real "democratisation" so far as education is concerned, that is going on there.

Twenty-five years ago, when Tagore visited that country he was struck with the vigorous attempt of that State, which was still in its infancy, in spreading education far and wide, not excluding the nomadic Mongolian tribes of the desert countries of Central Asia and he thought that there lay their salvation. He disliked dictatorship, but he said that if they wanted the continuance of dictatorship, if they wanted to continue methods of violence and oppression which was a natural consequence of revolution, disorder and turmoil, they would not have launched upon this huge programme of education of their people. And that is what we also heard today. When we asked the people of the U.S.S.R., if their State believed in democracy, they said:

"If our State did not believe in democracy it would not have cared to educate us in this way, we would have been kept ignorant as we had been kept during the Tsarist regime. Education develops power of understanding and people educated would naturally understand the difference between good and evil and criticise."

We have, however, seen them thirty-two years after they could stabilise themselves after the revolution, which they did in 1923. But it must be rememoered that during this period their people had to withstand the holocaust that came in the trail of the onslaught of the mightiest military power ever conceived of. In spite of that they are now cent per cent educated, versed not only in 3 R's but educated in the real sense of the term that enables one to realise his position in a modern State. Even the blind and crippled are not lost sight of and we have seen how meticulously and tenderly these unfortunate children's education is looked after. Education to sick children who are suffering from chronic maladies is imparted at hospitals and along with doctors and nurses these hospitals are provided with teachers. We visited such institutions.

After a hundred and fifty years of slavery and servitude we have attained freedom. Now is the time to eradicate the evils of ignorance and illiteracy and that must be given top priority. We do not all at once want our children to have *pilau* and *kabab*, but rice and *dal* should first be provided to all, followed as quickly as possible by fish, meat, milk, vegetables and fruits. Then and then only can we think of delicacies.

So in the case of education, is there any necessity in this poor country of ours of "Public schools after English models" at this stage? If we want to democratise education should not our first charge be free and compulsory education for all, and then when this has been achieved to go up step by step? They say that Indians are so fond of education that "compulsion" in education is not necessary. But to wink at facts. A poor parent would rather have his very young son and daughter earning something rather than study at school, and would also sometimes be afraid that by being educated their children might not want to take up 'low' work. So compulsion is necessary. While in U.S.S.R. we were asked over and over again what the Indian Government had done about educating the masses after the departure of the English. We were at a loss what to say, so we made excuses about our difficulties and so on and said that we were improving and hope to improve as time goes on. But at heart we were thoroughly ashamed and felt that we had nothing to say, nothing to be satisfied or speak about.

Our shortcomings are sought to be justified on the plea of the extreme youth of the State. But at the age of eight a child takes care of many of its things and it begins to show its genius.

What is to be mostly deplored is not that we have not achieved great things in so short a time, but there is no sign of a proper beginning. We may not expect a tree, but where is the shoot? The shortcomings or difficulties of the Government could have been appreciated if these were acknowledged with understanding, but the most dangerous thing is this self-satisfaction, this attempt to deceive self and others of having done a lot while doing practically nothing. This self-complacency of those in power makes us feel that we have very little to expect from our present Government.

We know that the first thing to make Independence and Democracy successful is providing food to its people is to provide education. All the peoples of the world, democratic or undemocratic, have accepted it and we wonder when India would fall in line with the great march of races towards knowledge and more knowledge, and knowledge as we in India know also is the only source of strength and salvation.

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GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT OF INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.COM.

III

Flora and Fauna

Forests : Types and Resources

India is very rich in forests, which cover 18 per cent of the total area (2,65,932 sq. miles) of the country. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the land area of a country under forests is normally adequate. North America covers 33.3 per cent; Central and S. America 38.9 per cent; U.S.S.R. 45 per cent; N. Europe 48 per cent; Central and S. Europe 22 per cent and Western Europe 17.7 per cent; Africa (excluding N. Africa) 22 per cent; S. and East Asia 23 per cent, and Pacific area 6.3 per cent,[1] while Indian forests cover only 18 per cent of the total land area. Compared with other countries this is a low proportion. Also the distribution of forests is erratic, *e.g.*, the eastern region has 36.4 million acres or 20.63 per cent of land under forests while the north-western region only 29.87 million acres or 10.70 per cent; the central region 39.69 million acres or 29.92 per cent and southern region 43.5 million acres or 18.82 per cent.[2]

Let us have a brief idea of the forest types available in India. From the slopes of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the dry tracts of Rajasthan to the eastern limits of the Assam hills, there is an infinite variety of forest types.

(*i*) Where rainfall is adequate and its distribution satisfactory *Evergreen Forests* develop, consisting of lofty, dense and evergreen trees with numerous epiphytic ferns, mosses, orchids and aroids. These forests are found throughout the Western Ghats from Bombay southwards to North and South Kanara, Tinnevelly, Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore, Travancore and the Andamans; and in North-east India in sub-montane divisions of North Bengal, and the coastal strips of Orissa and Assam. The trees of economic importance are ebony, palm, bamboo, mahogany and sandalwood.

(*ii*) Under less copious rainfall *Deciduous Forests* occur, containing teak or *sal*, rosewood, kine, bamboo, terminalias, mulberry, *sisu*, myrabolans and a large number of valuable trees. This type is generally found along the eastern side of Western Ghats, in portions of M.P., Bombay and Madras and in drier parts of Coorg, the western portions of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. In the north this type is distributed practically throughout Northern India, especially in U.P., Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam.

(*iii*) Where rainfall is still less, *Thorn Forests* appear in which the vegetation becomes sparse and consists of acacias, prosopis, tamarix and albizzias and other thorny bushes. This type occurs in Central India throughout the dry region of the Indian peninsula, to the lee of the Western Ghats, from the extreme south up to Indore and Bhopal, being prominent in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay; and in the S.-W. Punjab, Rajasthan and in portions of U.P.

(*iv*) In the *Himalayan Temperate* and *Alpine Forests*, pines, spruse, cypress, junipers, *deodars*, firs, oaks and chestnut flourish according to elevation and aspect.

Besides these types, there also occur four additional types of forests which are determined by edaphic factors. They are :

(*v*) The *Beach Forests* which extend all along the coast where a sandy beach occurs. Strong salt-laden winds render the habitat xerophytic. At other places, small evergreen and deciduous trees and numerous shrubs occur ; where open, the maritime grass and other surface creepers which bind the sand are conspicuous.

(*vi*) *Tidal Forests* are found on ground near the sea coast which is flooded with slightly brackish water at high tide. Such forests occur at the mouths of the Mahanadi, the Krishna and the Godavari and in the Ganges and Brahmaputra deltas. The forest is closed evergreen, having species like *garan, bogla, sundri*, etc.

(*vii*) *Fresh Water Swamp Forests* occur above the salt water limit on wet alluviam at the head of big deltas of rivers in parts of Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Madras. These forests are rather an open crop of evergreen trees containing *kadan, pandanus*, etc.

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1. *The National Forest Policy of India* (1952), pp. 4-5.
2. *The First Five-Year Plan* (1951), p. 295.
   (*i*) The Eastern Region covers Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Manipur, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands; (*ii*) The Central Region covers M.P., M.B., Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh; (*iii*) The North-western Region covers V.P., Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Ajmer, Bilaspur, Delhi, Kutch and Himachal Pradesh ; (*iv*) The Southern Region covers Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Coorg.
   Vide *India*, 1954, p. 8.

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(*viii*) *Riverine Forests* are confined to the banks of larger rivers consisting of new or fresh alluviam. The most characteristic trees are *khair*, *sissoo*, tamarix, growing throughout the northern belt from the Punjab to Assam.

Effects of Forests

Indian flora is rich both in composition and value. India has 2,500 species of wood of which about 450 are commercially used for extracting acetic acid, acetone, methyl alchohol, oils, valuable creosote and valuable drugs like sulphonamide and chloroform. Forests are indispensable for national development and for the full growth of civilization. "Indeed, civilization has been nursed, nourished and grown to manhood in the regions of temperate natural vegetation." A French proverb rightly says, "Forests precede civilisation but deserts precede them." To an agricultural country like India, the importance of forests can hardly be exaggerated. They increase the fertility of the soil on which they grow. They have a moderating effect on temperature. Trees act as pumps tapping the ground water from considerable depths and transferring it as moisture to the air, thus increasing humidity. The sudden change in the climate of many parts of India is largely due to indiscriminate destruction of forests. By draining the marshy swamps they increase the water-holding capacity of dry soil and prevent floods.[3] Apart from these indirect advantages, their direct advantages are also very numerous. Indian forests provide employment to millions of people such as wood-cutters, sawyers, carters, carriers and raftsmen.[4] They provide fodder for about 13 million cattle, 3 million buffaloes and 9 million other animals. Grazing in States forests yields about Rs. 95 lakhs of revenue annually.[5] They also give habitation to a number of hill-tribes and provide about 1.8 million tons of timber every year and other major forest-produce of the value of Rs. 171,648 besides supplying various raw materials like tans, dyes, bamboos, cane fibre, flosses and grasses, honey, lac, resin, wax, gums, etc., for our industries.

But in spite of so much importance to the national economy of India, the forest resources have not been fully exploited. The basic causes responsible for the state of [illegible] are: Colossal destruction of forests by pro[illegible]tory rights; inadequate protection from [illegible] plant - diseases; over-grazing of cattle; [illegible] complete utilisation of forest wealth due [illegible] the lack of a well-conceived system of wor[illegible] plans; general absence of facilities for sea[illegible]ing and preserving timbers; inadequate rese[illegible] with regard to utilisation of forest produce; [illegible] above all the want of adequate trained [illegible]sonnel for conserving and developing f[illegible] wealth; lack of information regarding qua[illegible]ties of timber; undeveloped means of trans[illegible] of the forest products available in [illegible] forests including high freight charged by [illegible] way for them and the inaccessibility of [illegible] areas.[6]

In connection with forests, the most imp[illegible]tant problem in India is to increase the a[illegible] under forests, to preserve the existing spe[illegible] of trees available in this country, and to in[illegible]duce new possible species. In May 1952, [illegible] forest policy resolution of Government of In[illegible] emphasized the need of developing and res[illegible]ing Indian forests. The aim is to main[illegible] one-third of the total area in the cou[illegible] under forests. In the Himalayas, the De[illegible] and the mountainous regions the propor[illegible] of land under forests will be as high as 80 [illegible] cent while in plains it would be about 20 [illegible] cent of the total. In its policy of forest de[illegible]lopment, the First Five-Year Plan provides [illegible] renovation of areas which were explo[illegible] during the war years; afforestation of ba[illegible] eroded areas; development of forest comm[illegible]cations; development of village plantations [illegible] overcoming the shortage of fuel; and increas[illegible] the use of non-conventional species after p[illegible]per seasoning and treatment of chem[illegible] methods.

Agricultural Production

India produces a wide variety of crops [illegible] only of the tropical and sub-tropical but [illegible] of the temperate zones. The most import[illegible] among the tropical products are rice, co[illegible] millets, sugarcane, tapioca, pine-apple, j[illegible] spices, cinchona and banana. The chief [illegible] tropical crops are cotton, tea, opium [illegible] tobacco. Of the products of the temperate [illegible] the most important are wheat, maize, bar[illegible] pulses, potato, hemp, flax and various ki[illegible] of fruits.

The periodicity of the season often al[illegible] of two and in a few cases three harvests in [illegible] year. The total cultivated area annually [illegible]

3. According to Mr. C. R. Ranganathan, President, F.R.I. and Colleges, Dehradun, "In defending the land against the evils of erosion, aridity and climatic excesses, forests perform services no less valuable and no more expressible in terms of money than those rendered by the defence forces of a country."—Vide *Our Forests*.

4. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. I, A.P.

5. *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 291.

6. [illegible] : *Agricultural Problems of India*, pp. [illegible]

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266 million acres. Double cropping is possible in about 36 million acres of the total cultivated area of India. The two main crops are *kharif* and *rabi*. The main *kharif* crops are rice, jawar, bazra, maize, cotton, sugarcane, sesamum, urd, mung, tobacco, forage grasses and leafy vegetables, and the main *rabi* crops are wheat, barley gram, linseed, rape and mustard, peas and beans, scrub-fodder root and tuber vegetables. In humid regions, *zaid* or *catch* crops are also raised; the crops being melon, water melon, cucumber and leafy and tuber vegetables.

It is interesting to note that in India we have regional specialisation of crops. *Rice* is grown in the Ganges valley, the mountainous districts of the Punjab, U.P. Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Western Ghats and the coastal belts of Orissa and Madras. *Wheat* is extensively cultivated in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P., M.P., M.B., Ajmer and Eastern Rajasthan, *Sugarcane* is grown in the Gangetic Plain, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Hyderabad and the Punjab. *Oilseeds* such as groundnut, linseed, castor,, beans, rape and sesamum are grown in northern Madras and S.-E. Rajasthan. *Cotton* happens to be a special product in specific regions of Bombay, M.P., M.B., Rajasthan, Mysore and the Punjab. *Tea* is cultivated mainly in the Assam Hills and the Darjeeling and Nilgiri Hills, while *coffee* is of special interest in Coorg, Madras and Mysore. *Tobacco* has spread itself over the whole of India, major contributions generally coming from West Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan. *Jute* is largely grown in Cooch-Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa coastal regions. Rubber, pepper and cardamom plantations are to be found in the Annamalai and Cardamom Hills. Thick coconut groves along the Malabar coast yield coir and copra; the bulk of the country's supply of cashew nuts also comes from these parts.[7]

Live-Stock

India is rich in live-stock and possesses nearly 1/7th of the live-stock population of the world excluding U.S.S.R. According to the 1951 Cattle Census, the total live-stock population in India is 292¼ million, of which cattle are 155 million, buffaloes 43⅓ million, sheep nearly 39 million, goats 47 million, pigs less than 4½ million, horses and ponies 1½ million and donkeys 1¼ million, camels 6,29,000 and mules 60,000. In addition to this we have 67.13 million fowls and 6.26 million ducks. But on the whole, the quality of cattle and other live-stock in India is very poor. The average yield of milk per cow per annum in India is only 413 lbs. as against 2000-7000 lbs. in other countries of the world. There are in India some good-quality cattle. Among the best cows in India are *Sahiwal* (Punjab) and *Gir* (Saurashtra). The important breeds of bullocks are *Hisar* and *Hansi* (Punjab), *Nellore* (Madras), *Amrit Mahal* (Mysore), *Kankres* (Gujarat), *Kangyam* (Madras), *Malwi* and *Nimari* (M.P.), *Malwi*, *Nagori* and *Tharparkar* (Rajasthan). The best breeds of buffaloes are *Murrah* (Punjab), *Jeffrabadi* (Saurashtra), *Mehasana* and *Surti* (Bombay). At the same time a large percentage of population is non-descript. They are uneconomic producers. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people and promiscuous mating are some of the atrocities which are also responsible for this degeneration. The result is that the ill-famished cattle are a drain on country's resources as they cannot drag the heavy plough nor work efficiently as draught animals.

Then there are a large variety of wild animals and birds but unfortunately "some of our notable animals such as, lions, rhinoceros, tragopan, cheetah are on the verge of extinction."

Fisheries

The long coastline of India has numerous estuaries, salt water lakes and back waters for marine fish, and rivers, canals, tanks and inundated tracts for fresh water fish. Fisheries contribute to about Rs. 10 crores annually to the national income of India. The production of sea fish in India amounts to nearly 100 lakh mds. per annum while that of fresh water fish amounts to less than 50 lakh mds. per annum. Including imports the total supply of fish in India is nearly 270 lakh mds. per annum, out of which nearly 70 per cent is sea and estuarine fish and 30 per cent is fresh water fish. This gives a supply of 34 lbs. of fish per capita per annum which is completely insufficient. The per capita consumption of fish in Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal and Bombay is higher than in U.P., Bihar and the Punjab and negligible in M.B., M.P. and Rajasthan, etc. Of the total population only about 32 million people consisting of Vaisyas, Brahmins and Jains do not take fish because of religious injunctions. In many cases among the non-vegetarians, the

7. Mamoria: *Op. cit.*, p. 38 and *India Reference Annual*, 1954, p. 9.

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preference for vegetarian diet is due to non-availability of fish or its high price.

Water Resources

In India, there are enormous water resources as there are many rivers and some water-falls, but unfortunately they are not being properly harnessed for more than one reasons. Most part of the rainfall is concentrated in a comparatively short period. The rivers carry large volumes of water during this period, a large portion of which goes unutilized because it is neither physically possible to divert, nor economic to store, all but a small portion of this flow. Secondly, the volume of water, in the rivers, also varies from year to year, whereas development schemes can be executed only when the supply is assured for continuous use. Thirdly, in areas of high rainfall, irrigation is either not necessary or is needed only to a very limited extent. Nearly 1356 million acre feet of water flows down the rivers of India per year but only 76 million acre feet or 5.6 per cent of it is used for irrigation purposes. It is estimated that nearly 450 million acre feet of water can be utilised for purposes of irrigation. The area irrigated in India is nearly 51½ million acres, out of which nearly 21 million acres (41.2 per cent) are irrigated by canals, less than 15 m. acres (31 per cent) by wells, less than 9 m. acres (16.7 per cent) by tanks and a little more than 7 m. acres (11 per cent) from other sources. Out of this total irrigated area, grain crops occupy more than 30 m. acres. 41.4 per cent of the total irrigated area is under rice; 15.4 per cent under wheat; 23.6 per cent under other cereals and pulses; 5.9 per cent under sugarcane; 2.4 per cent under cotton and 11 per cent under other crops.[8]

As India is essentially an agricultural country, the need for sufficient water supply is always great. The uncertainty of rainfall distribution as regards both time and place and the irregularity in distribution throughout the year, the absence of winter rains and the necessity for more water for some crops like rice and sugarcane, are the chief reasons which make irrigation necessary. India occupies an important place in irrigation in the whole world. Roughly about one-third of the total irrigated areas of the world lies in India. The physical factors responsible for such development are:

(*i*) The rivers rising from the Himalayas are perennial and hence provide a constant supply of water.

(*ii*) The slope of the plain is so gradual that canals which are taken out in the upper courses of rivers can easily irrigate the land in the lower valley.

(*iii*) There is an absolute lack of rocky ground in Northern India, and therefore canals are easily dug, but in Southern India, presence of rocky surface favours the construction of tanks and embankments.

(*iv*) The soil is fertile which makes the greatest use of irrigation for raising both food and non-food crops required for feeding the country's vast population and the newly developed industries.

These geographical factors have determined the predominance of particular types of irrigation in particular portions of the country. It is for this reason that the alluvial tract of North India, *viz.*, U.P., Punjab, West Bengal, Bihar, etc., is specially suitable for canals and wells; in crystalline tracts like those of Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras, S. India, Rajasthan, irrigation from tanks and embankments is most extensive; and in certain other parts, especially East U.P., East Punjab, Rajasthan, Bombay, Madras, W. Punjab and M.B., considerable areas are cultivated under wells. The areas irrigated in India are distributed as 2.6 m. acres in the Himalayan regions, 25.2 m. acres in Northern Plain regions, 9.3 m. acres in Peninsular Hills and Plateau regions; 1.6 m. acres in the Western Ghats and Coastal regions and 10.0 m. acres in the Eastern Ghats and Coastal regions. In spite of it, India is not able to satisfy her entire demand for irrigation. Only 18 per cent of her total cultivated land gets irrigation.[9] Greater emphasis has, therefore, been laid on the extension of irrigation. By 1955-56 the schemes included under the Five-Year Plan will add 19.7 m. acres to 51½ m. acres already under irrigation, of which major irrigation projects would irrigate 8.5 m. acres and minor irrigation projects 11.2 m. acres.

Irrigation facilities have tremendously affected agriculture, population and trade in places of habitually deficient rainfall and the areas that lie in the famine zone. They have averted the great disaster that might have been brought about by chronic droughts and have saved millions of people from death. In fact, they have banished the grim spectre of famine, and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.[10]

Secondly, increase in irrigated land has been a boon to the cultivators, for not only

8. *Agricultural Situation in India*, (November, 1954), p. 70.

9. The comparative figures for Japan are 55 per cent, Pakistan 48 per cent, China 46 per cent, Indonesia and Malaya, each 8 per cent and Ceylon 17 per cent.—*United Asia, Food Supplement*, 1950, p. 158.

10. Bernard Darley in *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 167.

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the output of their fields is ensured in ordinary years of drought, but also the amount of produce is very largely increased in ordinary years at a comparatively low cost.[11]

Thirdly, commercial crops have monopolised the irrigated zones, *e.g.*, jute is confined to the fertile deltas of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and sugarcane to U.P. and Bihar.[12] In a way, India adds, by means of canals, every year an Egypt to its land.

Fourthly, besides the above benefits, irrigation yields a handsome profit of 7 to 8 per cent[13] to the Government.

Water Power

India's water power potential is estimated at 40 million k.w.; but the installed capacity amounted to only 2.30 million k.ws. on January 1, 1954. This shows that having regard to the vast area of the country, its vast population and its great potential water power resources a very insignificant amount has been exploited so far. The ratio between the total water power development in various countries and their estimated power is: U.S.S.R. 34 per cent; France 32 per cent; Germany 54 per cent; Switzerland 67 per cent; Sweden 27 per cent; Norway 53 per cent; Canada 34 per cent; U.S.A. 24 per cent and India only 1 per cent. The per capita electricity production in Norway is 5,529 kwt.; in Canada 4,282 kwt.; in Sweden 2,904 kwt. and in U.S.A. 2,541 kwt. The use of electricity in India is very limited at present. The average per capita consumption of electricity is only 14 kwt. per year, as compared to 1,100 kwt. in the U.K., 2,207 kwt. in U.S.A. and 3,905 kwt in Canada.[14] In Switzerland, the production of electricity is 2,252 kwt.; in New Zealand 1,519 kwt.; in U.K. 1,229 kwt.; in Japan 505 kwt., while in India it is only 17 kwt.[15] This is but natural in the present state of industrial backwardness. The exploitation of hydro-power depends not only on the flow of water at the hydraulic head, but also upon the accessibility of the site to heavy machinery and its distance from load centres, the cost of storage and the manner in which it is proposed to use the power. The seasonal variation in the flow of most Indian rivers is a particularly important factor. The construction of dams to ensure an even supply of water throughout the year also adds considerably to the capital outlay.

The following power zones may be noticed:

(1) The most important region of potential hydro-electric power lies along the foot of the Himalayas from East Punjab to Assam. Here the snow-fed streams debouch on the Indian plains and while descending they form waterfalls suitable for the generation of power. But having regard to the economic limitations of long distance power transmission it will not be possible for some time to come, to feed India's present major industrial centres with Himalayan power.

(2) The second power zone lies along the western boundary of the great Deccan Plateau. This region has contributed to about 80 per cent to India's total power production.

(3) The third water power region of much lesser intensity in comparison with the first two lies along the Satpura, Vindhya, Mahadeo, and Maikal Ranges in Central India and M. Pradesh.

(4) The fourth region, really speaking, is the thermal power region. It extends from Calcutta in the east to Nagpur in the west and embraces mostly the coalfields of Gondwana belt lying in West Bengal, S. Bihar, Eastern M.B. and M.P. This thermal power region overlaps a major part of the third hydel power region.[16]

Possibilities are, therefore, immense in India for the development of water power. It is estimated that the generating capacity would be increased by 1.1 m. kwt. within the Plan period and by 1.4 m. kwt. when the projects in hand are completed. The problem in India is not only to increase the supply of electric energy but to make it available at cheap rates so that the cultivator, the artisan and the factories might get an adequate supply of cheap power.

(To be continued)

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11. The Advisory Board of I.C.A.R. holds that the production of irrigated crops per acre is on an average 50 or 100 per cent higher than that of unirrigated crops in the same locality (Vide, Mamoria: *Op. cit.*, p. 293).

12. C. W. E. Cotton: *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, p. 146, p. 156.

13. C. A. Knowles: *Economic Development of British Empire Overseas*, Vol. I, pp. 367-68.

Cf. In some cases it is even more, *e.g.*, in Madras, Cavery Delta System yields about 14 per cent on the capital outlay; Krishna Delta System, 16 per cent; Upper Bari Doab in Punjab, 21 per cent; Eastern Jamuna Canal and the Ganga Canals in U.P., 63 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.—Vide, *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 371.

14. *The Five-Year Plan*, p. 345.

15. *United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics for August*, 1953. In India, of the total production of electricity, 78 per cent is consumed as domestic light; 16 per cent as commercial light; 4 per cent as industrial light and only 2 per cent for irrigation. Vide *India* 1954, p. 181.

16. The important Hydro-electric works in India with generating capacity are:

(*a*) In W. India: (i) Tata Hydro-electric Works, Bombay, 60,000 kw.; (ii) Andhra Valley Power Co., Bombay, 66,000 kw.; (iii) Tata Power Co., Bombay, 10,000 kw.

(*b*) In S. India: (i) Pykara Power Project, Madras, 38,750 kw.; (ii) Mettur Hydro-electric Works, 40,000 kw.; (iii) Papanasam Project, 17,400 kw.; (iv) Pallivasal Hydro-electric Works in Travancore, 13,500 kw.; (v) Sivasamudram Hydro-electric Works, Mysore, 42,000 kw.

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INDIAN FEDERATION

PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

"UNITARIANISM" means, according to Professor Dicey, "the habitual exercise of Supreme legislative authority by one central power" (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 139). The Central authority may delegate powers to local authorities. The relation between the Central and Local authorities then is the relation of principal and delegate. The local authorities owe their existence to and receive their authority from the centre. They exist and function at the discretion of the centre. They cannot claim any separate identity. The central authority is absolute and supreme. Its internal sovereignty is undivided. It is exercised by the Central law-making body and there are no subsidiary semi-sovereign law-making bodies. This is Unitary Government.

As opposed to this, "Federalism means the distribution of the forces of the State among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution" (Dicey, p. 157). The constitution assigns power to both Governments—Central and State. Both are independent in their respective domain. The power of the Centre thus is limited by the autonomy of the State. The line of demarcation is defined by the constitution. Both owe their existence to and receive their authority from the constitution. This constitution is the main source of power of both. Hence in a federation firstly there is the supremacy of the constitution ; secondly, there is the distribution of powers between the Centre and States which cannot be changed except on the authority of the constitution ; and thirdly, one supreme Judicial authority to decide constitutional disputes that may arise over the domain of both Governments. In short we might say in a federation the internal sovereignty of the State is shared by two authorities—Central and local, and the Central authority does not exercise unfettered authority over the whole state. It is limited by some semi-sovereign bodies. This is federation

Though the Swiss confederation (which took its birth in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and since then it has a continuous life, being transformed in 1848 into a federal state and thoroughly revised in 1874) is the oldest of existing federal states, the U.S.A. Federal Constitution is the most complete one. Federations vary from state to state—some are more federal allowing greater sphere of autonomy to the units than others which centralise the power and give less sphere of autonomy to the units. Thus federations differ according to the respective powers of the federal authority and federating units. This is determined by two ways as to the method of distribution of powers between the centre and units ; and as to the nature of the supremacy of the constitution.

The constitution of India has enumerated three lists of subjects of legislation and executive—(1) The Union list, (2) The State list, (3) concurrent list. The Union Government has exclusive authority of legislation and executive over the Union list. The State Governments have exclusive authority over matters of the State list. Both have concurrent jurisdiction over the concurrent list. But if any law or any provision of it is repugnant to any Union law, the State law shall wholly or to that extent be void. The residuary powers belong to the Union.

Incorporation of concurrent list in our constitution may appear to be inconsistent with Federal Principle. The utility of a concurrent list in a federation has been very aptly expressed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee report :

> "Experience has shown, both in India and elsewhere that there are certain matters which cannot be allocated exclusively either to the Central or to a Provincial Legislature and in which though it is often desirable, that Provincial legislation should make provision, it is equally necessary that the central legislature should also have a legislative jurisdiction to enable it in some case to secure uniformity in the main principles of law throughout the country, in order to guide and encourage provincial efforts, and in other again to provide remedies for mischiefs arising in the provincial sphere but extending or liable to extend beyond the boundaries of a single province." (*Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 19... para 51).

The U.S.A. Constitution has no provision for the concurrent list. The Australian Constitution designed on the U.S.A. model has assigned, enumerated or selected legislative powers to the Centre and the residence belongs to the States. But Section 51 enumerates 59 entries of power over which both may legislate and Section 109 says "When a law of a State is inconsistent with a law of the commenwealth, the latter shall prevail and the former shall to the extent of the inconsistency be invalid." The Canadian Constitution also makes provision for the concurrent sphere though to a very limited extent of agriculture and immigration only, and in cases of repugnancy, the Dominion legislation prevails. The concurrent list does not in any way militate against the Federal Principles, rather it helps it

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achieving the uniformity of legislation throughout the whole country over some affairs when it appears desirable and expedient, but allowing the states dominance over them as far as practicable.

As to the residual powers of the centre, it may be said that the three lists have almost exhausted the powers of administration because the Union list contains 97 entries, the State list 66 and the concurrent list 47. A very little scope is left to the centre to exercise authority by its claim to residual powers. It may not be discussed in details and can be closed with this reference that in a Federation the residuary powers may also belong to the centre as in Canada.

In our constitution some over-riding powers over the States have been given to the Centre. On four occasions the Union Parliament can legislate on matters of State list :

(1) If the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary and expedient in the national interest (Article 249).

(2) If the Proclamation of Emergency is in operation (Article 250).

(3) If two or more States express by way of resolution of State legislatures that Parliament should legislate over any matter or matters of State list. But it shall be operative only in the States which desire it (Article 252).

(4) If necessity of the implementation of international obligations arises (Article 253).

The underlying principle of Federal Government is that none of the parties in a Federation should change the basic distribution of powers by its unilateral action. This has been violated in our constitution, because the over-riding authority has been given to the upper chamber of our Parliament. It is a Council of States, but in name only. It does not enshrine the Federal Principle as States are not equally represented in the council. The only silver line is that it shall require not less than two-third majority present and voting to alter the distribution of powers. Again as it is a permanent body and composed of elderly men it is presumed that it shall not be led by emotions and party spirit. There is another safeguard. That is, members of the Council of States are elected by the members of the State legislature. Every second year one-third of its members retire. And such resolution of the Council to change the distribution of powers shall have effect only for one year at a time [Article 249(3)]. So after every two years State legislature shall have the opportunity to counteract such move of the Union Parliament by sending new members to the Council. After all, this provision bespeaks of Unitarianism in Federal Constitution. In no other federation such Unilateral power of action has been assigned to the Federal legislature, not even in Canada.

Even in time of emergency no other Federal Constitution gives the power of unilateral action in the hands of the centre. The distribution of powers cannot be changed except by an amendment of the Constitution. Such emergencies are met by other ways in other constitutions. During such period of national importance if the Federal Legislature frames laws for the peace, order and good government of a country, the Judiciary interprets the law in that way and does not stand in the way of Federal legislation even if it means that it may affect the distribution of powers. It is evident in the observation of the Privy Council in the case of *Pulp and Power Co. vs Manitoba Free Press* (1923) in Canada :

> "The general control of property and civil rights required for normal purposes remains with the Provincil Legislatures. But the questions may arise of reason of the special circumstances of the national emergency which concern nothing short of the peace, order and good government of Canada as a whole."

Of course it is true even in the U.S.A. that there has been an increasing demand on the part of a substantial section of the people to strengthen the Federal authority, so that it may cope with the ever-growing complexities of the national life of the Americans. Especially after the onset of the world-wide economic depression in 1929 till the end of the World War II, the demand was very much persistent. President Roosevelt was successful in the implementation of his "New Deal" which actually meant the over-riding of some state powers. "In its actual working, the American federal system is not, in 1949, what it was in 1789." (D. Basu : *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 606). De Tocqueville's observation in 1835 that "Government of the centre was the exception, while Government of the states was the rule" does not hold good today because of growing powers of the centre. But one point is to be emphasized, that is, the ultimate competence of over-riding power does not lie with the Federal legislature alone, but with the Federal judiciary. The Federal legislature frames laws encroaching State powers to cope with emergent situations and the judiciary sanctions it when it thinks desirable.

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The Federal legislature is not empowered to supersede the distribution of powers and to nullify the Federal structure of the constitution. But our Parliament can. If the President issues a Proclamation of Emergency and if it is supported by resolutions of Parliament, virtually that may mean the suspension of Federal structure of the constitution. Of course Article 353 does not refuse to State legislatures any power at all over State subjects under such a situation, rather they enjoy concurrent powers. Over them Union power shall prevail to the extent of repugnancy. There is another provision to afford a scope for Federal despotism, that is Article 356 by which the President may assume to himself all the powers of a State and delegate them to any authority on being satisfied that there is constitutional breakdown in that State. That is analogous to section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 which empowered the Governor of a Province to assume all power to himself acting in his discreation.

No such provision for supersession of State Government by the Federal Authority on the ground of constitutional breakdown exists in any Federal constitution. But if there is any violent resistance to the execution of Federal laws, the Federal authority may compel obedience to such laws as in America. President Lincoln did it during the Civil War (1861). This is similar to Article 356 of our Constitution. President Dr. Rajendra Prasad promulgated two orders under Article 356 on 20.6.51 assuming all powers of East Punjab to himself.

The necessity there arose due to the fact that after the resignation of Dr. Bhargava's Ministry no alternative ministry could be formed. There may be similar cases in future till the political training of the people of India takes a shape. Art. 356 might have a justification at this stage. But the fact remains—there is the scope of federal despotism in our constitution.

Parliament can legistrate over a State subject if it is expressly desired by two or more states. Such Union law shall apply to the states which desire it. This is not trenching upon the powers of the states. It is innocant and deserves no detailed discussion.

The invasion of State power by Union legislature for the implementation of International agreemant is not unknown in Federal Constitution. Art. VI of the U.S.A. constitution says : All treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary non-withstanding. 132 of the British North America Act has provision. Australian constitution has written provision, but a case law (King vs. gess, 1936) has made it clear that the wealth Government can invade the state jur tion for the implementation of Internat agreement.

Another mutilating provision of Fed principle is the appointment of Governors Rajpramukhas by the President. In the U Governors are directly elected by the people cannot be removed unless impeached by State Legislature. Governors of Australian vinces are appointed by the Crown and hold during His Majesty's pleasure and cannot be missed by the Governor-General. In Ca Lieutenant Governors are appointed by the Go nor-General and can be dismissed as well by So our Constitution in this aspect is Cana and not American.

As to the Constitutional supremacy of Federation it may be said that the constitution sufficiently rigid in so far as the Federal nat of the constitution is concerned, but not rigid as the American. The distribution power cannot be changed by the gen procedure of amendment of the constitu It shall require the approval of at least of the State legislatures. In the U.S.A. it quirs the approval of ¾ of the States legi tures. In a complete federation, there is s amount of legalism, because the Federal con tution is nothing but a charter of contract which the Federation comes into being. I Federation the constitution is sovereign. B the Governments owe their origin and rec their authority from the constitution. T sovereignty of the constitution is maintained making it a rigid one. Our constitution rigid to that extent.

The balance of power between the Fed and Unit Governments is held by a Federal Ju ciary whose main function is to see that constitution is respected especially in so far the distribution of powers is concerned. It already been said that the U.S.A., Austra and Canadian Courts have been given the po to act as arbitrator in this respect. Of the U.S.A. Supreme Court has almost abs power of interpretation of the Constitution. ex-Chief Justice of the U.S.A. Supreme C Mr. Hughes said, "The Constitution (of U.S.A.) is what the Supreme Court says it So much legalistic attitude was not taken by framers of our Constitution. But they have our Supreme Court competent enough to de

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law or a decree unconstitutional if it violates the constitution.

According to Dicey there are "three leading characteristics of completely developed federalism—the supremacy of the constitution, the distribution among bodies with limited and co-ordinate authority of the different powers of government, the authority of the Court to act as interpreter of the constitution." (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 144). All of them are present in the Indian Constitution. Hence it is a federation in form. But the very essence of Federalism is that the distribution of powers cannot be changed by an unilateral action.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution, said :

"The basic principle of federalism is that legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by any law to be made by the Centre but by the Constitution itself. This is what the Constitution does. This is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the States have been placed under the Centre. *Centre cannot by its own will alter the boundary of this partition.* Nor can the Judiciary." (Speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25.11.49).

Perhaps he forgot at the moment of his speech that he himself had drafted Articles 249, 250, 253 and 356 which belie this very essence of federalism. But it needs to be told that all these articles are meant for emergencies. So long as the Centre thinks that there is no emergency, it shall work as complete Federal Government. But as soon as the Centre feels the emergent situtation, the Constitution can be switched over to an unitary type by the unilateral action of the Centre. The switch is not in the hands of an impartial Judiciary like that of the American, Canadian or Australian Federations. So much legalism has been avoided in our Constitution. It is a federation so long as the Union Parliament wills it. In form it is federal, in essence it is unitary. Sir Ivor Jennings says :

"India has a federation with a strong contralizing tendency." (*Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution*, p. 1.). P.G. Wheare says : "In the class of quasi-constitution it is probably proper to include the Indian Constitution of 1950." (*Modern Constitutions*, p. 29).

Dr. Ambedkar tried to justify the over-riding powers of the Centre in the course of the same speech :

"The first is that the over-riding powers are not the normal features of the constitution. Their use and operation are expressly confined to emergencies only. The second consideration is that : could we avoid giving over-riding powers to the Centre when an emergency has arisen ?"

We do not discuss here the necessity and reason of such over-riding powers of the Centre in any scheme of Government for India with it's present socio-political set-up. We only state what it is.

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THE INDIAN LAW COMMISSION —ITS TASK AHEAD

By P. C. RAICHOUDHURI, M.A., B.L., W.B.C.S.

APPOINTMENT of an eleven-member Law Commission has been announced and it will soon begin its work. For the sake of expedition it will function in two sections, one in charge of the reform of judicial administration and another of the revision of the statute laws. Each section will have a Joint Secretary, Senior Deputy Secretaries, Research Officers and other necessary equipments. The Chairman of the Commission, Sri M. C. Setalvad, will be in immediate charge of the section dealing with the reform of judicial administration but will direct and co-ordinate the activities of both the sections. The terms of reference are : First, to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; and secondly, to examine the central Acts of general application and importance and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up to date.

The personnel of the Commission is the very best imaginable : Sri M. C. Setalvad, Advocate-General of India; Mr. M. C. Chagla Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court; Sri K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court; Sri G. N. Das, retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sri P. Satyanarayana Rao, retired Judge of the Madras High Court; Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta Advocate, Calcutta; Sri V. K. T. Chari, Advocate-General, Madras; Sri Narasa Raju, Advocate-General, Andhra; Sri S. M. Sikri Advocate-General, the East Punjab; Sri G. S. Pathak, Advocate, Allahabad; and Sri G. N. Josi, Advocate, Bombay. But the task ahead is stupendous and the expectation of the Union Government that the Commission will submit its recommendation by the end of 1956 seems to be much too optimistic. It is doubtful if with all the resources at the disposal of the Government, and for the matter of that, of the Commission, it will be possible to find out the real ills in such a short time and suggest remedies. There is, of course, provision for extending the term of one or other of the sections. A

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still better provision would perhaps be that the Commission should report early; for the very composition of the Commission is a guarantee against delay; and one needs just to be reminded that no time should be worse than lost by precipitation.

Law Commissions are not new to India. As soon as the East India Company felt that they were going to be the ultimate masters of this country they made provisions for codification of law, civil and criminal, substantive and procedural, including organisation of Courts. The first Law Commission set up in 1835 under the Charter Act of 1833 with Macaulay as its first Chairman did excellent work in drafting a Penal Code (1837), a detailed but unpublished work on civil law and, above all, the famous Lex Loci Report (1840). The times were, however, not propitious for law reforms and most of the times of the Government were taken up by the many wars that followed. In later years the Commission languished for want of encouragement and success. Its failure was admitted and by the Charter Act of 1853 a new Commission was set up with Lord (then Sir John) Romilly, a distinguished English Judge, as its head, and men like Sir Edward Ryan, Cameron and Macleod, as members. Unlike the First, the Second Commission was to work in England and to make its report within three years. This time limit could not be adhered to, but its contribution to the laws of India became memorable; the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, the Limitation Act, the High Courts Act and the like were framed. Its work was, however, much hampered by constant opposition from the jealous Government of India and its unfinished task was taken up by the Third Law Commission appointed in 1861. Their output was so great that there arose a fear in this country of over-legislation. After laying the foundation of practically the whole of all-India laws necessary in those days this Commission resigned in 1870, dissatisfied at the supposed timidity of the Government of India. Even then in 1879 India witnessed another smaller Commission to assist in the act of legislation. In this century Commissions and Committees have from time to time investigated into, and reported on, various matters, the Civil Justice Committee (1924-25) being the most important amongst them from the judicial point of view.

The tremendous progress that India has made in recent years in every sphere of life has made the law and administration of justice much more complicated than before and the task of the present Commission is thus much more important and onerous. If a little less than a hundred years ago when conditions were very much simpler Sir Henry Maine, the then Law Member, found 423 enactments of the Regulation Law of Bengal alone 'to have expired or grown obsolete,' what conceivably may be the pisition today! Portions of many of the older codes have become stale, patch-works have complicated others and piece-meal legislation has made the position of the lawyer and judge extremely difficult. Judicial pronouncements testify to the fact that many of the recent enactments were extremely ill-drawn, for they were drafted by inexperienced persons with inadequate skilled advice. Then, there is the need of uniformity and system in the laws of the several States; and to systematise them will require undivided attention for years together. A whole-time Commission only is capable of tackling with all these problems within a reasonable span of time. Although the Central Acts of general application only are within the terms of reference concurrent legislation in the States makes the apparent simplicity of the task only illusory. It is not that the Government are not aware of these difficulties; they have, indeed, laid down that one of the principal objectives of the Commission would be to consider such local variations with a view to re-introducing and maintaining uniformity. To ascertain if any provisions of law are inconsistent with the constitution, to suggest necessary alterations or omissions, to remove anomalies and ambiguities brought to light by conflicting decisions or otherwise, to consolidate Acts pertaining to the same subject and to suggest modifications for implementing the directive principles laid down in the Constitution are comparatively easier; but to simplify the laws particularly procedural, in a vast country like India with varied interests and innumerable local customs, is almost a baffling task.

Equally difficult is the reform of judicial administration. If by that is meant re-organisation of the Court system and revision of certain procedural laws it is simple enough; if, however, it is intended that justice should be speedy and less expensive it will require consideration of various factors relating to the time, the man and the Government (court fees). The time factor is the easiest and perhaps time limits may be put by law even in accordance with the other needs of justice. The Government may also conceivably be generous enough not only to abolish the Court fees but also to appoint as many judges and magistrates as are necessary, although the past history stretching back right up to the time of Lord Cornwallis does not encourage such a thought. But much more difficult to tackle with are the human element, that is the litigants, lawyers and judges.

Class wars, clash of individual interests, avarice, spirit of retaliation and other infirmities of fellow beings compel men to go to litigation and once they have plunged into it they would carry on till one of the parties or both have been engulfed in the whirlpool. Most often the passion is roused and they become almost mad. Victory by any means, fair or foul, becomes their motto. In most cases one of the parties is consciously wrong and the modus operandi it adopts is to take time by false pleas and thus to wear out the enemy, particularly if the latter is less solvent. The idea is that in this way the other party will be compelled to sue for peace. All being fair in love and war it is never felt that any stigma may attach to one's character by such fraud upon the Court. By such a

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person the salutary principle of appeal may be and is improperly employed for delaying justice often to the utter exhaustion of the opponent. It is not that he himself is not sometimes ruined but there is a morbid pleasure in inviting the deluge. Tricks and falsehoods are thus a potent cause of the delay of justice.

To this mad pursuit of dishonest litigants the forensic abilities of a skilful lawyer are both an asset and incentive. Euphemistically these gentlemen are called 'votaries of truth.' Unfortunately the law as administered in our Courts (as perhaps elsewhere) has no sanction of truth. "If law corresponds with truth only in so far as it reflects the social ideals of the day, the law we know must be poronounced to be very considerably removed from truth," said one of the high authorities who knew our Courts very well. In that circumstance even the most honest lawer cannot do anything better than a compromise with untruth. As a matter of fact only a few lawyers can rise even so high on the ladder of morality. This unhappy state of things is in the very nature of the profession. It is, after all, a kind of business—a business backed by learning which man adores; and in business, generally, honesty is at a discount. "What litigant will brief a moral crank who will specially strive to present the facts as they are and purposely refrain from putting on them a complexion favourable to his client," asked the same authority. A single exhibition of this form of honesty and courage will end his career at the Bar. That is why the lawyer's task in our Courts is not so much to find out truth as to win a case. For that what is known as tactics is no less necessary than forensic knowledge. Prolongation of a bad case is a part of such tactics. It has got its economic side as well. A modern lawyer sells his knowledge and skill to the highest bidder, and so long as his fee is not fixed by law or he is permitted to command daily, instead of a lump, fee, it is to his advantage to see that the litigation is prolonged. Just a few who are at the top of a ladder are surely an exception to this general rule but for the average 'swift justice' is harmful if not suicidal. The interest of this class, shrewed skilful and learned, must be looked into if any permanent result is intended.

The character of the average judge, generally a silent spectator of what is going on in his Court, is another factor contributing to delay. Indolence is one of his main infirmities. Judicial work is generally not pleasant but there is no escape, no occasion for relaxation. From day to day, from year to year, he does the same sort of work which is often nerve-breaking and brings him no reward except the satisfaction of his conscience. After some initial enthusiasm he loses all initiative and eventually becomes a mere automaton. Sloth and dozing come in as a matter of course. More harmful than this indolence is the tendency of the average judge to follow the line of least resistance. To withstand the wily litigants' persistent demand for more and more time ostensibly for getting ready, requires a firmness which will very often bring upon him the opprobrium of being hard-hearted and end in 'breezes' between the Bench and the Bar. That is why he very often permits a case to drift listlessly in the file. Perhaps the worst of the judge's infirmities is his anxiety to be popular, and this, paradoxically enough, results in delay. Popularity in a court of law means almost the same as abdication in favour of the ministerial officers and lawyers conducting cases. In our country granting of adjournments is the same as being a 'good judge' and even the lawyer on the opposite side would not dislike them, provided some costs are allowed. Public disapprobation of such methods are unheard-of. In such an atmosphere delay is only natural. Over and above all these there are, on the criminal side, the timid Magistracy and the overbearing, police. The Magistrate's position may be improved by a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive but it is hard to mend the Police. Even now the real power is in the hands of the ill-paid Thana Officer who can make or mar a case. It must be realised that power and poverty go ill together; it requires long tradition and good environment for a poor man to be honest, if he has got power to improve his lot.

For reducing the cost of litigation and ensuring expedition in the despatch of business the Evershed Committee of England appealed to the lawyers and judges and sought their co-operation. That course has never been followed in our country. Efforts are being made from very high quarters to take the matter out of their hands and vest the Village Panchayets, and the like with judicial powers. While increasing association of the villagers with administration of justice in petty cases is extremely desirable the history of post experiments in that behalf (through Village Munsiffs, Panchayets and Union Boards and Courts) leads one to believe that the time has not yet come and that to drag justice down to the present unhealthy atmosphere of our villages means nothing but its death by asphyxia. To look to the Village Communities of ancient India for inspiration and example is a misreading of history; there can be no comparison between those days of placid rural simplicity and consideration for fellow brothers and these of class wars, communal interest and presonal aggrandisement. Justice at some cost is perhaps better than cheap injustice.

For comprehensive amendment of law, for uniformity, for rationalisation and for ensuring cheap and reasonably quick justice there must not only be close application deep studies and a clear grasp of the basic principles (which the Commissioners undoubtedly have) but also an earnest appeal to all concerned for co-operation; otherwise the labours of the Commission may be wholly lost. Peace and justice can be ensured not so much by law and its guardians as by self-imposed discipline.

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THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

THE States Reorganisation Committee's recommendations have been extremely disappointing to Bengal, most of whose demands have been thrown out on somewhat flimsy grounds which cannot be reconciled with one another and this after voluble expression of sympathy for West Bengal's difficult position, due to partition, to influx of refugees 35 lakhs in number and to the fact recognised by the committee that

> "The present distribution of territories between Bihar and West Bengal is such as to give rise to real administrative difficulties from the point of view of West Bengal."

While separation of Chas thana from the rest of Purulia subdivision was evidently based on the 71.4 per cent Hindi and only 22.4 per cent Bengali in the Table of Tract Figures on page 41 of the Language volume of the Census Tables (Census of 1951, Paper No. 1 of 1954), the Committee had not a word of comment on the very strange circumstance that the Census Superintendent for Bihar who was so very keen about the innovation of thanawar figures for the Purulia subdivision never thought of compiling similar figures for Dhanbad and Dhalbhum and even went the length of discountinuing the separate figures for Jamshedpur City shown in 1931, although these areas, along with the Purulia subdivision, had formed a bone of contention between Bengal and Bihar from a very long time back, from only a few months subsequent to the publication in *Bengalee* newspaper of 4th January 1912 of the letter signed by five Bihar leaders (Deenbarayan Sinha, Nandkishore Lal, Parameswar Lal, Fakhruddin and Satchidananda Sinha) which said that

> "The whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengalee-speaking and they should go to Bengal the rest of the (Chota Nagpur) Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

Within a few days after Census Paper No. 1 of 1954 became available in Calcutta in June 1954, the Secretary to the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samiti wrote to Sri Ranchor Prasad, Census Superintendent of Bihar, requesting him to supply regional figures for different portions of Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, and separate figures for Jamshedpur City alone, similar to those published for the Purulia subdivision. His reply, sent in Development Department letter No. 239 DR dated 11th July 1954, was :

> "I am not in a position to get the information compiled for you as the Census Office was closed nearly a year ago and no staff is available for doing this work."

In the absence of unequivocal official figures it is possible only to make guesses on the basis of other official figures that are available of the comparative linguistic positions of different portions of Dhalbhum and Dhanbad subdivisions. Admitting for the sake of argument the contention (implied) that the Chief Minister of Bengal's concession relating to Jamshedpur serves to operate as an estoppel in respect of that particular area, there should have been a very special detailed scrutiny of figures for the remainder of the Dhalbhum subdivision. But, far from undertaking such special examination, the Committee clouded the issue to some extent by reference, irrelevant in connection with Dhalbhum to the preponderence of Hos in the district of Singbhum as a whole ignoring the fact that Hos are a very negligible minority in Dhalbhum (in 1951 only 6 851 in Dhalbhum rural, 2 616 in Jamshedpur, and 12 188 for the entire subdivision). And the Committee never cared to enquire how the real autocthonous tribal of Dhalbhum, the Bhumij has faded out from the 1931 figures, 22 521 in Dhalbhum rural, 307 in Jamshedpur, 7351 in Chaibassa and 6038 in Saraikela-Kharsawan, total for the district 35 212 to a mere 922 in the entire district in 1951. The 70:30 ratio laid down by the Committee may be quite sound for bi-lingual areas, but is meaningless in areas with 3 or 4 different languages commonly spoken; for such areas, the regional language should be that spoken by the most numerous linguistic group, particularly if its percentage to total population exceeds the percentages of other linguistic groups by substantial amounts 10, 15 or 20 per cent. For Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, no figures having been supplied by the Census Superintendent for 1951, one can proceed only on the basis of the 1931 figures, and these are :

Out of total population 310 857.

Bengali 123 337 or 39.7 per cent.
Santali 96 555 or 31.7 per cent.
Oriya 35 849 or 11.5 per cent.
Bhumij 22 521 or 7.2 per cent.
Hindi 12 902, a mere 4.2 per cent.

Very large proportions of Santals and Bhumijs were reported to be bi-lingual, almost invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language; and the total of persons speaking Bengali as subsidiary was 82,797 equal to 26.6 per cent. of the total population. (Persons speaking Oriya as subsidiary language numbered only 10 059 Hindi only 3 900). What better case there could have been for declaring Bengali intelligible to no less than 66.3 per cent. of total population, as the regional language (and therefore justifying transfer to Bengal), with only special minority treatment for Santali, Bhumij and Hindi. Some figures *including those for Jamshedpur City*, are shown in a pamphlet. Facts and figures issued by the Bihar Government "for official use only;" and these also testify to the preponderance of persons with monther-tongue Bengali 185 thousand as against 128 thousand for Oriya and 125 thousand for Hindi. But the Committee have decided not for Bengali nor for Oriya, but for Hindi which had the weakest case. It has been definite negation of linguistic justice

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and recalls the Aesop's Fables story of the arbiter between two cats fighting over a piece of meat.

It is not understood how the previous history of Dhalbhum's connection with Bengal is described as tenuous! Dhalbhum is distinctly mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as appertaining to Sarkar Madaran, Chukla Medinipur in Suba Bangala (vide Jarrett's translation, volume II, page 141). Along with other parts of Midnapur, Dhalbhum was ceded to the British in 1760 (five years before the Diwani grant). Dhalbhum continued to form part of Medinipur district up to 1833 (it never went to Jungal Mahal district) in which year it was transferred to the newly-created Division of Manbhum in the North-Western Frontier agency (pages 40 and 213 of Singhbhum District Gazetteer). In 1845-46 Dhalbhum was taken out of Manbhum and tagged on to Singbhum district (page 212, Singbhum Gazetteer and page 67, Manbhum Gazetteer). Even up to very recent times, Dhalbhum people were disinclined to describe themselves as inhabitants of Singbhum, preferring to keep that name only for the Singh Rajas' State (the country that was later split up into Porahat, Saraikala and Kharsawan States, page 2 of Singbhum Gazetteer). Forty-five villages of Dhalbhum were, in the year 1876, re-transferred to Midnapur district (page 106 of Dhalbhum Settlement Report); and these villages, collectively known as Parihati, are still in Midnapur district, in thana Jhargram not very far from Gidni railway station.

Although Manbhum and Singbhum (with Dhalbhum) went into the Chota Nagpur Division in 1854, they were, on various occasions thereafter, placed under the jurisdiction of the District and Sessions Judge of Bankura (in Burdwan Division) and this arrangement continued till 1910, when a seperate Judgeship was created for Manbhum, Singhbhum and Sambalpur. Throughout this period, Bengali was the only Court language for Dhalbhum. Survey and Settlement Records for all villages of Dhalbhum (both within Singbhum district and in the Parihati group in Midnapur district) were prepared in the Bengali language.

In November 1954 Hindi was prescribed as an alternative language in Courts, to suit the convenience of Hindi-speakers (between 40 and 50 thousand in number) who had come for employment in Jamshedpur. Unfortunately for Bengalees, who are still the biggest linguistic group, Hindi was made the only Court language (and Bengali was thereby banned) for Dhalbhum by a notification of 1948. This was an extremely bad case of suppression of the Bengali language, comparable almost to Nazi Germanisation methods. Dhalbhum people entertained fond hopes of redress, with declaration of Bengali as the regional language, and with consequent re-transfer to Bengal. But they have been thoroughly disillusioned.

And they have failed to understand the nature of implementation of the proposition that "in and around Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City." They see, in retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar State, no more of de-provincialisation than would have been involved by its transfer to Bengal. Are they to understand that, while attachment to Bengal amounts to provincialisation, attachment to Bihar is de-provincialisation? After Rourkela grows into a City as big as Jamshedpur now is, will it (and, with it, the surrounding district of Sundargarh) be taken out of the provincialising atmosphere of Orissa and attached to Bihar, with a view to de-provincialisation? And, when Bhilani matures, will that also be handed over to Bihar, for purposes of de-provincialisation, and a corridor provided. The only tangible reason why Chaibasa and Saraikela, with magnificent Hindi percentages of 5.0 and 13.4 respectively (6.7 for the two taken together) are to be retained in Bihar, is that they would form the corridor for Bihar's contact with Jamshedpur.

Saraikela

Talking of Saraikela brings up the point of one small portion of it, *viz*, thana Kandra in the extreme north-east, wherein the predominant language is Bengali, as in rural Dhalbhum to its east and in Chandil thana of Purulia to the north. This thana hugs round the railway stations Gomharia, Kandra and Sini which are all within 7 to 16 miles (within 8 miles in every case, in cross-country trek) of Chandil, which is the place where Acharya Vinoba Bhave halted for about a month, convalescing after recovery from fever, and teaching himself Bengali so that he could make his speeches intelligible to the local people. The relative percentage figures of different languages in Kandra thana must be intermediate between those of rural Dhanbad and of Chandil; and these work out at Bengali 47.4 Santali 21.6 (of which at least half are bi-lingual Bengali-speakers), Hindi 17.6, Oriya 6.0, Bhumij and Mundari, possibly 3 per cent each. There is no valid reason (unless it be the necessity of mystic de-provincialisation) why Kandra thana should not hereafter be treated as part of Purulia district which is now to be shorn of thana Chas. The rest of Saraikela and Chaibasa have definite majority of Ho (46 per cent) and Oriya (18%).

Dhanbad

An examination of any map showing thanas on the Purulia-Dhanbad border, along with perusal of the Tract Figures for Purulia, reveals at once that

> "West Dhanbad, consisting of police-stations Topchanchi, Katras, Bagmara, Jharia, Kenduadi, Jogta and Jorapukhur, which covers the entire Jharia coal-field except such portions as extend to Chas-Chandankari of Purulia subdivision and to Hazaribagh district immediately adjoin the Chas-Ghandankiari area of Purulia, wherein the Hindi percentage is said to be 71.4 and the Bengali percentage only 22.6.
>
> "East Dhanbad consisting of police-stations Sindi Baliapur Gobindapur, Nirsha, Chirkunda, (also thana Tundi) immediately adjoin the Raghu-

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nathpur area of Sadar subdivision, wherein the Hindi percentage is only 23.8 (*i.e.*, 47.6 less than in Chas) and Bengali percentage 57.3 (*i.e.*, 34.7 per cent more than in Chas) and Santali percentage 18.7 (*i.e.*, 13.1 per cent more than in Chas)."

From these data it is certainly not unjustifiable to conclude that, in Dhanbad subdivision also, the Hindi percentage in the west very much exceeds that in the east and that the Bengali percentage in the west falls short of that in the east by something between 35 and 48 per cent; for Santali, excess in the east over that in the west, about 15 per cent. Incidentally most of the Santals are bi-linguals, their subsidiary language being Bengali and not Hindi.

Yet another set of official figures leads to the same conclusion, these figures being of numbers of "persons employed in production other than agriculture" (which, for Dhanbad' practically means "employed in collieries or under railway administration"). The police-stations in West Dhanbad, with aggregate area 301 square miles and total population 437,261, have as many as 209,767 persons (48 per cent of total) under this head of "production other than agriculture." The police-stations in East Dhanbad have total area 439 square miles and total population 294,439, of whom only 33518 (or less than 12 per cent) are under this category. It is chiefly the colliery and railway workers who are temporary immigrants, mere birds of passage from Hindi-speaking areas; and there is this further justification, for concluding that the Hindi percentage in East Dhanbad is very considerably less than in West Dhanbad with its many collieries. In the few collieries in East Dhanbad, extension really of the Ranigunge coal-field,* the labour employed consists chiefly of permanent local residents; there are labourers from outside also, immigrating some from Hindi-speaking districts in the west, but others from the Bengal districts Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum. The local labour, and also the immigrants from Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum, have all mother-tongue Bengali or Santali, the latter group being bi-lingual, invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language. It is only the labour immigrating from the western districts that have mother-tongue Hindi. It would be safe to conclude from these facts and figures that the Bengali-Santali-speaking percentage in East Dhanbad exceeds that in West Dhanbad by about 48 per cent (35 per cent Bengali and 13 per cent Santali), and that 43 per cent is also the measure by which the Hindi percentage in West Dhanbad exceeds that in East Dhanbad. It is a pity that these points were not taken into consideration, and that East Dhanbad did not get the same treatment as that meted to the Purulia Subdivision, *viz.*, transfer from Bihar to West Bengal. East Dhandad's linguistic distribution is not very different from those noted in para 41 of the Language volume of the 1951 Census for Manbazar and Kashipur-Para areas of Purulia subdivision, 45 per cent Bengali, 33 per cent Hindi and about 18 per cent Santali but very different from that of West Dhanbad or of Chas, Hindi exceeding 70 per cent, Bengali round about 20 per cent and Santali 5 per cent. The majority of 45 per cent Bengali and the 18 per cent Santali-speakers are permanent local residents attached to the soil, 35 per cent Hindi-speakers are mostly immigrant wage-earners with no permanent interest in the locality. Do a lakh and three-quarters of permanent residents deserve less consideration than only 30 to thousand immigrants?

Bengali had been the only Court language in Dhanbad up to 1913, in which year a notification was issued No. 379 dated 21st August, changing 'Bengali to "both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali in Dhanbad Subdivision of Manbhum district." A notification of 1936 again changed this to "Hindusthani to be written in Nagri or Kaithi script" for Dhanbad and restricted Bengali to the Sadar (Purulia) Subdivision. The consequent banning of Bengali as Court language in Dhanbad which had in 1933, and still has, more than 1½ lakh persons with mother-tongue Bengali was an act of very great injustice, which, compareable with Nazi methods of Germanisation, continues to the present day. Incidentally, the existence in 1913 of only 29'400 Hindi-speakers in Pakur, only 54 000 in Jamatra, had been considered justification, rightly enough, for prescribing Hindi as an alternative Court language for the convenience of Hindi-speaking population, mostly immigrants of the nature of a floating population of wage-earners.

The S. R. Committee have spoken of the West Bengal Government's intention to put up a dam on the Kansai river as one of the reasons for arriving at their decision to recommend transfer of Purulia Subdivision to Bengal. There are two dams on the D.V.C. project wherein also work will be facilitated by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal, *viz.*, (1) the Maithon dam with its North-eastern end near Kalyaneswari temple in Burdwan district and its South-western end a few miles North-east of Kumardubi and (2) the Pachet Hill dam connecting the foot of the Pachet hill in Purulia Subdivision with a point about 5 miles South-west of Chirkunda in Dhanbad. Two different States at the two ends of the same dam may at times lead to administrative complications; and this is yet another reason though it may not, by itself be a very strong one, why the linguistic position in East Dhanbad and the desirability of its transfer to Bengal should be subjected to careful examination once again. There is a big gap between the West-ern end of the Ranigunj Coalfield and the eastern extremity of the Jharia Coalfield; and the Jharia field will not be

*This extension of the Ranigunge coalfield into the Dhanbad area is entirely in pargana Pandra. This pargana Pandra had been part of Birbhum at the time of the Diwani grant, and was again for several years subsequent to that, attached to Burdwan district. The local language in Pandra has always been Bengali and Santali—never Hindi.

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(Left to right) : Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China

H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Laos, who visited the Military College, Dehra Dun, is seen inspecting the Guard of Honour

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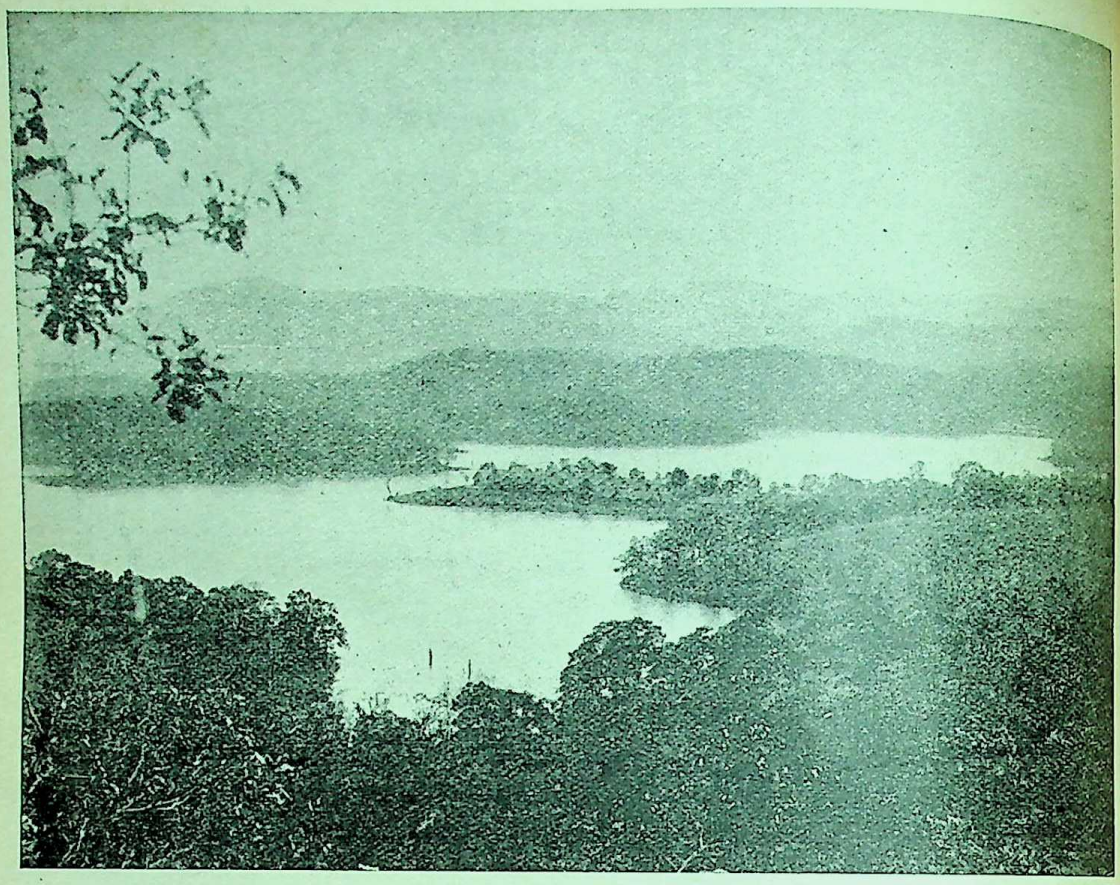
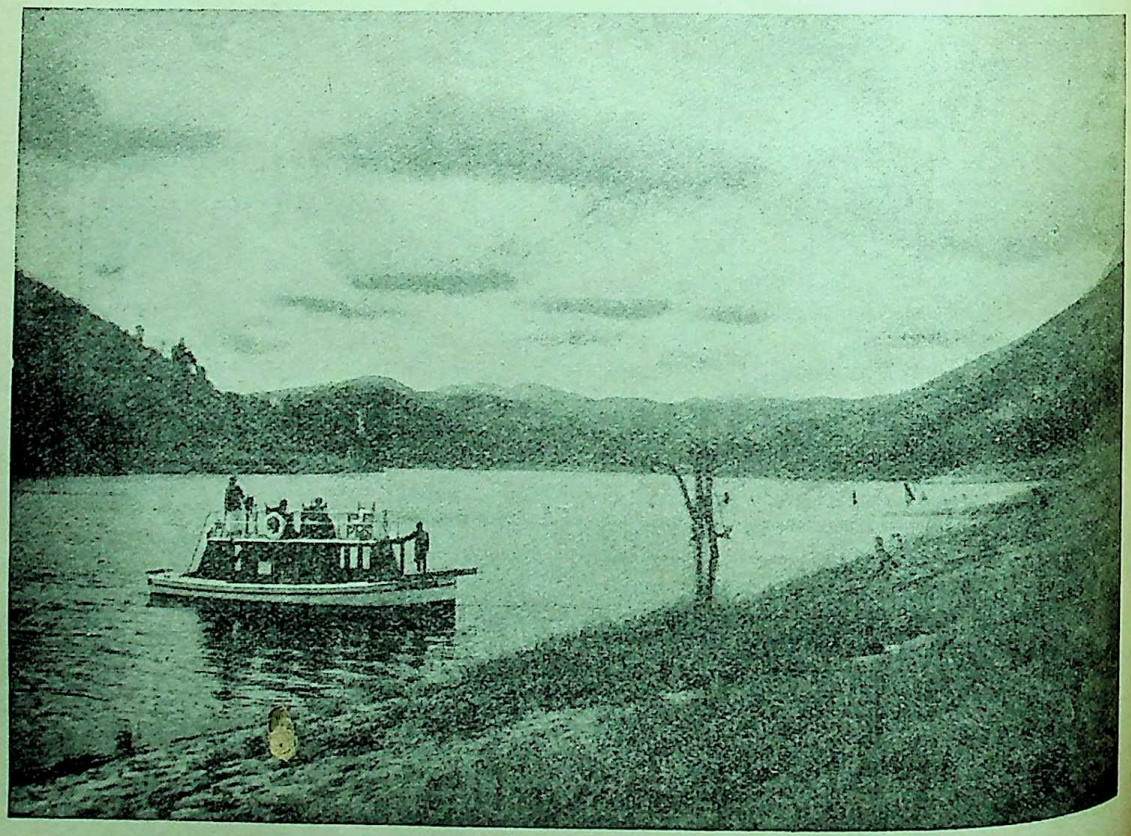


The splendour that is the High Range



Periyar Lake in the High Range. On the shores of this mountain lake is the Royal Game Sanctuary, one of the finest National Parks in the world

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the least affected by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal. In fact the inclusion of the entire Raniganj field under the same administration will be a definite advantage, just as bringing into West Dhanbad the portion of the Jharia coalfield that just into the Chas area will be a measure making for administrative convenience.

Very soon after traversing Dhalbhum, Purulia and East Dhanbad one gets close to the Ajoy river which the West Bengal Government propose to utilise for a project similar to the D.V.C., and then the Mayurakshi which has already been so utilised. Both these rivers rise in the Santal Parganas.

Santal Pargana

Both Ajoy and Mayurakshi rise in the Santal Parganas and have only a few miles of course therein before they enter Bengal. The Mayurakshi system has its headwaters at Masanjor in the eastern end of the Dumka Subdivision of the Santal Parganas; and there has been much unpleasantness in the past between Bihar and West Bengal about financial arrangements for a project which gives most of its benefit to Bengal but costs Bihar quite a lot of money (although, in a recent deal, Bihar has realised from Bengal a pretty large amount for rehabilitation of people displaced by the dam). Transfer of the Masanjor area to Bengal would certainly conduce to smooth working, as represented by Bengal; but there is no reference to this in the S.R. Committee's Report (in the summary at least). Mention is made of "the case for transfer of the catchment areas or a portion of territory along the Ajoy", but this is dismissed with remark that it "will be admissible only if other factors are more or less evenly balanced" which "is not the case so far as this district is concerned." How this finding of "not evenly balanced" was arrived at is not very clear; but possibly one of the points was the assumption that Bengali influence is slight in the eastern end of Santal Parganas bordering on Bengal because for "the *entire* Santal Parganas district Bengali influence is very slight." The possibility (nay, almost certainty) of the "16 and 13 per cent Bengali percentage in Rajmahal and Pakur" being concentrated in the eastern end, on both sides of the railway line, is not examined; and Bengal's contention about 1931 Census figures for Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur and Rajmahal is summarily dismissed.

The Committee did not evidently care to notice how 67,021 Malto-speakers of 1931, with fair distribution between the sexes, could be mutilated by the 1951 Census into only 5,744 males lording over 18,030 females (total decrease nearly 65 per cent),* how the Santali figure could have gone up by nearly 30 per cent (from 761,068 to 982,170) in the Santal Parganas simultaneously with decrease by 33 per cent (from 73,377 to 49,205) in Dhanbad and a nominal increase of 9 per cent (from 97,119 to 105,586) in Dhalbhum, how Bengali figures in subdivisions at safe distance from Bengal border jumped up (in Deoghar from 13,609 to about 45 thousand or by 23%, in Araria from 1,210 to 15,256 or by 1,157 per cent, in Chaibasa from 6,412 to 30,270 or by 372 per cent) at the expense of languishing figures on the Bengal border Jamtara cut down from 73,091 to 15,877 or by 78%, Pakur from 68,792 to 32,120 or by 53 per cent, Kisangunj from 59,393 to 17,088 or by 70%; they ignored also the Bihar Census Superintendent's observations about "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect" which should be coupled with his further assertion that "it is not easy to distinguish between these Bihari dialects and the Western Rarhi form of Bengali," with no reference whatever to non-existent similarity of these "dialects spoken at home" with any geniune dialect of Bihari or of any other form of Hindi.

It is indeed very strange that the S. R. Committee, realizing though they do, the desirability of "enabling West Bengal to control entirely one or more points at which the Ganga river can be crossed," could speak seriously about objection resulting from loss for Bihar of the Rajmahal coalfield. I have not been able to ascertain what the value of the Rajmahal coalfield is —it is not even mentioned in the typed copy that I could secure of the statement at the end of the Report of the Indian Coalfield Committee 1946. The only coalfields in the Santal Pargana mentioned therein are Raniganj, 10½ million tons, and Jamtara, 4¾ million tons, total 15¼ million tons; and possibly Rajmahal (carelessly omitted in the typed copy which reached my hands) does not exceed 10 million tons. These are microscopic figures compared with what Bihar has got in the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau, more than 10,000 million tons and in the Jharia field 2,351 million tons. Will Bihar's economy be really affected by the loss of only about 2% of its huge coal resources whose quantity is larger than the aggregate of all the other States within the Indian Union? In fact, it is very doubtful if Bihar will be able to provide in the near future, or even in several future decades, either the man-power or the technical skill necessary for beginning the exploitation of its 12,000 and odd million tons. West Bengal has at present not more than 2,352 million tons and will, on transfer of Purulia, get possibly another 167 million tons (⅓ of the 502 million tons of the Raniganj coalfield within the present Bihar

*The Mal Paharias who speak Malto are the real Adivasis of the district, just as Bhumijes are the real Adivasis of Dhalbhum, South Manbhum and adjoining portions of Bankura, Midnapur, Mayurbhanj. (The Santals are really immigrants who came in about the year 1800, having been pushed out of their original homes in Pargana Chal of Hazaribagh district by "incoming Hindusthanis from Bihar"). Are Adivasi Mal Paharias and Bhumijes becoming extinct under Bihar Government's paternal administration? Or, is it only a case of an absolutely inefficient Census or of ill-conceived manipulation of Census figures? How long will it take Bihar's paternal Government to liquidate Santals, after they have ceased to be useful as a stick for thrashing the Bengalis!

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border). Transfer of East Dhanbad's 335 million tons as well, and also of the entire Jharia coalfield's 2,351 million tons, will not bring up Bengal's total to very much more than 5,000 million tons *i.e.*, only about half of what would still be retained by Bihar even after transfer of the entire Dhanbad Subdivision. Calcutta is now the biggest industrial centre within the Indian Union; and it is for consideration by the Central Government whether West Bengal's or Bihar's need for coal resources is the more important and the more urgent.

PURNEA

The S. R. Committee's gift of a narrow corridor to the east of Mahananda river looks like a practical joke comparable only to that practised by a former Ruler of the Junagarh state on Lord Curzon who was presented with a dozen monkeys in response to a requistion for a seaport, (also Bandar in the vernacular). While the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal Congress submitted representations about their difficulties in respect of rail transport, the Committee, possibly out of present-day airmindedness, have given something which requres air transport before Barsoi is reached. And, even as a corridor, the strip offered is of no use, because "east of the Mahananda" does not reach up to Darjeeling district, it ends at a point on the Bihar-Pakistan border, about 20 miles south of the southernmost point of Darjeeling district.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that "east of the Mahananda" is a very unfortunate and very incorrect expression which was first used in the Bengal Census Report of 1872, which made the further mistake of describing Mahananda as the Mahanaddy. This Report stated, "The thanas east of the Mahanaddy, Kaliagunge, Kisangunge and Balrampur, are purely inhabited by Bengalees, and large numbers of them are found on the right (*i.e.* west) bank of the river." Another statement is that "The Kosi river used to be the old boundery of Bihar, but Hindusthanis are the prevailing race for some distance beyond." "Some distance beyond" is presumably very much less than the wide expanse between the Kosi and the Mahananda; and this suggests that the Hindi-Bengali didviding line is somewhere near the middle of this wide expanse. And corroboration of this comes from the further statement that "If it were possible to draw a hard and fast line which should divide the country inhabited by Bengalees from that inhabited by Hindusthanis speaking a dialect of Hindi, it should perhaps run in a vertical direction through the police-stations of Amour Kusba and Kudba."

Grierson also made the mistake of noting on page 119 vol. V, part I of the *Linguistic Survey* that "the western limit of Bengali may be roughly taken to be the river Mahananda," although what he really intended was that Bengali extended to far beyond the western bank of the Mahananda, as described on page 139: "That (the Bengali) language may be taken as occupying the eastern third of the district (Purnea), that is to say, the whole of the Kisangunge and eastern half of the Sadar subdivision. This closely resembling the Koch Bengali of Malda is Kisanganj or Siripuria, and is returned as spoken 603,623 souls."

Politicians in Calcutta, unacquainted with geography of Purnea district, took up the cry of "of the Mahananda," with the disastrous result that socalled corridor fails to serve as a corridor. And over this insufficient corridor, the S. R. Committee imposed certain conditions to be observed by Bengal Government viz, (1) to recognise the position of Urdu in this area and (2) to make a announcement that no displaced persons from Pak would be sent to this densely peopled area. They no notice of (1) the Bihar Census Superintend observation that in "the district of Purnea on Bengal and East Pakistan border, Urdu is practic unknown, except among educated Muslims, and the majority of the population (including of course Musli speak a mixed Maithili-Bengali dialect known Kisanganjia, (2) the facts that Bihar Governme choice of place for refugees from Pakisthan had b chiefly Purnea district and the still more densely-peop district Champaran, that Bengalee refugees were n admitted to sparsely-peopled areas in east Santal Parga or east Manbhum or east Dhalbhum, that Chakulia Dhalbhum had been made available for refugees fr West-Pakistan in 1947 but that as soon as the Pu refugess left, the sheds were deliberately pulled do to make it possible to report that no accommodat was available for refugees from East-Pakistan. Will S. R. Committee which have asked for an announcem of no refugee infiltration for Purnea be good enou to ask the Bihar Government to announce that th would hereafter settle East-Pakistan refugees in Ea Dhalbhum and in Jamtara and Dumka subdivision the Santal Parganas in large numbers, until density of population now ranging between 280 and 463 p to 500 per square mile?

Will the Committee recommend the immedi restoration of Bengali as one of the Court languages Dhalbhum and in Dhanbad, for the convenience, in eith case, of more than 185 thousasd persons with mothe tongue Bengali and 20 to 30 thousand bi-lingual tribe who speak Bengali as their subsidiary language (numbe not insignificant in comparison with that of the so-calle Urdu-speakers in the so-called corridor to the east o the Mahananda river)? And, will they further requ the Bihar Government to take such measures as m be necessary to stop the tribals' march towards extinctio march that has brought down the Bhumij numbe from 36,212 to 922, the Malpaharia number from 67 to 23,774 and in Dhanbad only the Santal number fro 73,377 to 49,265, (reductions exceeding 24 to 44 time the number of Tibetans or Sikhs (or Kazaks?) ha perished in the fateful Rupkund valley)?

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Assam

I have no personal knowledge of condition on the Assam border, and cannot venture to offer any comment, except to note on only two points viz :

(1) As the aeroplane flies (though not as the crow flies), Dhubri is on the route from Calcutta. Transfer to Bengal of this subdivision alone of the Goalpara district would be of the greatest advantage.

(2) The observation in the Assam Census Report of 1951 about "the aggressive linguistic nationalism now prevailing in Assam, coupled with the desire of many persons among the Muslims as well as tea garden labour immigrants to adopt Assamese in the State of their adoption. It is not unlikely that some amongst the persons who have returned their mother-tongue as Assamese have done so from dubious motives, even though their knowledge of Assamese may not amount to much" reveals a parallel case with that of Muslims in Purnea who really ignorant of Urdu, return Urdu as their mother-tongue. And quite possibly Pakistani Muslims now in Assam will, after a decade or two, *i.e.*, after they have securely established themselves by driving out Bengali-speaking Hindus, again change their decision about language to declare and return Urdu as their mother-language. Of course they would be speaking Koch Bengali all the time; Urdu will be as much a false declaration then as Assamese is now.

General

Just as this note is ready for the Press, reports arrive of the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry Mr. Krishnamachari's speech in Jamshedpur on 15th October, paying glowing tributes to the memory of an unassuming Bengali geologist Mr P. N. Bose whose bust still adorns the Park in Jamshedpur, and whose advice was the determining factor in changing Tatas' selection of site for their Iron Works, from villages in the C. P. (now Madhya Pradesh) to villages Kalimati and Sakchi in the extreme north-western corner of Dhalbhum. The new project attracted practically no interest in Bihar for many years yet; and the preliminary work, from 1908 to 1911, was done almost entirely by local labour, Bengalees, Bhumijes and Santals, guided by a small party of Parsi and Bengali overseers under the general supervision of German engineers and from 1911, also by an American Foreman Mr. Tutwiler. There was practically no Hindi-speaking labour—in fact, the Hindi-speaking percentage in the district population in 1911 was only 4.9, a very small advance over the percentage 20 years earlier, 4.8 in 1891. The Hindi percentage in Dhalbhum was so small (possibly less than 2) as to be left out of account by the Census Superintendent in his summary in para 722 of his Report. The Bengali percentage in Dhalbhum was 40, Oriya 11, Santali and Bhumij nearly 40, with a very considerable proportion of bi-linguals, the subsidiary language being invariably Bengali. Bengali-speakers still outnumber Hindi-speakers by nearly 50 per cent in Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, possibly by 500 per cent if Jamshedpur City is left out of account; and it is no wonder that Bengalis feel sorely disappointed over retention of Dhalbhum in Bihar, and, on top of that, the banning of Bengali as a Court language.

But even more painful than the unjust decision of retention in Bihar has been the expression by the S. R. Committee of suspicion about the veracity of statements by Bengalis that a letter written in 1912 by five top-ranking Bihar leaders contained the words : "the whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking, and they should go to Bengal." The letter was published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on 4th January 1912; and one of its signatories Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-law, Calcutta High Court, had 12 days earlier seconded Sapru's resolution in the Congress recommending re-adjustment of boundaries on the linguistic basis. The *Bengalee* of the 4th January 1942 is in the file maintained by the Indian Association, and would have been produced at once if any member of the Committee had only spoken about his suspicion to any one of the many representatives of West Bengal that appeared before the Committee. West Bengal, although very anxious to get back Manbhum and Dhalbhum, would not stoop to mean tricks like fake quotations alleged to be from District Gazeteers, mainpulation of Census figures or riotous processions proclaiming *Janamat* or the kind recently demonstrated before cinema houses in Jharia.

The West Bengal Government's assent to the proposition that "in and around Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City on cultural or linguistic grounds" does not certainly support the inclusion of Jamshedpur City in Bihar, any more than in West Bengal—and it had no reference at all to the vast area of Dhalbhum more than, say, 15 miles east, or 8 miles south of Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur has no contiguity with Bihar shorn of Purulia except through the very questionable corridor of Oriya-speaking (27 per cent) and also Bengali-speaking (24 per cent.) Saraikela and Kharsawan, wherein Hindi-speakers form less than 13 per cent of the population, but all the same lucky Bihar wins the prize. And on some future day, perhaps, P. N. Bose's bust will be pulled down.

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A SURGEON WHO WAS A PAINTER

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

It is seldom that surgery and painting go together, but in the case of the late Dr. A. R. Poduval of Trichur, there was apparently nothing incongruous between his calling as a medical man and his devotion to the pictorial art. It was as a surgeon that he made for himself a name, but strangely enough, it is as an artist that he is remembered today, and will be, in the years to come. The paradox can be explained this way, that he never sought the limelight in the world of art during his lifetime, but painted solely for his own pleasure, to give

Violinist, London

expression to the joy that is in painting. It is not surprising, therefore, that many did not recognise the artist in him till, after his death, his pictures found their way into some of the exhibitions held in the South.

It was indeed much against his will that Poduval became a medical man. His early life was spent in the practice of art, obviously preparing for a career in its service. Even as a boy, he could win the favour of the royalty of Cochin with a portrait of a senior prince, and through the court, the acquaintance of Raja Ravi Barma who was then in the height of his fame. Ravi Varma, "greatly struck by the sketches and studies of animals and landscapes" done by young Poduval, particularly by their "originality and fidelity to nature," suggested to him to undergo a course of training in some academy in Europe. But, by a conspiracy of circumstances, he could not go to Europe, and much against his will, joined the Medical College, Madras.

But he never gave up painting. The cherished desire of his life—a term of training in some European academy—was at last realised, when in 1916, he went to England to study advanced Medicine and Surgery. The short course he took there in painting proved subsequently the decisive factor in his evolution as an artist. Henceforth his themes would be presented

Girl at the Post-Box, London

techniques so skilfully developed by Western masters. He believed that art is a universal language, and he had no hesitation in adopting those techniques that served him best in expressing his ideas. He saw service in Mesopotamia during the closing years of the First World War, and during this period, he sketched the landscapes of the land of the Caliphs. He went to Europe once again, and that was in 1928. Besides taking the Degree of M.D. from the Hamburg University, he visited all the famous art-centres of Europe studying the latest trends and developments in painting. It was his desire to devote his entire time to art after retirement, but his death in 1940, two years after leaving service in the erstwhile Cochin State as Director of Public Health, put an end to all his planning.

As an artist, Poduval had his own preferences

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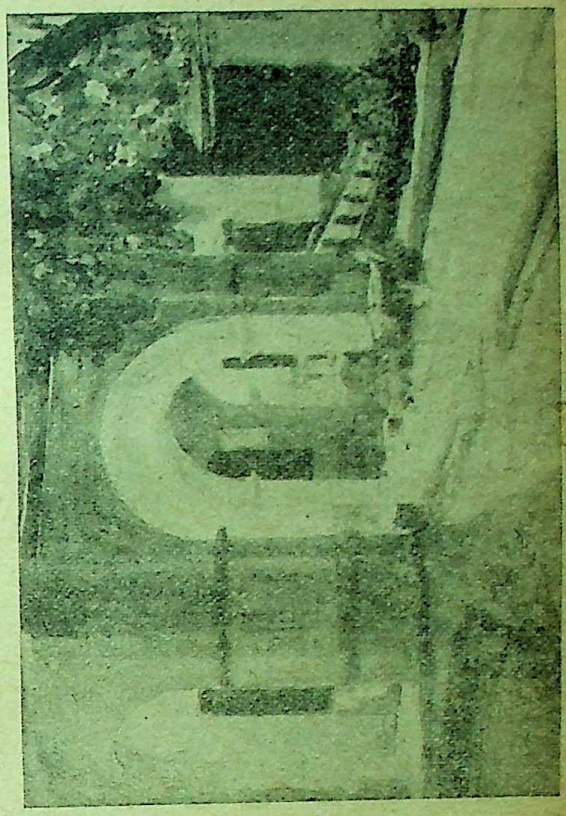
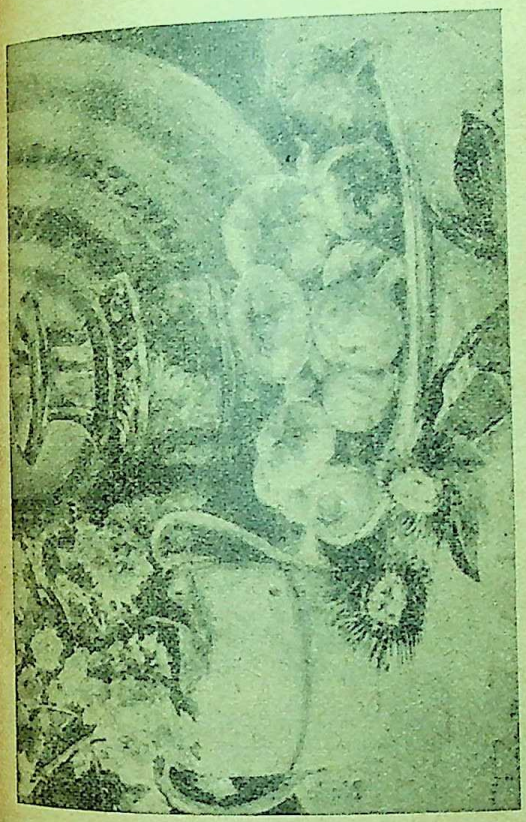
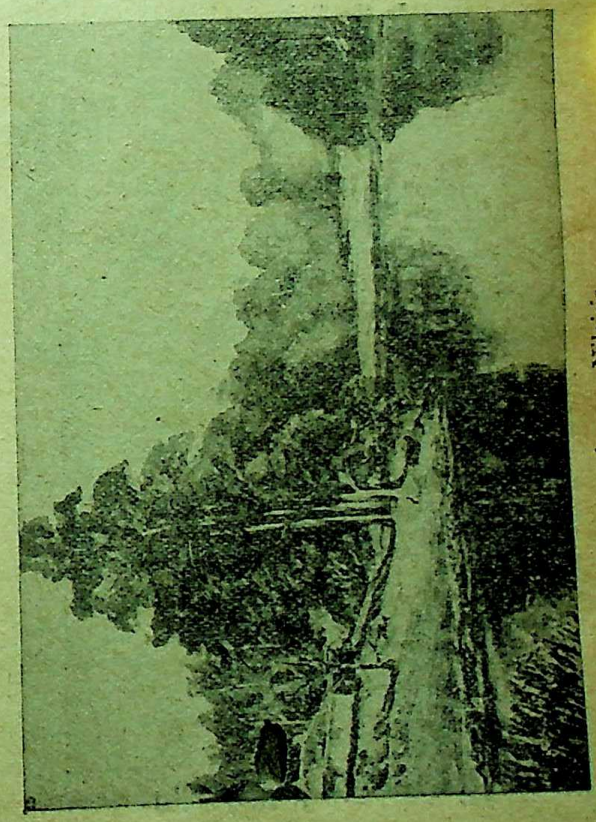


Lamplit Porch, Mesopotamia



Still Life Study of Flowers and Fruits, London



Landscape, Nilgiris

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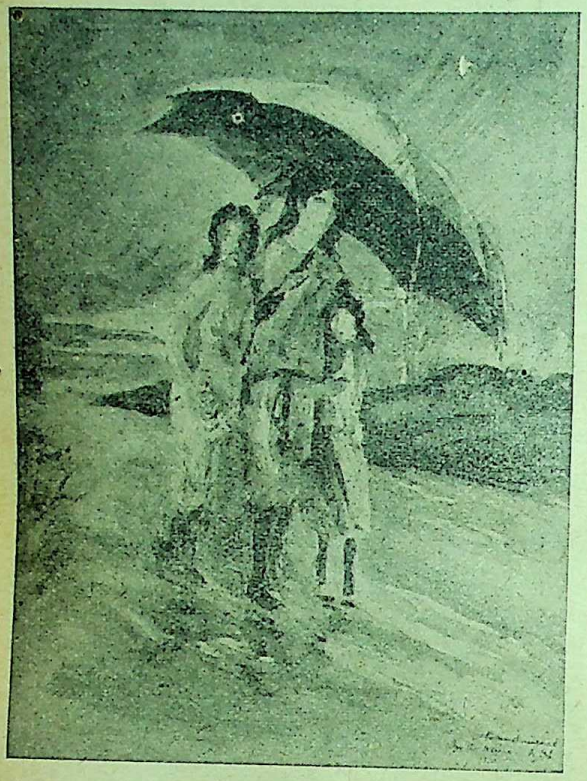
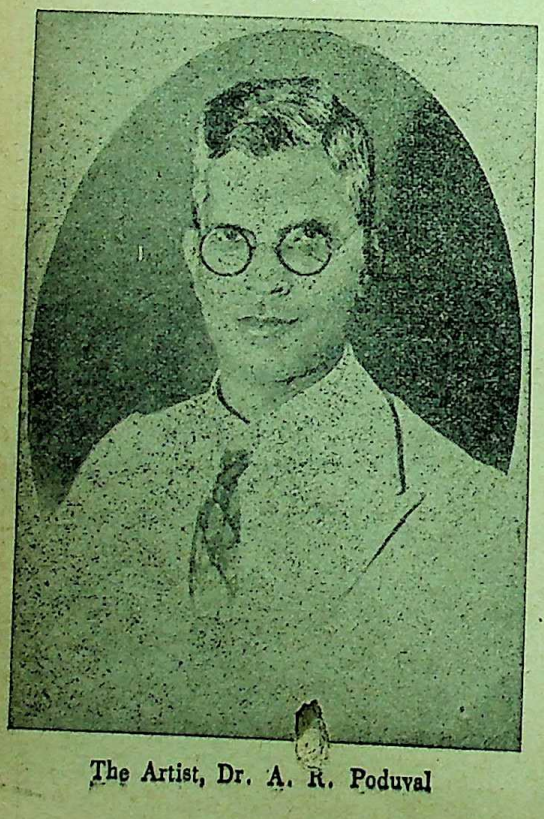
media, subjects and schools. He has worked with water-colour, pen and ink, charocal, chalk and crayon, but his predilection was for water colour. An ... variety of subjects has fascinated him—land... human and animal forms, still lives, etc., but he is ... at his best in rendering landscapes. The influ... Western schools particularly of Impressionism ... manifest in his pictures, but there is absolutely no ... of unimaginative imitation. The landscapes he has ... cuted under the influence of Impressionism are ... his best paintings. His main concern is with ... fugitive effects of light, and other details being ... as secondary. The reflections in water in some of ... pictures show the minutest vibrations of light. ...



In the Rain, Trichur

Nude in Crayon



The Artist, Dr. A. R. Poduval

effect is achieved by the method of painting with broad ... touches. His studies of human and animal forms ... different in that light is no longer "the principal person" ... in them. They give us an impression of rugged simplic... city, of weight, density and solidity. His was a bold ... hand emphasising the outstanding features of the subject ... with a few strokes of the brush. His colours are bright ... but never aggressive. On the whole, there is a sure ... touch of genius, of perfect mastery, and an unmistakable ... able note of honesty and sincerity of purpose in all his ... works. The sympathy with which he has treated his ... human forms also cannot fail to make a strong impression on our vision.

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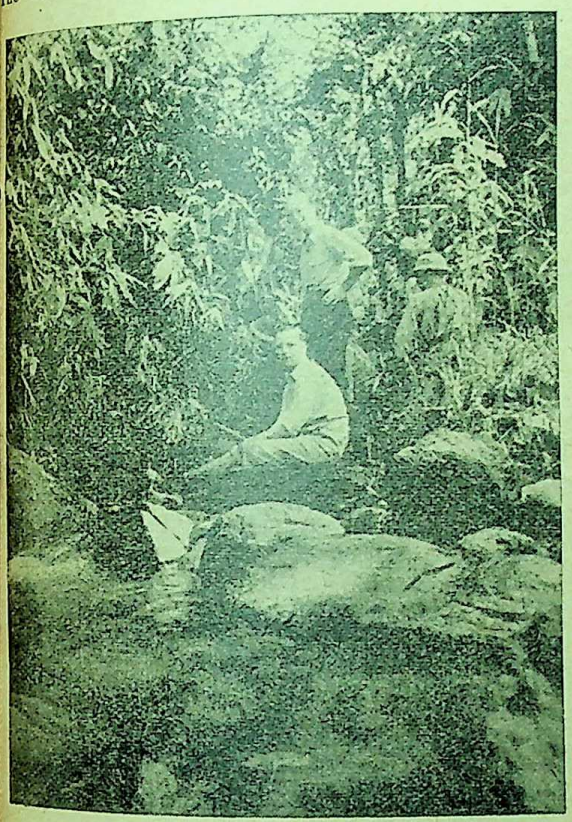
THE HIGH RANGE—SCENIC PLAYGROUND OF INDIA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

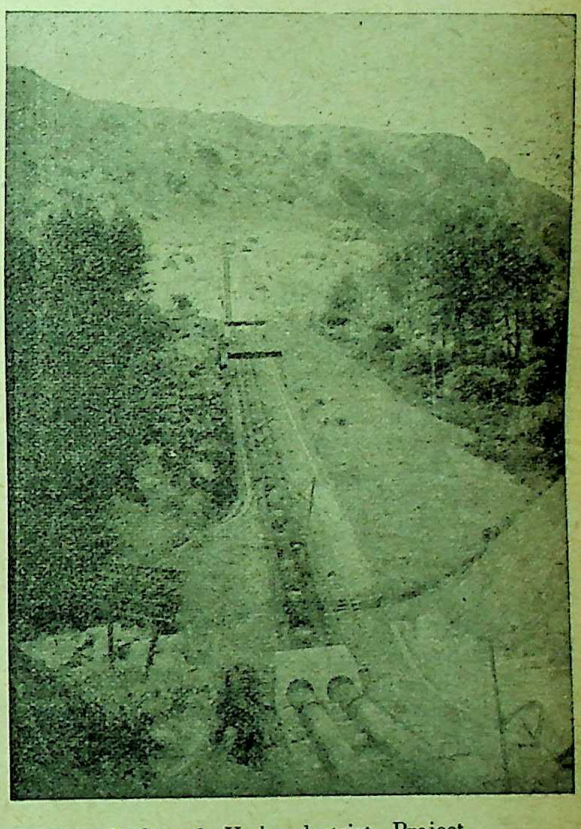
No person who is a lover of the mountains can afford to miss the delightful trip to the High Range in Travancore-Cochin. It is a mountain range resplendent with life, colour and charm. For a traveller whose heart is after new experiences, grave and gay, amid the grandeur of scenery acknowledged to be without peer, the High Range—the region of sunny plains, glistening mountains, singing woods, roaring torrents, full-blooded aborigines, unique and diversified fauna and flora, gigantic hydro-electric undertakings, vast tea, rubber and cardamom estates—offers a diversity of attractions. The manifold charms of the magnificient primeval



A mountain stream in the High Range.
Tourists are taking rest after hiking in the forest

forests are displayed at their best in the High Range, known also as the *Anamalais* or "Elephant Hills," for they are the favourite haunts of wild elephants. Anamudi, the loftiest peak in Southern India, is in the centre of the High Range and rises 8837 feet high. With a length of six miles and a breadth of three miles, the High Range includes five peaks, all over 7,200 feet high. Just below the High Range are the Cardamom plantations in the hills, the height of which varies from 5,099 feet to 7,900 feet above sea level.

The journey to the High Range, through hills and dales, offers many thrills to the keen motorist and rider. The first stretch of way lies across fertile plains, most beautiful and under extensive cultivation. Tapioca, banana, pepper and vegetables are grown in abundance in these plains. The pepper gardens are a feast to the eye. The picturesque road traverses the rubber region set amidst entrancing brown and emerald mountains. From either side of the winding road rise the rubber gardens and it is like driving through lovely parks. In serried ranks the rubber trees stand sentinel looking cool and shady in the tropical sun. The rest of the journey is through dense jungles, interspersed here and there by tea plantations. Miles and miles of hilly slopes are covered by tea shrubs. On the summits of the vast tea



Pallivasal Hydro-electrict Project.
Pen Stock lines piercing the forest

plantations are perched beautiful bungalows commanding panoramic views all round. Ferns and other trees embellish the flanks of the road, often disputing the right of way with the traveller. All around the tourist is a conflagration of colours, and he is enraptured by the rhythm of the hills and dales, romantic ravines, and wide expanses. The quaint and lovely mountain villages in the fragrant forest glades with the picturesque forestfolk crowding the weekly bazaars make a lasting and delightful impression in the mind of the seeing and understanding tourist.

The High Range possesses the most wonderful and variegated scenery and a lovely climate during the dry

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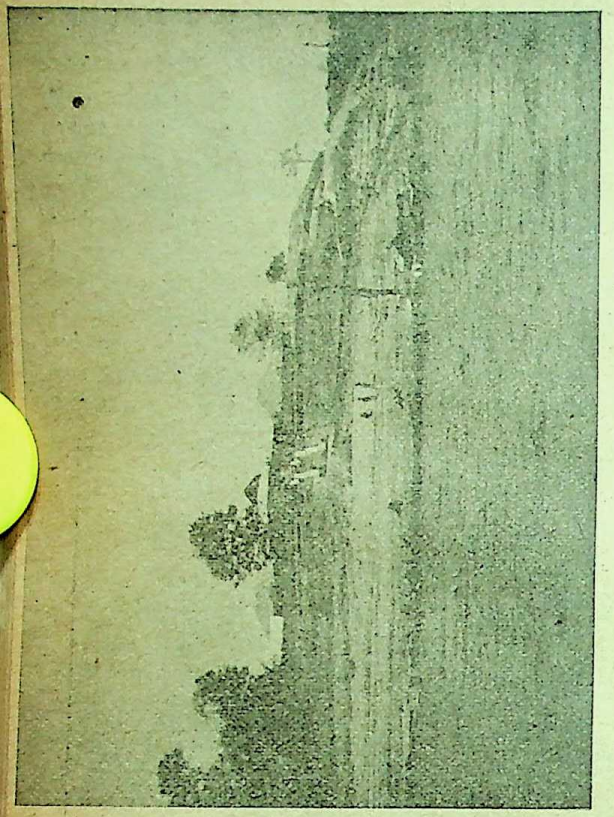
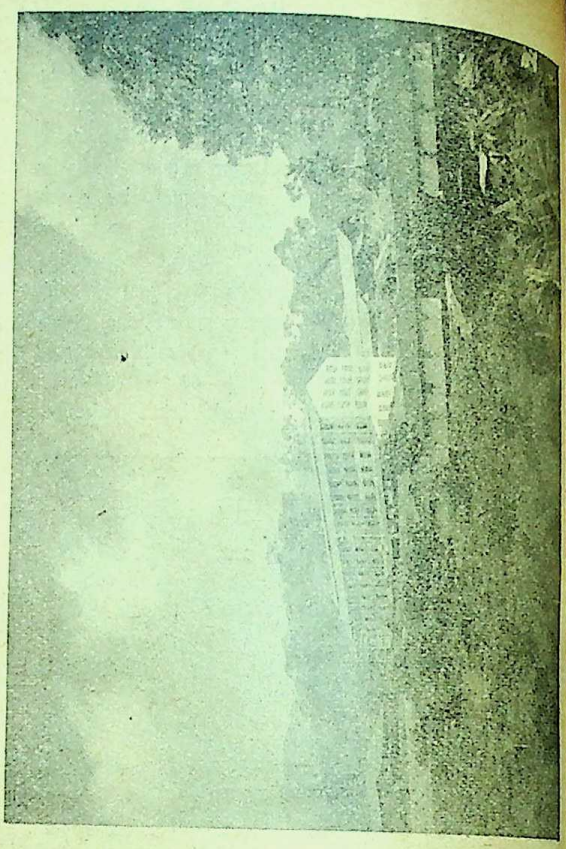
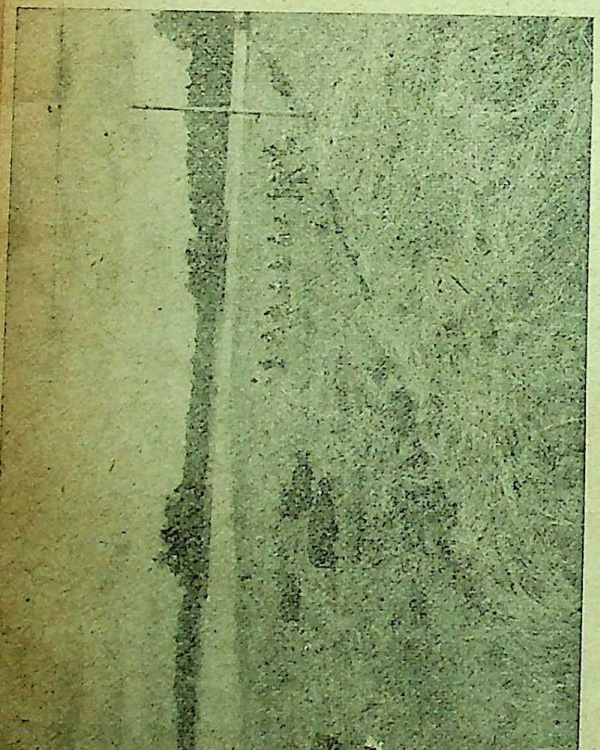
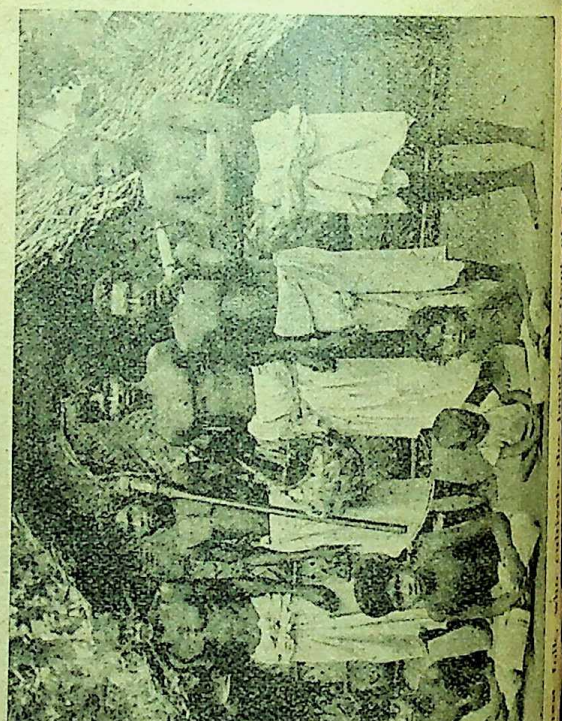


On the shores of the Periyar Lake





On the way to the High Range. A view of the plains with extensive paddy cultivation



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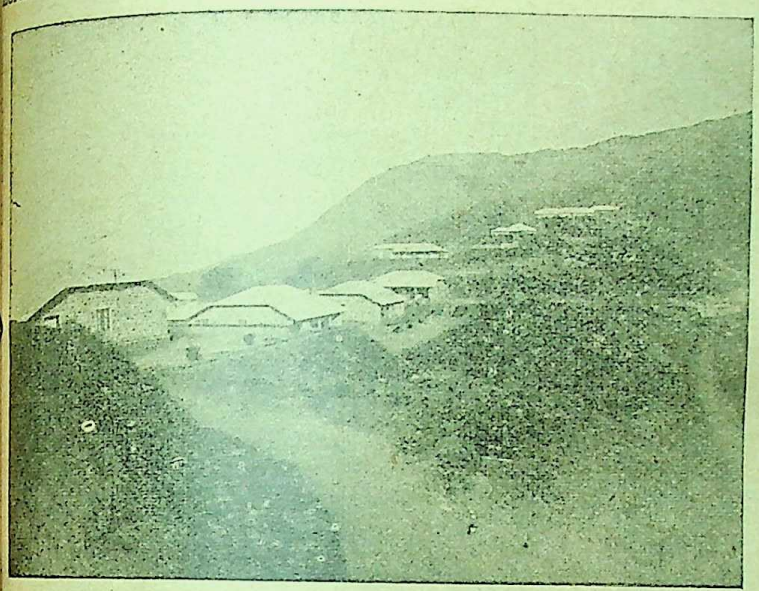
months when the landscape symphony is full and charming. The two older hill towns in the High Range are Munnar and Devicolam, and the most recent settlement is Chitrapuram. Situated almost on the summit of the High Range, the lovely little town of Munnar takes its name from its situation at the confluence of three mountain streams, called Kundala, Kanni, and Nallathanni. The Munnar Valley is 5 000 feet above sea level in the north-eastern High Range, and is the centre of tea plantation and the most favourite summer resort. 92 miles from Kottayam and 82 miles from Ernakulam, Munnar is easily accessible from the plains by the Neriamangalam Pallivasal Road, and is connected by a good motor road, turning off from the main central road at the town of Muvattupuzha. Munnar is also linked up with Coimbatore by a motor road through Pollachi and Udumalpet. A hundred miles long, this road is known as the Northern Outlet Road. On this road are the picturesquely situated camp sheds at Thalliar and Chinnar. The 60 mile long Neriamangalam-Pallivasal Road which pierces the heart of dense forest, has made through communication possible. A bridle path from Bodinayikannur to the Top Station also leads to the High Range. Bodinayikannur may be reached by train from Madura or by bus from the Kodaikanal Road. Sixty-five miles eastward on the Alwaye-Munnar Road is the viewpoint of Lockhart Gap, which affords a panoramic view of the Cardamom Hills and Chitrapuram.



Chitrapuram—a, picturesque Hill Town in the High Range

Munnar is the headquarters of the tea industry in the State of Travancore-Cochin. It is a delightful pastime to drive round the beautiful, terraced tea-gardens through winding roads. The transport of tea is partly done over an aerial ropeway 18 miles long, one of the longest of its kind, and quite an ingenious mechanism which is worked by a Cabine driven by a small mountain stream at the foot of the hills. The Top and Bottom Stations, at either extremity of this ropeway, are picturesque outposts from where the visitor may look over to other ranges of hills. From the Top Station culd be seen the Palni Hills, and Kodaikanal is but 30 miles from these hills. To the pioneering spirit of the enterprising European planters, Munnar owes its birth and rapid growth. A beautifully laid-out town with all modern civic amenities, nestling amidst picturesque hills, it has a population of about 40 000 and has a first-class and second-class rest-house where tourists could stay in comfort. The famous Pallivasal Falls, the main source of hydro-electric power in the State, is only four miles to the west of Munnar, and has an elevation of 3,800 feet. At Chitrapuram, not far from the Pallivasal Falls, are the quarters and offices of the staff attached to the hydro-electric works. The Kundala Valley, which is being converted into a sanatorium is situated above Munnar. The Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project is well worth a visit. Inaugurated in February 1944 this huge white coal generating enterprise is situated in a region where Nature revels in her wildest and grandest form. In this region where dense wood and profuse water mingle, man's handiwork

Hill tribes inhabiting the High Range

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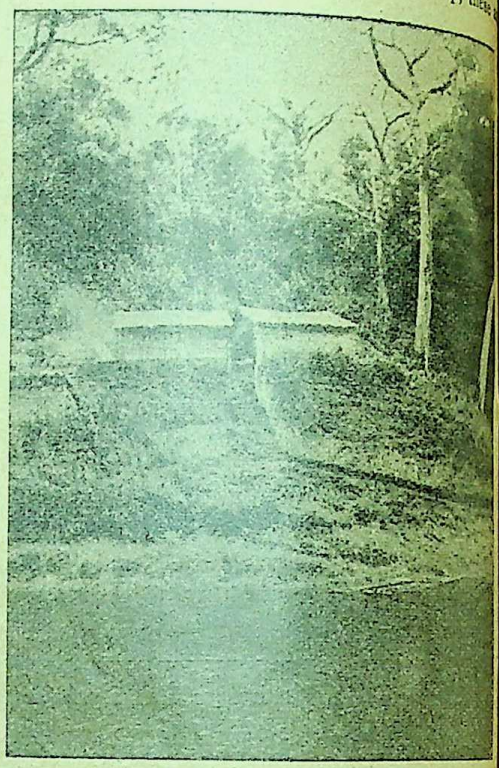
has created a marval of engineering skill in the Pallli-vasal Hydro-electric Project whose maximum estimated output of energy will be 29,000 kilowatts capable of turning out annually 200 million units.

Situated in the cool heights of the High Range, Devicolam is the queen of hill stations in the State. Devicolam (old) is ten miles to the south-east of

Cardamom plants in the High Range

Munnar and is easily accessible by a motor road. A sanctuary for the lover of nature, this place derives its name from a lovely idyllic lake with which is associated many stories and legends. Devicolam (new) is the head-quarters of the Taluk. Ideal weather prevails at Devicolam, rendering it one of the best hill stations in India. There is an excellent rest-house at Devicolam where the tourist could stay in comfort and see the terraced hills studded with tea shrubs nearby, and in the distance the virgin forest, and occasionally hear the angry growls of carnivorous animals and trumpeting of wild elephants, breaking the uncanny silence of the place. Oodumbanchola, 26 miles from Devicolam, situated in the heart of densest jungle, is a pretty forest village surrounded by a deep elephant trench. The intrinsic charms of the mountain range display themselves in the many hidden haunts, nooks and creeks.

The forests in the High Range form the natural habitat of a wonderful variety of big and small game. A happy hunting ground alike to the expert cameraman and the enterprising *shikari*, this region is a beauty-spot where the aboriginal tribes share the forests with wild beasts. Shooting game in the High Range is subject to the control exercised by the Peermade Game Association. In the many mountain streams and [illegible] lakes, masheer and trout fishing could be enjoyed. Elephant, bison, bear, tiger, leopard, sambur, deer, wild boar, panther, wild dog, wild doe, jungle sheep, these and



Huts of hill tribes in the High Range

many other animals are found in large numbers in primeval forests which present a sublime idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. A constantly changing variety of mountain scenery—hills and dales in quick succession, summits and peaks clothed with mist, rocky escarpments, woodlands, deep gorges, ravines, precipices, [illegible] plateaus, many streams gurgling and careering, [illegible] brooks and rivulets, leaping and tumbling cascades, greet the tourist and provide him with a succession of changing thrills. The climate in the High Range has a languorous warmth in the summer. In the winter there is beautiful, scintillating sunshine, with a tinge of chillness which is bracing.

The High Range affords ample scope for research to the enterprising ethnologist and anthropologist, for the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the dense forests are so different from each other in appearance and mode of life, manners and customs. The hill-folk who live in and cultivate the forests are a set of very interesting people, primitive in dress, shy by nature, and generally contented. Divided into many tribes and exogamous clans, they have many curious customs and stories and legends steeped in the background of tradition which [illegible]

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to the colour and romance of their wild life. Some of the hill tribes, like the *Mala Uralis*, *Mannans* and *Muthuvans* are comparatively more civilised than their brethren in the other hills due to their contact with the planters. They take delight in wearing shirts, coats and turbans. Of extremely active habits and ever alert, they have developed a keen sense of smell which enables them to scent out wild animals with amazing ease. Their primary occupations are hunting in the dense forest and cultivation of hill paddy on the slopes of the mountains. They are highly superstitious and awfully afraid of their chieftains, medicine-men and priests and the primitive gods whom they speak of as the "Seeing Ones." Their folk-songs and community dances indicate their nearness to earth, their simplicity, and hoary belief in tradition. Pleasure and excitment expressed in wild dances and songs, oftentimes simulated by intoxicating beverages, find their outbursts during festive occasions. If you want to know the good-natured freedom-loving, pagan forest folk, sun-bronzed and handsome in a wild sort of way, you should get into touch with these hill tribes who live in closest association with nature. Though rude in talk they are most hospitable and friendly, and of expert assistance to hunters and hikers. Their tree-houses called *Anamadams* (elephant huts) made of reeds and bamboos, serve as safety huts protecting them from marauding wild elephants. To share the tree-house with the forest folk and to bag wild game is an unforgettable experience for any *shikari* who is eager to adorn his home with magnificent trophies. If the tourist-shikari so chooses he could convert hunting expeditions into exciting stalks for shooting with the camera instead of the gun.

To the painters and hikers who spy out Nature's hidden moods and pranks and the poets with songs in their hearts who seek out the sublime in eternity, in the woods, clouds, waters and mountains, the High Range around Munnar constitutes a supremely lovely paradise for camping picnic, hiking, mountaineering, angling, boating, shooting, and for recouping health and vigour. The best time to commune with the manifold charms of the High Range is between the months of December and June when dry weather prevails.

Blessed with exceptional climate privileges, enchantingly beautiful mountain villages, excellent transport facilities, cordial inhabitants and an endless diversity of scenery, fauna and flora, the High Range is a goal for tourists, botanists, anthropologists, ethnologists, ornithologists and *shikaris*, and the influx of visitors to this region bears evidence to the unique charms of the High Range the best known summer

Pallivasal water-falls in the High Range

resort in South India. There is nothing aritificial about the place. The High Range is not a place essentially for the man who uses his legs. For a holiday that is very different and exceedingly charming, come to the High Range, the scenic Playground of India, a veritable palette of colour. He who has once communed with the bounteous charms of the High Range will ever long to visit it again.

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"KOLO"—THE ENSEMBLE OF NATIONAL DANCES OF SERBIA

When a citizen of Belgrade wishes to show any foreign visitor something he is particularly proud of, more often than not he will take him to the concert of the "Kolo," the Ensemble of the National Dances of Serbia.

Macedonian folk-dancers

The "Kolo" has developed out of the traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the continuous intensive creative genius of the anonymous artist whose feelings and moods have been expressed in song and dance. For although the most beautiful examples of popular song and dance traditions probably belong to bygone days, nevertheless now and then masters of dance and brilliant interpreters of popular songs are still to be found among the population of towns and villages.

The programme of a performance of the "Kolo" is a picture of the variety and wealth of songs and dances prevailing all over the country. "What a geography course; what a lesson in sociology"—was the exclamation of a well-known Paris critic after the first 'Kolo' concert in the Palais Chaillot. And indeed, the Warlike Rugovo dance with its Yatag[illegible] duel for the lady is succeeded by the lively dance of Eastern Serbia followed by the ancient "Dumb Dance" of Glamoc, accompanied only by the jingle of the jewellery; the fam[illegible] Macedonian "Teskoto" succeeds the Montenegrin [illegible] lander dances accompanied by singing; in the "Dalma[illegible] jig" the lads swing the girls sweepingly around [illegible] "liyerka" instrument players; in the "Shota" [illegible] audience is impressed by ancient love lore; the pa[illegible] accents of the "Rusalija" evoke the realities of m[illegible] and charm, then followed by five smiling Vojvod[illegible] lads competing in a masterful measure around dag[illegible] stuck in the ground. People and countries unfold bef[illegible] us. Yugoslavio, the land of plains, mountains, [illegible] coasts, the tortured slavery under the Turkish yoke, t[illegible] struggle for freedom and the heroic living traditio[illegible] men, proud, self-confident, exhilarated and susta[illegible] always masters of dance; luxurious costumes of go[illegible] silk and wonderful embroidery; all this and much e[illegible] passes before our wondering eyes to be terminated— usually by two large dance suites. A Serbian an[illegible] Croatian one—whose happy mood and the rapturo[illegible] beauty of form and movement leave an unforgettab[illegible] impression, and a longing to see it all again. For i[illegible] these dances there is nothing artificial, everything i[illegible] genuine, sincere, everything comes straight from th[illegible] heart and therefore conquers the hearts (Brugsch Handelsblad, Brugges). The visit to Switzerland in 1950 was a sensational one; the very next year the "Kolo" won three first prizes at the Festival at Llangollen (Wales), for national dance, for solo national song and for solo national instrument. The Ensemble visited London three times (in 1952 alone 28 performances at

Montenegrin folk dance in traditional costumes

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the Cambridge theatre), Holland and Switzerland; then follows a tour of Belgium, Austria, Greece, Turkey and Western Germany and, in addition to a tour of the whole of France, the "Kolo" gave fifty concerts at the Palais Chaillot in Paris on three occasions.

Unanimous in praise, the foreign critics, many of which are well-known experts in musical folklore, pointed out that the interpretation of national dances was rendered in a perfect form, and with a purity, precision and such a sincere animation that it constituted a great creation of art. "Every dance unfolds a new page of a richly illustrated book on the Balkans and we, like children, acclaim with joy and applaud every new scene, and there is no end to our admiration and wonder"—writes, for instance, the *Duiburger Anzeiger*. Like many others, Cyril Beaumont, the English ballet expert, expressed the opinion that this Ensemble "will do more to bring nations together than a dozen diplomatic conferences." And indeed, youth talent and beauty, happily united in this Ensemble as the guardians of a traditional culture, unwittingly become the instruments of the great longing of humanity for peace, for, by the force of their art, speaking sincerely to all the peoples of the world, they remove the barriers among men and States.—*Yugoslav Embassy Bulletin.*

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SRI SUBRAMANYA BHARATI KAVISWARAM

The Great Tamil Poet of the South

BY NARENDRA DEV

In the vast domain of our poetry it is very difficult to define the position of a multivocal composer like the illustrious Tamil poet Sri Subramanya Bharati Kaviswaram who can be truly described as poetry personified.

From the stories and legendary lores surrounding his wonderful life-history we can easily gather that the Poet lived a divine life. He was well-versed in our sacred ancient literature in which is enshrined the wisdom of ages, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagabat Geeta, etc. He was also fully adept in all the best Kavyas and Puranas of our land. He lived virtually on that supra-mental plane of higher thoughts and ideas which was the preserve of the Rishis and sages of old.

Bharati worshipped Sakti or Mahakali, his great Mother and the Mother of this Universe, as the symbol of the immanent and transcendent force pervading all the creation.

As a poet Subramanya Bharati certainly impresses one with his boldness, his grand and beautiful conceptions, his noble ideas and subtle emotions, his powerful passions and sacred sentiments, his higher inspirations and joyous ecstacies. Going through the English translation of some of his best lyrics I am convinced that he was a poet of a very high order. He was also a popular poet, popular not only with the masses but also with the classes. His poems are easy to follow but they are pregnant with lofty visions and sublime ideals, with scholarly erudition and logical precision, with philosophical outlook and poetic emotion.

Great art is never born without an urge in the artist himself for self-expression. Poet Bharati had that urge. He has expressed himself in the way, a creative genius always does.

He was an ardent lover of freedom. His great zeal for liberty turned him into a revolutionary patriot. He came into the field of literature during the exciting days of the Swadeshi Movement. The Movement was started in Bengal and spread itself in other provinces. It was a political upheaval in India in the early part of the twentieth century. He imbibed the strong and vigorous spirit emanating from the Vedas and the Upanishads. *Nayamatma balaheenena labhya.* This was the teaching of Swami Vivekananda the Sanyasi patriot and saint of Bengal, whose fearless and forceful ideas were followed by Lal, Bal and Pal, the great trio of the independence movement of India.

It is a matter of pride and pleasure for me to find that Subramanya Bharati passed his Entrance Examination from the Calcutta University; and from Bengal, the birthplace of All Freedom Movements, he was initiated in the service of his motherland.

I have learned from my Tamil friends that he has very ably translated the Bhagabat Geeta. He used to write short stories, sketches, articles on social and religious problems, he attempted to write a novel also. Bharati never wrote down his poems till he had made an extempore recitation of the same. He used to sing songs while composing them. This is a very extraordinary talent, and proves his great natural gift in the art of poetry and music.

Bharati's works may be classified under several headings, such as his patriotic songs and heroic sagas, his verses on social and religious inequities, his poems

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of love and romance, his folk-songs and doggerel verses, and verses, almost personal, partaining to God and Nature. The last but not the least is his characteristic compositions based on fragments of the ancient epics.

Let me first refer to his patriotic poems and songs. One of his best poems, "Freedom," should be mentioned at the very outset. In it the poet demands freedom not only from political slavery but also from the very humiliating social tyrannies from which the Panchamas and other Harijans still suffer. The poet sings :

"Freedom ! Freedom ! Freedom !
To the Pariyas, to the Teyas, to the Palayas
Freedom !
To the Paravas, to the Kuravas, to the Maravas
Freedom !"

Freedom was the keynote of all his patriotic songs. Freedom first, freedom second and freedom always. In this poem the poet vigorously implores all his countrymen : "Come ! Let us labour all in the way of Truth and Light. None shall be oppressed." He boldly declares that

"Those who are born in this sacred land are all of noble birth : Let us live like brothers all alike: equality in every walk of life. Man and woman shall have the same privilege in our land. Let us banish all ignorance. Let wealth and learning flow in every corner. In joy and bliss let us live peacefully."

Everyone of us who loves his land of birth and cares for his own people will certainly join in the chorus of the poet's song of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

In the poem "Our Wild Mother," the poet's conception is that Mother India herself is that *Parasakti*, the Force Transcendent, all powerful and irresistible, fierce and inscrutably beautiful. Her spirit is wild. Her consort is Siva, the Great Natarajan who carries the flaming torch of life and dances the cosmic dance which raises waves of melody in the sea of song. The mother rides on the crest of the waves, that causes the woodland to be bright, with blooming buds and divine beauty. She, being drunk with beauty, takes the flowers in both hands and reels on her tripping feet. She sings and the Vedas ring! She conquers death by brandishing the Trident.

The poet's imagination in this poem, though wild, is typically oriental, rather typically Indian. We seldom find any foreign ideas or expressions admitted in his poems. His similies and metaphors are all indigenous and are very unlike those of the modern poets. Again in another poem we hear the poet singing to awake Mother India from her deep slumbers of centuries. He whispers into her ears :

It is dawn,
The dark shade of evil have fled
Routed by our penance,
And the Sun of Light
Has flung his young golden beams across the world.
Thousands and thousands of thy sons
Are gathered here to pay thee homage,
To bless thy name and to serve thee,
How strange that thou should be wrapt in sleep!
Awake Mother ! Awake !

It is a fairly long poem, very beautifully expressed and I feel tempted to quote every fine line of it, but our space is limited and I have to restrain myself very reluctantly.

His poem addressed "To Liberty," though it appears to be a bit of personal reminiscence of his prison life, reveals the poet's strong passion for freedom from all bondage that curbs the natural development of the human soul. In the poet's opinion every success in man's life, his wealth, treasures, good name and fame are of no worth if he is not allowed to breathe in a free land.

Sri Subramaniya Bharati, though he is great in every branch of poetry, certainly excels in his patriotic poems.

As to his verses on social and religious subjects, I would like to mention only a few such as the "Gopi Song," "The Cottager and His Wife," his "Prayer" and his "Conquest," in which his deep reverence for and staunch faith in the gods and goddesses of his land have unquestionably been established. In the "Conquest" the poet has conquered self and come out victorious. In the "Gopi Song," the intense love of the Gopis for Lord Krishna has very cleverly been expressed only in a few simple lines :

"Now along the flowery grove
By the Champak's odorous pile
Eyes made visionful by love
See your deep alluring smile.
Koel's note from tree to tree
Speaks your voice with sweetest smart
And the dark blue rolling sea,
Tells the pushing of your heart."

This is something which we cannot but say wonderful and sublime !

In the poet's "Prayer" to Mother Sakti he entreats her, "Speak, Mother ! Wilt thou deny me strength to live for the great world's betterment ?" He prays on for "a life that regenerates itself ever anew, a life that for ever burns, a will unshaken wedded to its aim, a heart that yearns to sing your praise even if fire consumes the body's frame." Such courageous and dauntless desire can only come from a brave soldier who has dedicated his life to the service of his motherland.

In his poem the "Cottager and His Wife," we are in the midst of a dark and severe stormy night when we overhear the cottager's request to his wife, "Unto the mother let us pray. May her grace save us apace, from the tearing elements' play !" But his wife who has stronger faith in the Divine Will, answers quite unperturbed, "But yesterday in yonder hut where we lay had we stayed tonight, what would have been our fate? It was held by Divine Might ?" Such was the strong faith and implicit trust of the poet in fate or destiny which only the Divine Will rules.

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In his poems which deal with Love and Romance, Bharati has proved himself to be one of the greatest love-poets in our romantic literature, because his love is not only human but also divine.

God is the greatest lover. We find that when the feeling of loneliness came upon the poet it filled his heart with bitterness, but as soon as the sense of his lover's presence dawned on him, it overwhelmed his heart with delight. Thus the realisation of the Great Lover was a matter of infinite joy for him.

His "Love Message" wrings our heart. It reminds us of the beautiful love lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidas, the twin love-bards renowned in Vaishnava literature, who have described so acutely the pangs and pathos of the agonised heart of Sri Radha separated from her divine lover Sri Krishna. In Bharati's poem a girl in her wounded pride and assailed dignity, beseeches her lady-friend and companion to go to her lover and probe into his heart to find out for what fault of hers he has become so indifferent to her and left her to suffer the ignominious sorrows of a heart smitten with pain born of this unbearable separation. In his "To the Beloved," the poet speaks of his intimate relations with the beloved; it transpires at the conclusion of the poem that his beloved is no other than that Great Lover. So it is again repeated, in his poem "Kannanna my Love."

"In the rolling ocean's wave I see thy face
And only thy face in the broad expanse of the sky,
And but thy face in the tiny bubbles' race,
Naught did I see but thy infinite grace!"

In his poems, the "Evening" and the "Tryst," we find the poet appearing in a very different mood. These two fine pieces of poetry are full of passionate but dignified feelings towards the opposite sex. We also find, in these lines, pictures vividly drawn of the delicate feelings and the pleasant warmth of the woman's heart, which are always more human than divine.

His folk-songs and allied verses are highly above the level of the poems by village singers. His word-music in the poem "Rain" is notable. His assertion as to the unparalleled beauty of the Tamil language is worthy of being mentioned here. "Tamil is best and Tamil is lofty."

Bharati's compositions, based on the fragments from the ancient epics are almost epics themselves, as he is more in his own element in these writings. Some of them are much better than the original poems, more artistic and imbued with modern ideas, and as such these have a stronger appeal in them. The best of these tiny episs is "Panchali Sapathan" (The Vow taken by Panchali).

His magnificent poem "The Fire" takes us to the long-lost Ashramas of the old days where the Rishis used to perform *yajnas* by lighting the sacred fire to drive away the Asuras and other evil spirits who were in the habit of constantly disturbing the peace of the Tapovans. This poem appears to be an allegorical one, in which the Asuras seem to be the undesirable alien rulers, and the Rishis the leaders of India's Freedom Movement.

A very powerful and gifted poet as he was, he indulged in composing poems and songs in many different styles and embracing every possible subject. Some of them are mystic, some are symbolic, some are allegorical and some are realistic. A few of his poems can be classified as exclusively personal, such as "The Span of Earth" in which the poet deals with the idyllic picture of the simple life of a poet.

Bharati sacrificed his life to save a deadly frightened girl from the attack of a mad elephant who ran amock on the street. The girl was saved by him but he himself could not escape the rage of that mad beast who killed him on the spot.

Thus at the age of only thirty-nine, ended heroically the glorious career of this great Poet Subramaniya Bharati Kaviswaram, the father and creator of the modern Tamil language and literature.*

* This appreciation is based on the *Voice of the Poet*, an English translation of some of the Poet's best pieces, published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham of Calcutta.

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SWAMI RAMA TIRTHA

By KAILASH NATH BAJPAI

"True religion is not belief in God, but is trust in the good in man"—Swami Rama Tirtha

Among the latter-day saints, Swami Rama Tirtha's hallowed name is one to conjure with. He was a true descendant of the Rishis of yore, *i.e.*, one of those whose noble mission is to direct the faltering steps of a frail humanity heavenward and teach it to walk in the way that leadeth to life.

He may, in a sense, be said to represent the third generation from Paramhamsa Ramakrishna, in direct spiritual lineage. Ramakrishna is a world-renowned saint and needs no introduction to the readers; nor does his brilliant disciple Swami Vivekananda, who galvanised, with the superb wisdom of his Vedantic teaching and marvellous oratory, huge audiences at the magnificent Parliament of Religions in America.

Now, properly speaking, Swami Rama Tirtha, the proud Prince Rose in the garden of spirituality and saintliness, in the renowned Land of the Five Rivers was no disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Saints, like the proverbial poets, are born, not made. They are of God's own anointed ones. Rama Tirtha had caught the wholesome, generous infection from, and been under the special pupilage of, his friend and spiritual mentor and guide Dhanna Bhakta; but it is no less a fact that it was his meeting, at Lahore, Vivekananda, when the latter toured the Punjab, that proved the determining factor in, and set the seal on, the ultimate choice of Rama's vocation in life. He found his life-mission in the service of his country—rather humanity at large—by way of spiritual ministry. Like all Mahatmas of old, he realised that if it was gallant to rescue a man from drowning or even from the gallows, it was nobler to save mankind being submerged in the *Bhava Sagar* (the ocean of worldly Evil and Temptation); and to lead people to Heaven. And the contact with Swami Vivekananda crystallised his resolution, and made him definitely discover his manhood and full spiritual stature. Though in fairness to him it must be allowed that he was, by then, already in excellent making and had, so to say, gone more than half way to meet the brilliant disciple of Ramakrishna.

As pertinent to this point, it may be recalled that in November 1897, Swami Vivekananda visited Lahore and spent about a week there. He delivered many lectures, but the others faded into insignificance before the one in Vedanta delivered by him, at the instance of the young enthusiast Rama Tirtha, in a circus-pandal. The place was chosen, as being considered sufficient to accommodate the huge gathering that was anticipated and since a better one, equally suitable, could not be arranged for, at the moment. Vivekananda's divine eloquence, "burning renunciation, indomitable strength, dynamic personality and gigantic intellect made a deep impression on the packed audience. Swami Rama, too, was profoundly moved and stirred to his spiritual depths.

The visit of Vivekananda, no doubt, strengthened the silent ambition of the youthful Swami Rama to lead the dedicated life of a monk and to go round the world, preaching Vedanta and propagating light, like Vivekananda.

The association of the two revered names, we mean those of Vivekananda and Rama Tirtha, tempts one to compare the two transcendental, fiery and flame-like personalities. It must be conceded that in literary scholarship and command of formal platform-oratory Vivekananda excelled. Such accidental inferiority, however, is practically immaterial in the case of a spiritual philosopher, a seeker after Truth, one keen to pierce the thick veil of *Maya, i.e.*, illusion and to attain "self-realization." The parallel of Tulasi and Kabir is a case in point. In spite of the abysmal difference between their respective learning, in the accepted sense, both pursued apparently separate ways, but equally successfully attained the common goal. Here, too, of course, Rama Tirthaji was well-versed in Vedantic, Sufi, and mystic philosophy. Verses from the Vedas and Upanishads, as well as lines from Persian poet-philosophers like, let us say, Maulana Roomi and Shamse-i-ab Hafiz and Omar, would, during his discourse, trip triumphantly from his eloquent lips. Even otherwise the seeming inferiority of Rama was more than made up in the superior, crystal-clear magnetic current that gushed forth from the powerful personality of Swami Rama and had its inexhaustible source in the fount of Vedantic doctrine, of which he had drunk long and deep. So that he ever seemed inebriated by the heady wine of spiritual exaltation, which framed his fascinating face with the nimbus of a dazzling glow and glory. But both were "great and honourable" men of dynamic soulforce all compact.

We do not propose to deal herein, with the spiritual equipment and soul-loftiness, or the self-realization attained by Swami Rama Tirtha but just to afford a fugitive glimpse of my lively and unfading recollection of the saint's short visit to the historic city of Lucknow.

On September 1, 1905, Rama came down to the plains and after touring Bengal and Bihar reached Lucknow early in October. He was accompanied by his chief disciple Narain Swami and some others of the celestial band. He, with his party, was the guest of the revered B. Ganga Prasad Verma, the well-known editor and a prominent and highly popular public man. Sirdar Verma was a man of arduous application and a prodigious worker, but Rama proved a greater giant and easily eclipsed B. Ganga Prasad's multiform astounding activity. Swamiji spent about a fortnight here.

Every morning hosts of college students flocked to the Advocate Library to greet the dawning day with

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melodious chants of *Om* in chorus with Rama. Thereafter, he would go out with his host for a walk. On returning, after a hurried bath and frugal repast, Rama met the waiting crowd, discussing and discoursing, which kept him busy during the greater part of the day. The afternoons were invariably devoted to addressing meetings of students in Colleges and High Schools. After five p.m. the people of Lucknow irrespective of caste and creed, age or sex, gathered in thousands on the spacious satiny lawns of Kaiserbagh, under the magnificent canopy of the heavens, with the dazzling October sun scorching their keen faces, squatted on the ground, waiting with eager impatience the appearance of Rama; to be blessed with his *Darshan* and to drink in, with avidity, the nectarine flow of unstudied but commanding eloquence from the inspired lips of the Mahatma.

The sweet reverberating hum, as of a myriad bees, from the southern gate of Kaiserbagh, electrifying the audience with anticipatory delight and fervid enthusiasm, announced the approach of the saint, with his pupils and band of admirers, forming a sort of a select bridal-party, with Swami Rama, vowed to life-long celebacy, as the bridgeroom. An answering roar of *Om* went forth, as if to exorcise all vestige of evil from Lucknow. Rama surrounded by a number of saffron-clad, clean-shaven Sanyasins would suddenly emerge as if from nowhere, from behind the adjoining cluster of bushes and ascend the platform. On the one hand, the sun was setting behind red clouds and on the other, Rama's beaming benignant face and his body swathed in ochre-coloured garb, showed as if a rival sun had arisen. Rama began with the invariable singsong *Om*, the *Sadhus* bearing company and the congregation in sweet self-abandonment joined the swelling chorus that rose incense-wise heavenward, as a prayerful offering, from the altar of so many devout hearts, in thanksgiving for the right rare privilege of a *Darshan* of the saint. And in the over-wrought state of the mind and the atmosphere one might have been excused for the vivid imagining that, some distance behind and around, the gold-washed walls of Kaiserbagh looked like serried closed ranks of giant *beragis* echoing and re-echoing the sound *Om*, with the silent melody of their own. When the mounting, exultant intoxication had attained culmination, Rama would, at the tense, psychological moment open his lips, touched with the true Promethean fire, and veritable elixir streamed forth in an apparantly ceaseless current. It was a sight and an occasion for the very gods and angles to rejoice over. This would go on literally for hours. The enraptured audience sat entranced under the spell, and the Swami, delivering under inspiration, unpriced pearls of wisdom which Solomon himself would have envied, equally oblivious, lost all count of the passage of time. After a seeming peroration, he would again pick up the thread and weave out a fresh pattern of a pleasing picturesqueness kaleidoscopically different from its predecessor, He was a peerless weaver of spells and it was a wonderful improvisation. He would suddenly come to a stop as he had started, and the procession would return to escort him back home, at his host's residence, usually late enough to find his host in bed, while the guest found fresh claimants on his attention. But who can say what divine, exhaustless energy animated the Swami who would tackle the waiting visitors, and retire to rest usually after midnight and sometimes in the small hours of the morning, to resume his programme early, the next day.

His lectures and talks were always suited to the intellectual as well as the spiritual level of the audience and with his inimitable tact he had always something or other to say to appease the soul hunger of almost every single unit in the assembly, who should not have been far wrong if he considered that the discourse had been deliberately designed specifically for his particular behoof.

He never posed to be superior to the basic physical needs of the normal individual. He never boasted of powers to perform miracles, nor did he ever pretend to be above the common laws of Nature which he respected; though when the mood possessed him he would claim them to be subject to his *Will* and their operation, a process of his own ordering. While addressing students he particularly insisted on their holding their bodies as something as sacred as their souls. He favoured and advocated a harmonious evolution of human personality on all planes, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. He himself used to take regular exercise. So that, even physically, he was always in fine mettle, which contributed not a little to the magnificent perfection and balance of his mysterious, many-sided and magically magnetic personality.

Recalling some of the simpler aspects of his teaching we have already quoted under the title of this article, the substance of his moral teaching, raised to the level of a regular religious sentiment, *viz.*, "Religion is not belief in God but is trust in the good in man," a text suitable to be prominently displayed in the meeting hall of the UNO. If those attending the meetings, frankly and honestly, treated it as a religious, moral and political tenet, about half of their vexing problems would, automatically, be solved.

As to religion proper, for the average householder, he said something in a public lecture, held in Victoria Park, to the following effect:

What God asks of us is our Faith and Love, that faith which comes as much from the heart, as from the head. Mere persuasion, mere conviction is of little value in His sight. The most assured results of argument and reasoning, as long as they spring merely from our minds, remain outside our real selves and supply no power to influence our character. What God wishes to see in us, is that faith which may spring, indeed, from the head, but whose home is in our heart, in our spirit, that faith which is not indeed opposed to our

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reason, but goes beyond into a region that is open to love, but closed to naked thought; that faith which can pierce beyond experience, beyond sight, and make real to us things that we hope for, and test the things that we have not seen and cannot see.

He was not one of the highbrows and spiritual bullies who by means of their oratory and argument, sophistry and subtlety, compel a possibly unwilling, sympathetic conviction and forcibly silence all doubt.*

* I must thank P. Brijnath Sharga Saheb Sharga, M.A., LL.B., a senior member of the Lucknow Bar, for allowing me to draw upon his brilliant biography of Swami Rama Tirtha, which those interested will find not merely, eminently delightful reading, but a real mine of information and inspiration.—K. N. Bajpai.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Portraits of Contemporary Men and Women"

To The Editor, *The Modern Review*,

Sir,—I have made the appeal before, and do so again, that our talented artists should record in adequate aesthetic forms the visages of our contemporary men and women, the makers of our modern history, our political leaders, and the leaders of thought in the realm of Art, Science and Literature. Whatever little that has been done, has been done in Bengal, the artists of the other provinces are too much engrossed in experiments in "isms" to look around them and to take any notice of our great contemporary personalities. The first move in this direction was made by Mukul De years ago with his *Twelve Portraits*, recording in impromptu pencil-sketches Sir Asutosh, Sir P. C. Ray and other great personalities. Then came Sri Pulin B. Dutt (of Bombay) with his series of portraits of Mahatma Gandhi. But the Father of the Nation and Pandit Nehru have not been immortalized in worthy effigies, though frequently caricatured in hasty and irresponsible sketches. They have been painted by non-Indian artists, but our national artists have not been able to give us masterly studies of these great men. Sarojini Naidu has passed into immortal life without being immortalized in any masterly portrait. In England, most of the contemporary leaders are represented in the National Portrait Gallery, and galaxy of able portrait-painters have paid their national homage to their national heroes and heroines. The contemporary portraits from the brush of Sir William Rothenstein are striking examples of this fulfilment of a national duty. The recent portrait of Dr. Radhakrishnan by Elizabeth Brunner shown in the Delhi Exhibition in January last, though not a great masterpiece, has been a serious study by a competent and versatile artist. But we should like our national leaders to be immortalized by our national artists.

The Moghul and the Rajput portrait-painters have left wonderful portrait-galleries of nearly all the great contemporary figures of their times. Most of them are masterpieces in the field of portrait-painting. It is said that our great leaders seldom commission our talented painters to paint their portraits, they probably expect that the artists should work *free* in order to fulfil a national duty. There is a movement on foot to remove the portraits of foreigners which now 'decorate' the walls of our Raj-Bhavans and to replace them by effigies of our great leaders. This is a movement in the right direction. But the commissions should be divided amongst a number of artists so that most of our artists could get a chance to present proofs of their talents.

Oil portraits are expensive ventures sometimes beyond the resources of the members of our middle-class society now on the verge of poverty. To meet this situation one could suggest that our artists should develop a school of miniature-portraits, so that men of moderate means could commission them. It is a pity that the talents of our artists are going to waste and are not utilized to record in worthy aesthetic presentations most of the leading figures in our social and political life. They are only represented in banal photographs, the machine-made abominations of the modern age.

The recent exhibition of Japanese colour-prints have also a relevant lesson to us. There were numerous fine masterpieces of portraits of popular actors of the Japanese stage. Why cannot our talented portrait-painters immortalize the darlings of our stage and cinema in superlative forms of beauty, demonstrated by the artists of the Ukiyoye School. If the artists do not come forward on their own initiative, the management of our stage-plays, who are running hundreds of nights of popular plays, could come forward to commission artists to paint the heroes and heroines in worthy aesthetic forms. The banal habit to commemorate our contemporary life, through mechanical or "art" photographs, must be replaced by hand-made presentations in worthy pictorial forms.

Yours faithfully,
O. C. GANGOLY

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PLANNING FOR THE "SOCIALISTIC PATTERN"

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The informal meeting of the A.-I.C.C. held in Delhi on the 3rd and 4th of September was unique in several ways. It was, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the Congress that we met informally in a business-like manner to thrash out issues of national importance, particularly about the economic development of the country. The splitting up of the meeting into three sub-committees was also a new procedure in Congress meetings. These sub-committees worked for the whole day and reached a number of important conclusions after serious discussion. On the next day the reports of the sub-committees were presented to the full meeting of the A.-I.C.C. After discussion these reports were referred to the Congress Working Committee for further consideration and necessary action. The A.-I.C.C. meeting in Delhi was a systematic attempt to work out the details of the "Socialistic Pattern of Society" which we had resolved to establish in India at the Avadi Session of the Congress in January last. The nature and content of the Second Five-Year Plan has to be viewed in the light of our new objective.

The report of the sub-committee on the 'Plan-Frame,' presided over by the Union Planning Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, made it very clear that the main objective of the Second Five-Year Plan should be the achievement of fuller employment in the country through the development of small-scale, village and cottage industries, on a very large scale. It also laid stress on creating a suitable atmosphere in the country for increasing tax resources for additional development projects. Unless an atmosphere of equality of opportunity and of sacrifice was created in the country, it would be difficult to secure the necessary finances for the Second Five-Year Plan. Special attention should be paid to the needs of the under-developed sections of the population and the requirements of backward areas and regions. The need for securing public co-operation in a large measure through local bodies and village Panchayats was also stressed. Attention was drawn to the necessity of building up basic industries and the development of transport and communications on an adequate scale for achieving proper distribution of increased production of consumer goods in the country. The report emphasised the need for the reform of the educational system on the basic pattern and pointed out the urgency of training the required personnel for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan in different sectors of national economy. The report of the Committee on Village Industries and Co-operation, presided over by Shri Vaikunthlal Mehta, dealt with the question of organising industrial co-operatives throughout the country in order to produce the necessary consumer goods in the decentralised sector. It also gave certain concrete suggestions for evolving common production programmes in regard to cloth, hand-pounding of rice, edible oils, tanning and footwear so that unnecessary and unhealthy conflict between the large-scale and small-scale industries may be eliminated. The report of the third Committee on Organisational matters, presided by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, gave several valuable suggestions for the revitalisation of the Congress Committees which have to be toned up for serving as an effective instrument towards the attainment of the Socialistic Pattern of Society. The reports of the sub-committees on the Second Five-Year Plan and Village Industries and Co-operation will now be considered both by the Planning Committee of the Congress as well as the Planning Commission so that the details of the Second Five-Year Plan may be worked out in the light of the various suggestions contained in the reports. We would, however, like to draw pointed attention to certain aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan so that there may be no misconceptions about our basic policies.

Firstly, it must be constantly kept in view that the Second Five-Year Plan has to be in the nature of a definite step towards the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society in the country. This means that during the next five years, we should be able to tackle the problem of unemployment, more particularly of the educated unemployed, quite effectively. While due emphasis has to be laid on the development of basic industries, the need for developing small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country cannot be over-emphasised.

Secondly, systematic attempts have to be made for providing equal opportunities to all sections of the population in regard to their social and economic progress. With this aim in view, glaring social and economic inequalities have to be reduced considerably during the next five years. There must be balanced development of the urban and rural areas. There should also be equality in taxation so that incidence of additional taxation may be just and equitable on the richer and poorer sections of the population. The recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Commission

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about bringing down economic disparities to the level of 1 : 30 has to be constantly kept in view. If possible, we should try to bring down these disparities to the level to 1 : 20 during the next ten years.

Thirdly, the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan should not result in excessive bureaucratisation. We have to remember that planning under democracy can be successful only if adequate initiative is left in the hands of the public. We have to plan from the bottom upwards and not impose our plans from the top through a centralised bureaucracy. The need for developing the village Panchayat system in the countries, is, therefore, very obvious.

Fourthly, special attention will have to be paid to the integration of our educational system with the developmental projects. We know that a number of schemes under the First Five-Year Plan have not been completed for want of adequate trained personnel. This mistake must not be repeated in the Second Five-Year Plan. The Union as well as the State Governments will have to plan from now about providing the necessary training in different spheres for speedy and effective implementation of the next Plan.

Fifthly, the need for giving the highest priority to the felt-needs of the backward sections of population and scarcity areas should be constantly borne in mind. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of "Unto This Last" cannot be overlooked in the process of building up a socialistic pattern. For example, the slums in cities, particularly in Delhi, must be liquidated in a substantial measure during the next five years.

And lastly, the system of administration has to be reformed in such a manner that the people may have full confidence in the efficiency and integrity of the machinery for planning. It would be impossible to generate an atmosphere of confidence in the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan, if the people do not seriously feel that the additional taxes raised from them would be spent by the administration in an honest and economical manner. It is true that the prevalence of inefficiency and corruption in the services is often exaggerated and is, therefore, unfair. But the fact remains that there is enough scope for improvement in this direction.

We should also draw particular attention of the national planners towards the problem of Land Reforms in the country. Although some progress has been made in regard to the introduction of progressive land reforms in India during the last five years, much still remains to be done. One basic principle which should be kept in mind in regard to land reforms is that the basic of ownership of land should be essentially labour and not capital. The Congress has always stated that the land should belong to the tillers of the soil and not to those who live on land by merely investing capital. From this point of view all those who are resuming land for "self-cultivation" without putting in certain amount of labour of their family cannot be allowed to enjoy the fruits of land for long. Even living in the village for supervising cultivation is not enough. Land is a gift of nature and not the creation of human labour. It is fundamentally different from other commodities like factory goods. Land, therefore, should belong only to those who are prepared to work on it "with the sweat of their brow". Casual labour may be employed by the land-owning families at the time of special agricultural processes like ploughing, weeding and harvesting; but merely managing or supervising farm cultivation should not be regarded as an adequate condition for the ownership of land. Moreover, attempts should be made to evolve a system of land cultivation in which the village community gradually occupies a key position. Acharya Vinobaji's Bhoodan movement has now entered a new and revolutionary phase of *Gram Dan* in which the whole village community surrenders its land for equitable redistribution. This phase of Bhoodan movement should be carefully studied by the Planning Commission in order to evolve a new pattern of land-ownership and cultivation in India.

But economic equalities have to be brought about in both the rural and urban sectors. The imposition of the Estate Duty, the reform of the Managing Agency System, steeper Income Tax, etc., are steps in the right direction for scaling down inequalities in the urban sector. We have to remember, however, that all these economic reforms have to be introduced through peaceful and democratic processes. The Socialistic Pattern of Society in India must have its foundations on truth, non-violence and persuasion rather than on methods involving falsehood, violence and coercion. In the ultimate analysis, real national planning involves the planning of national character. The success of economic planning in India would ultimately depend upon the quality of men and women who participate in this mighty adventure of building up a new, prosperous and progressive India.

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KASHMIR

By Prof. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

Kashmir, the traditional land of saffron, of the stately deodar, of idyllic peace and romantic charm, has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan for seven years and more. Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz has traced the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the present day in a nicely printed, bulky volume of more than 700 pages with a de-luxe get-up.* The publishers' blurb says, "The author has masterfully presented the problem (of Kashmir) in a lucid and refreshing manner. His analysis of the accession issue is objective and dispassionate." We too certainly congratulate the author on his style and manner of presentation. We cannot however regard his performance as 'objective' and 'dispassionate.'

The history of Kashmir, according to Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*, begins in 2450 B.C. when Gonanda I laid the foundation of monarchy in Kashmir. It formed a part of the dominion of the Imperial Haryas of Magadha, who were the first non-Kashmiri rulers of the valley of Kashmir. Buddhism, introduced by Asoka Maurya, produced revolutionary changes in the political, social and cultural life of Kashmir.

Kashmir threw off the Maurya yoke after the death of Asoka. It formed a part of the Kushana empire later on. It was a stronghold of Buddhism under the Kushana in the first and second centuries A.D. The Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Kanishka. Attempts to revive Brahmanism in the post-Kushana period resulted in the evolution of a new religious philosophy in the long run. This is Kashmiri Shaivism, also known as Trika Shaivism, which is a synthesis of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

The Hunas held sway over Kashmir for a time in the early 6th century A.D. The Huna Chief, Mihirgula, son of Toramana, was a heartless tyrant and is called *trikotita* (slayer of three crores). He persecuted the Buddhists and built Shiva temples and Brahmanical monasteries.

Lalitaditya Muktapida (695—732 A.D.) is one of the greatest kings of Kashmir. He was a great conqueror. He raised his country to the height of glory. Never before was Kashmir so great and powerful. The ruins of the temple at Martanda near Anantanag and of his city of Panihasapura, fourteen miles from Srinagar, bear eloquent testimony to the greatness of Lalitaditya. That greatness was, however, built upon the miseries of his people. While the king and the nobility rolled in luxury, "the food of the common people was rice and *hakh* (*Sans. shaka*)." Lalitaditya was a drunkard and followed Machiavellian principles in the administration of the country. His death was followed by a period of confusion during which his empire felt to pieces. Avantivarman, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 855 A.D., tried to improve the condition of the people culturally and socially. Effective steps were taken to control the floods, which devastated Kashmir valley every year. The history of Kashmir after the death of Avantivarman (884 A.D.) is dark, dismal and, at times almost sickening. We read, for example, of the unscrupulous Queen Didda, who was the defacto ruler of Kashmir for more than 50 years (950—1003 A.D.). So great was her lust for power that to make her own position secure she procured the murder of two of her grandsons. She imprisoned a third for disobedience.

The unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015 marks the end of the ancient period of the history of Kashmir. Women were highly respected in ancient Kashmir. Seclusion of women was unknown. Queens of Kashmir, such as Yashovati, Sugandha and Didda, excelled as rulers. Kalhan speaks of women leaders of the army. The Supreme Council composed of ministers and feudal lords acted as a brake on the autocratic authority of kings. The Council could even make and unmake kings. Life was simple and, land, the only source of production. Ten per cent of the yield was the king's share. Slavery as such was not practised. The common man, however, was more or less a serf of the feudal landlord.

Ancient Kashmir was a great seat of art and learning. Hiuen Tsang, who visited the land in the middle of the 7th century A.D., observes that the Kashmiris were educated and lovers of learning. The earliest religion of Kashmir was an amalgam of Naga worship and the Vedic religion. Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Confucianism also played a part in the religoius life of ancient Kashmir. Buddhism was introduced in the 3rd century B.C. Kashmir Shaivism replaced Buddhism later on. Ancient Kashmir produced a number of great intellectuals. Patanjali, the great grammarian and Charaka, the great physician,

* *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*—Cultural and Political—From the Earliest Times to the Present Day: Prem Nath Bazaz. Published by Kashmir Publishing Company, 122, Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi. Price Rs. 20.

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are believed by some to have been Kashmiris. Kashmir also made considerable progress in the domains of art and literature.

Rinchen, a Buddhist prince of Ladakh, who had taken shelter in Kashmir, seized the throne in or about 1319 A.D. He embraced Islam and took the name of Sadar-ud-din. The Hindu rule, restored for a time after his death in 1322, was finally overthrown in 1339 A.D. by Shah Mir, a Muslim from the Swat Valley. Muslims, it should be noted, did not enter Kashmir as conquerors or plunderers. The Muslim rule was established with the help of the Hindus. To quote Sir Aurel Stein, "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest."

Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D. The Mughal rule lasted till 1752 when Kashmir passed into the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali.

The 500 years between the fall of the Hindu power and the Mughal conquest constitute an important land-mark in the history of Kashmir. Saints and seers like Lalla or Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-ud-din (Nund Rishi) preached Religious Humanism, which was the basis of the Kashmir State and polity throughout the medieval period. Persian ousted Sanskrit from its place of honour and finally became the court language under the Mughals. Sanskrit, however, did not die out. Literary activities were considerable. Sanskrit as well as Persian were the medium of contemporary Kashmiri literature. Women also contributed their quota to the literary output. They had however lost much of their freedom. Most of the arts and crafts that flourish in Kashmir today owe their origin to the Muslim kings, particularly to Zain-ul-Abidin (Bud Shah), 1413—1470 A.D. He also introduced the use of fire-arms in Kashmir and employed a foreign expert to teach their use to the army.

Kashmir and the Kashmiris were not happy under the Mughals. Their cup of misery and humiliation was full under the Afghans. The country was economically ruined. Its womanhood was shamelessly dishonoured.

The Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir in 1814 A.D. The invasion was rolled back. Invited by the Kashmiris themselves, Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir for a second time in 1819 A.D. and drove out the effete Afghans. The new rulers of Kashmir were no less "cruel, rapacious, short-sighted, intolerant and fanatical than the Afghans." A European visitor to the valley in 1824 observes:

"The Sikhs looked upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh was punished with a fine to the Government from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four were paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two if he was a Muhammadan."

The Kashmiris, the children of the soil, were victims of extortion and exploitation in all forms and varieties. The Kashmiri army was disbanded. Recruitment of the Kashmiris to the army had been already stopped by the Afghans. The Sikhs followed the Afghan precedent. Kashmir lay prostrate at the conqueror's feet.

Kashmir passed into the hands of Gulab Singh, the Dogra Raja of Jammu, and an influential noble of Lahore Court at the end of the first Sikh War in 1846. The Dogras ruled the country no better than the Afghans or the Sikhs. People suffered from want of food, clothes, medicines and education. They literally broke their backs. Almost everything was taxed. Bribery was rampant and openly practised. The Kashmiris were shamelessly discriminated against. The Muslims, who constitute 78 per cent of the population, were the worst sufferers.

The oppression had its inevitable re-action. There were at first faint murmurs against the government's oppression and exploitation. They grew and grew in volume till at last the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference came into existence in 1932. The conference was frankly a communal organisation. Its conversion into the National Conference on June 11, 1939, is the starting-point of organised nationalism in Kashmir. The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah soon came under the influence of the Indian National Congress. Kashmir was awake. A literary renaissance at the same reflected the hopes and aspirations of the submerged humanity of Kashmir.

Kashmir was invaded by tribal and Pakistani raiders in October, 1947. They looted and burned, killed maimed and raped as they advanced. Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to the newly created Dominion of India. The Indian army reached Kashmir not a day too soon to save it from the fanatical raiders. The enemy's progress was halted. In January, 1948 India complained to the Security Council against Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh had in the meanwhile run away from his capital Srinagar. The National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah came to power. Sheikh Abdullah fell from power in August, 1953 and was succeeded by Bakshi Golam Mohammad, his second in command. A part of Kashmir has constituted itself into an Azad Kashmir. It is in the grip of Muslim communalists, enjoys the patronage of Pakistan and stubbornly refuses to fall in line with the rest of Kashmir.

Mr. Bazaz narrates the above story at great length in very readable English and with distinctly anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani bias. It is not clear why he gave the name of *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* to the volume under review. We have more serious complaints against the author.

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inaccuracies and misstatements deprive his work of much of its value as a historical treatise. Thus, according to Mr. Bazaz, Emperor Asoka conquered Kashmir and reigned from 274 B.C. to 237 B C. (p. 5). He quotes Kalhan in one place and says that Gonanda I ascended the throne of Kashmir in 2450 B.C. (p. 5). He speaks in another place of the rise of the Gonanda dynasty at the end of the Saka rule (p. 8). Many we fear, will not accept the learned author's view that

"The rule of the Muslims came as a blessing not only politically but intellectually and spiritually . . . politics had dehumanised Kashmiris; Islam made them men again" (p. 49).

Raja Man Singh, the famous general of Akbar, is said to have committed suicide in 1586 A.D. (p. 70). In the author's opinion, Pakistan is as much a secular State as India (p. 372). Instances may be multiplied. Reference may be made, for example, to pp. 76, 92 and 125.

Foreigners were invited on several occasions in the past by the Kashmiri leaders "to save the people from tyranny." Mr. Bazaz supports their conduct on the ground that they preferred 'freedom' (!) to 'independence' (p 125). Strange logic! Are Mirzafar & Co. entitled to the gratitude of posterity?

We are taken out of our breath by the statement that three years of Congress rule (1937-39) in eight out of the eleven British Indian provinces "fired the Muslim intelligentsia with a spirit of Muslim nationalism" and that the Muslim intelligentsia in 1939 "were thinking of having a separate organisation of their own to ventilate their grievances against the Congress Raj as well as British Imperialism" (pp. 172-73). Mr. Bazaz, we feel, has hanged, drawn and quartered Dame History in the fewest possible words.

The learned author has hardly a kind word to say about any one of his well-known contemporaries in India. No man, we admit, can be above criticism. The pity, however, is that the author's language is often unrestrained and undignified. The reader's attention is drawn in particular to his remarks on and insinuation against Shri Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Does 'Envy' really 'hate the excellence it cannot reach?'

Mr. Bazaz does not regard Kashmir as a part of India. Indians are foreigners in his eyes. Time and again he speaks of the Kashmiri culture, religion, philosophy and the like. But can Kashmiris claim to have any culture which is not essentially Indian? He is profuse in his profession of love for Kashmir. But he has not many words to condemn the tribal-*cum*-Pakistan raiders who wrought havoc in the smiling valley of Kashmir in 1947. Patriotism without a love for the compatriots is hypocrisy or self-delusion.

Time and again we come across such expressions as Hindu Imperialism, Indian Imperialism, Imperialist India, Expansionist India, Reactionary and Imperialist Hindu India and the like. The author holds that India's secularism is spurious, her nationalism fraudulent. "Nationalism of the Congress and communalism of the League are," according to Mr. Bazaz, "identical creeds. The former is the Nationalism of the Hindus and the latter Nationalism of the Muslims" (p. 376). He would have us believe that India is "culturally backward" (p. 376). Is she? We would like to draw the author's attention to a recent statement of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane in which the professor observes that in India "one has the absolute impression of being in a highly civilised community."

It is a pity that a volume, which bears an unmistakable stamp of its author's diligence and scholarship, has been deprived of almost all its value by misstatements, misinterpretations and the author's inability in not a few cases to see beyond his nose. One reason is that much of what has been narrated in the volume under reference is the part of a story, "a story which the Fates are still telling." It is, therefore, only natural that the author himself, a somewhat important character in that story, could not rise above passions and prejudices. He should have waited till the atmosphere was cleared of the heat and dust of current controversies.

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A NEW ERA IN ARCHAEOLOGY

By MANINDRANATH SENGUPTA,
Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

The gradual development and progress of modern science make the common people very much conscious of what lies still behind the curtain. It is rather a duty of science to let the people be aware of what they should be aware of, to let the people know what they do not know, to let them have the opportunity to get acquainted with those things which still lie beyond their imagination. Archaeology is one of the most important branches of that science. Archaeology helps people to be acquainted with the relics, remains and records of antiquity. What was the old civilisation and culture of an ancient country, say of Babylon or Greece, what was the exact life in those ancient countries in those old days, may we not have a little knowledge about that in the present days? Yes, we may have. There is archaeology, go and take its help, you will find the answer. That is the technique. Now, as a devotee of that great science of archaeology, I like to state something, relate a little experience that I gathered during my past excavation in Sind.

In India, Archaeology has developed to a great extent. In particular, I may refer to the potteries in ancient India, of which people came to know many things from our Mahenjodaro excavation. Now, to say something of the potteries. The most peculiar point which strikes me regarding the potteries in ancient India is 'the introduction of ceramic colours in the ancient potteries of India.' The most striking fact is regarding the texture and colours used in potteries, beginning from ancient times right up to the modern age, and I like to draw attention of the archaeologists of India to this aspect.

It was several years ago, when I was busy with the Sind Excavation. I accompanied the late Nanigopal Mazumdar and we arranged some trial diggings in the various sites of Sind. When I went to Hyderabad (Sind), I was lucky enough to get the information that on the other side of the river Indus there is situated a place called Hala, and pottery industry is still prevalent over there exactly as in Mahenjodaro. It was rather my curiosity which took me there, and I watched with great attention the types of potteries which they used to prepare. After noting them very carefully, it struck me that the potteries, prepared there, have a strange resemblance with those in Mahenjodaro. The red slips and black paints are exactly the same both in Hala and in Mahenjodaro, the only point of difference is with regard to the motifs and wares. This resemblance in spite of the point of difference attracted me strongly and I liked to examine their techniques and the colours they use. So I visited their factories and had an opportunity to look to their colour-vats. After noting them it was my belief that they at Hala were using some metallic oxides collected from natural ores. And these ores were compounded with sand clays with a little adhesive. Adhesives used by them were mainly *bihidana*, which were nothing but gelatinous seeds. Observing these compounds of colours and slips it struck me that these are nothing but ceramic colours.

During the excavation in different places of Sind I had a good number of collection of potteries and I marked certain very important properties in them, *viz.*,

(1) The colour and slips are not faded.
(2) They (the colours and slips) stand weather-wearing.
(3) They are in excellent preservation, except in the cases, where the action of salt is brought on.

Now it is my turn to request all the readers to mark the second property stated above very carefully. You all know that vegetative colours and aneline dyes cannot stand weather-wearing. Now, at this stage, will it not be my inference that the colours and the slips in those potteries are not vegetative colours? You may guess that it will be exactly so.

Now let us look to the third property. I request you all, to mark the line 'except in the cases where the action of salt is brought on' very carefully. The immediate question, which comes to our mind is what is the action of salt on the colours and slips. To answer that, I had a number of examinations to carry on, and I got the answer. The action of salt on the body of the pottery is vigorous, leaving the paint and slips. Particularly, the reverse portion, where there is no paint or slip, is more affected. These points led me to research works.

I came to the Indian Museum, and started studying in Geological Galleries. I used to study the various ceramic colours and its oxides by which the colour is made. There, I started analysing the potteries from Mohenjodaro and other sites of Sind. Analysis showed that my idea regarding the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, came to be true; it was also found that in each case, there is a percentage of silicate and metallic oxide. I was confirmed in my idea to some

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extent. This confirmation greatly excited me and I went on analysing potteries after potteries from different parts of India, of different periods, varying from Calcholithic to Maurya, and lastly, followed by Islamic period. This analysis revealed a very interestitng fact to me that there is a good percentage of Caoline composition similar to that of porcelen of modern age. I carried on my analysis with vase fragments, bangle fragments, etc., which were mainly considered so far as fiance (fiance is a soft stone of pale green colour, a rocky substance), and there is the result.

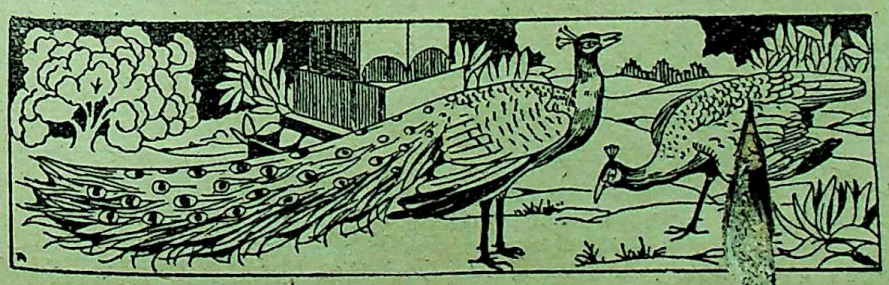
The substance under observation is a vase fragment (exhibited in the Indian Museum, N.S. 4537—A 470). After examination I found that there is a distinct mark of joining two portions together into one. Examination showed that the mark is nothing but a cement lining. The work is done in a way as if to connect the two in one, and the mass is made homogeneous in the outer border by fusion. Another interesting fact to watch is the presence of a linen impression inside. Wherefrom this linen impression comes inside? Had the substance been a rocky one like fiance, how was it possible to get the impression sketched inside? Despite all these questions, if any one calls the substance a fiance, I can but only pity him. After so much conclusive data, a child even can understand that the substance is not a fiance, but it must be something like clay. The lining of cement, the impression of linen are possible only in the primary stage of clay before fusion. Further, it was noted that in the outer border of this substance a glaze is present. The glaze is sufficient to prove the existence of silicate. Otherwise, in the absence of heavy percentage of silicate this glaze is never possible. This observation was followed by chemical analysis and it was found that there is a heavy percentage of silicate (SiO_2-87.84%) and aluminium, the composition being almost similar to that of Caoline.

This experiment with the vase fragment is rather sufficient to confirm my idea about the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, and that the so-called idea of fiance (the vase fragments and bangle fragments) is wrong and those are actually some clay works.

Now, regarding the period of existence of these bangle fragments and the vase fragments, it was found that these belong to the calcholithic period ranging from 3500 B.C. as they were found along with the chert flakes and other pre-historic objects in Mahenjodaro. In Mahenjodaro, there were other finds, existing in the later period, and these were excavated by the great archaeologist, the late Rakhaldas Bandopadhyaya, the discoverer of that site. In the *stupa* site the antiquities discovered on the first layer were found to belong to the Kushan period. Among those, there were a lot of potteries and painted pottery fragments. In the outer border, these fragments showed same resemblence with those in the Calcholithic period regarding the glaze. The glaze textures of these later findings were again analysed, and a strange fact came to light. Analysis showed a presence of a good percentage of silicate (SiO_2-48.64%) with colour. The difference between the substances in the two periods—Calcholithic and Kushan, turned a good focus to the world. It was found that in the findings of the later period, the percentage of silicate is higher than that of the former period. The immediate conclusion is that the ceramic industry has not grown abruptly, but is a gradual development from the early, primary stage onwards.

This gradual change and the advancement were recorded from other evidences. The texture of the pottery in the later period were found to be different from those in the earlier period. Husks were used along with clay in order to exert greater heat required to melt the silicate having a greater percentage. The actual analysis of the percentage showed a variation of 5 to 10 per cent in the Calcholithic period, and of 48 to 50 per cent in the Kushan period.

My idea of 'the introduction of ceramic industry in India' has thus developed gradually, and I like to continue it further in the near future with illustrations.



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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY: *By T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the Madras University. 1955. Pp. x+475. Price Rs. 13.*

This is one of the most important works published so far in the *Madras University Historical Series*. It gives us the first critical and comprehensive account of the political institutions of the Hindu States to the south of the Vindhyas from the earliest times down to the fall of Vijayanagar (c. 1650 according to the author). It is based upon an exhaustive study of the original sources comprising material drawn from archaeology, indigenous (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese) literature and the notices of foreign (Greek, Chinese, and Arab) writers as well as modern works. In the Introductory chapter the author deals critically with the fundamental question of the influence of geography and social as well as religious institutions of the people upon their political life through the centuries. The following seven chapters deal very thoroughly and successfully with the different branches of the South Indian administration under the successive heads of Kingship, The Imperial (*read*, the State) Council and the Secretariat, Income and Expenditure, Law, Justice and Police, Military organisation, Provincial government and Local government. In the course of this description the author discusses frequently with reference to earlier authoritative views and in a spirit of scientific detachment a number of important questions relating to the various topics of the administration. Under this head we may mention the limitations on the power of kings (pp. 17-21), the constitution and functions of the groups of 'five' and 'eight' forming the kings' *entourage* in the Tamil classical literature (pp. 101-04), the rates of assessment of the land-revenue and the burden of taxation with special reference to the Vijayanagar empire (pp. 160-67, 186-89), the resemblances and differences between the feudal (*nayankara*) system of Vijayanagar and its counterpart in Mediaeval Europe as well as the merits and defects of the former system (pp. 327-30), and the question of ownership of the soil (pp. 360-63). The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a very full Index.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work it is possible for us to offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p.) denying the continuous flow of the culture and th institutions of Northern into Southern India and *versa* is not borne out by the fact that social religious movements emanating from the two have profoundly influenced each other from t rliest times. Nor again is it possible for us, in vi of the important settlements of Roman and late of Muslim merchants in the great ports of Western and Southern Ind agree with the author's contention in the same text that "the foreign merchants who came to for trade were comparatively few." The author statements that the influence of the South village assemblies "was at its highest from th to 16th centuries" (p. 10) and that these republics worked with great success from A.D. 700-1400 and showed signs of decay and ruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centu (p. 370) are somewhat inconsistent with each o The author's view (p. 19) that "Hindu poli theory did not postulate any institutional relation between the ruler and his subjects," and that the bond between them was conceived to be "the pate feeling" of the one towards the other is contradi by the references in *Manu-Samhita* and still mor the *Mahabharata* to the occasions for resistance various degrees by the subjects against an evil incompetent ruler. The statement (p. 198) that *Dharmasastras* being "based upon the establis usages" "received the respect and authority of Vedas themselves" and that the customs of the pe were taken into account "in course of time when commentaries came to be written for the *Dha sastras*" is inaccurate in all its parts. The rende of *danda* as 'a goddess' (p. 199) in Manu's known verses is unfortunate. The author's acco (pp. 201-03) of the laws of the South u four specified heads is based wholly upon evidence of the contemporary inscriptions and i no notice of the very valuable contemporary S Digests like the *Mitakshara* of Vijnanesvara and *Smriti-Chandrika* of Devana Bhatta which indeed not figure at all in the Bibliography at the end. long list of errata at the end is incomplete, as shown, *e.g.*, by the misprint of the title *Milinda-pa* on pp. 108*n*, 401 and 437.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LIFE OF MAHARAJA ALA SINGH OF PATIALA AND HIS TIMES: *By Kripal Singh, M.A., Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar. 1954. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 8.*

Ala Singh Jat (1691—1765) was a remarkable man of his time. Son of an obscure landowner of less than half a dozen villages, he yet rose to be the founder of a principality which now forms the nucleus of the Pepsu. Example of small States like the Electorate of Brandenburg developing into a mighty State or small *jagirs* like Sasseram and Poona becoming the training-ground of the founder of kingdoms are not uncommon. But the instance of a village farmer turning into a sovereign ruler of a region by the eclipse and extinction of chiefs of considerable standing is a phenomenon very rare, indeed, even in

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...age of political adventurers. Professor Kirpal ...gh, therefore, deserves the thanks of all for ...esurrecting, out of oblivion, the career of such an ...teresting personality as Ala Singh Jat.

Born in 1691, the first important event in his career ...as his marriage with Fateh Kaur which connected ...m with two important families of the locality, (*i*) ...f Gurbaksh Singh Kaleke, (*ii*) and of Bhai Dayal ...as. A more important turn in his career occurred ...n 1722 A.D., when he shifted along with his brother ...alha Singh from Bhadaur to Barnala. The two ...others then held in their possession only ten villages, ...rrounded by the domains of influential chiefs, ...Rai Kalha of Rajkot and Jamal Khan of ...erkot in the north, the Brans of Faridkot in the ...se, and the Bhatti chiefs in the south, headed by ...uhammad Amin Khan of Bhatner. About eight ...ars later (1730-31), Ala Singh repulsed an attack ...Barnala made by the Manj Rajputs of the ...s-Satlej territory and the Jalandhar Doab. This ...ccessful resistance at once raised Ala Singh to the ...k of a chief. In the following years he further ...proved his position by holding his own against ...e attacks of the Bhatti chiefs of Budhlada and ...arihao and acquiring certain other villages.

In 1748, he distinguished himself by leading ...rays against the foraging parties of Abdali's army, as ...anda Ram Mukhlis clearly states and won a *khilat* ...onorary robe) from Prince Ahmad, who led the ...perial army against the hosts of the Afghan King. (*Tazkirah-i-Ananda Ram*). A couple of years later, in ...50 A.D., Lal Singh, son of Ala Singh, took possession of Munak which became a spring-board for a ...mpaign against the Bhattis. Backed up by the *Dal Khalsa*, Ala tested his strength with Muhammad ...in Khan at Khudal in 1755 A.D. and won a large ...rt of Bhattiana. Three years later, in 1758 A.D., ...e again successfully met challenge of Muhammad ...in Khan, backed by Abdus Samad Khan, *faujdar* ...f Sirhind and beat them at Rampura, near modern ...alerh. The successful contests and the acquisition ...f large tracts of land after each trial of strength ...ised Ala Singh to considerable importance.

Ala Singh's great distinction was that he supported the Marathas as against the alien Afghan ...vader in 1759, by attacking Prince Timur's army. ...ring his march across Sirhind to Lahore, helping ...e Marathas with supplies during the siege of their ...ncampment by Abdali in 1761 A.D., and finally ...iving the straggling Maratha fugitives shelter in his ...rritory after their defeat at Panipat.

Politics in the Cis'-Satlej region assumed a new complexion after the Abdali victory at Panipat and the appointment of Zani Khan as the *faujdar* of Sirhind. The *Dal Khalsa* swept in successive bands across the region and practically wiped out the Afghan authority. Abdali repeated his inroad and massacred twelve to fifteen thousand Sikhs at ...anp. Ala Singh's secret uhderstanding with the *Dal Khalsa* and their unrestrained ravages into the imperial territory and the East Punjab made both the Afghan King and his lieutenant Najibuddaulah eager for his friendship. He no doubt used his influence to bring about an accommodation between the Ruhela and the Sikhs, but the statement made by Professor Kirpal Singh that Ala helped Najib with a contingent of 1000 troops is very doubtful.

In 1765, Ala Singh reached the apagee of his career when the Abdali appointed him *faujdar* of Sirhind with the right to use *table-a-Alam* drum and standard. This high honour obtained by Ala Singh ...to the Afghan King caused a rupture between him and the *Dal Khalsa* who made inroad into his territory. Ala stood up in arms against his co-religionists in 1765 and eventually through the mediation of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, came to terms with them. However, before he could carry out the design of extending his arms to the Valley of the Jamuna, he was taken ill of fever and died on the 22nd August, 1765.

Such is in brief the outline of Ala Singh's career. Professor Kripal Singh has worked profitably among the printed documents and unpublished material in Persian, Gurumukhi and Urdu, preserved in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and presented, on the whole, a fairly good account of Ala Singh's career, against the background of the varying political situation from 1715—1765. He has shown conclusively that Ala Singh was born in 1691 and that he was arrested by Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela in 1745 and not in 1741 as was stated previously. There is hardly any doubt that the alleged *Firman* of the 21st *Ramzan*, 1127 A.H., in which Ala Singh is described as *Raja Ala Phul* is a forged document. The words *Raja* and *Jalus*, and the date are enough to mark it as such and the author's laboured argumentation to prove it so was not perhaps necessary. The insertion of the photo-prints of the Vatiala Rajas has reduced the value of the monograph. The portrait of Ala Singh is certainly welcome, but the rest could have been profitably left out or at least appended at the end of the book.

The author has examined a large mass of documents and painstakingly collected the data scattered in them to reconstruct the career of the hero, but evidently through oversight he has stated certain facts which will not stand scrutiny. For instance, the story of Ala Singh's keeping the locks of his hair of head by paying Abdali a few lakhs of rupees is a myth. The anecdote is based on Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*, (published under the title of *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1939, which was composed between 1591—1611 A.D. (vide *Elliot*, V, 1-2). The sensational story has, therefore, been interpolated in the text and has to be rejected. Similarly, the grant of *an independent status* to Ala Singh by Abdali mentioned in pp. 104-105, is at variance with the statement on p. 124, describing him as a tributary. Then again, there is something to be said as regards the perspective with which the author has reviewed his hero's career. From the very beginning he takes him to be a considerable chief, and makes such misleading statements, as, "The *conquest* of village Nema had far-reaching consequences. (*b*) The battle of Barnala exalted him to the position of a powerful chief of the Cis'-Satlej territory and stream-lines the chapters, with such titles as *Extension of Territories 1748—1754* and *Sovereignty Short-lived.*" Ala Singh was great because he rose from a husbandman to the position of a feudal lord and *faujdar* of Sirhind.

The Persian annalists mention of Ala Singh as "Ala Jat ka Upda az Jamidaran-i-Sarhind bud" is no mean reflection. It would be better if the book were recast and reduced to half its size, by cutting out unnecessary observations, useless repetition, *e.g.*, Chapter X and such an analogy as, "Just as Napoleon had benefitted by his marriage with Josephine, similarly Ala Singh substantially benefitted by his marriage with Fateh Kaur" and correcting all misprints and inaccuracies, *e.g.*, Sirhind was *under* (in) weak hands p. 40, A. Singh helped the imperial

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force *away* from his territory, p. 88, Ala Singh's successful companions rankled in his eyes (heart), p. 85, the Bhatti hordes gushed (poured) out of Pabha, p. 89, etc.

N. B. Roy

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OCCULT: *By D. H. Rawcliffe, Derric Ridgway, London, 1952.*

The author of the book has taken extraordinary pains to subject every form of the so-called occult menifestations to rigorous scientific analysis. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that in it one can find a unique collection of all "occult" practices and "supernormal" phenomena current in every part of the world. It is a source book of all information relating to the subject. Hysteria, hypnotism, fire walking, crystal gazing, rope trick, E S P experiments, telepathy, etc., etc, nothing escapes the attention of the author. He radically denounces every one of them and utterly demolishes—to his own entire satisfaction—the spurious scientific justifications of the phenomena. He is astonished that some of the famous Universities of England, America, Germany, —Cambridge, Harvard, Bons, for example to name a few,—should condescend to encourage studies on 'psychical research' by granting Fellowships and Doctorate degrees. He feels an urge within him to save this absurd situation from deteriorating further and therefore takes upon himself the task of scrutinising thoroughly the so-called 'facts' and exposing once for all the bias which blinds the investigators in this field and leads one, even trained scientists, to misinterpret natural events. Belief in the occult is as old as mankind but should not continue when reason develops. It is the author's thesis that a more critical exercise of the powers of reasoning and judging would expose the hollowness of the 'psychical' phenomena.

One can thoroughly share the author's general view that free exercise of reason may destroy many charished illusions and hallucinations of mankind. The rapid advance of scientific studies has, in fact, changed our outlook in many fields. The mentally afflicted old woman is no more a witch and she is treated now in a mental hospital. Therefore it is good to be critical about psychic phenomena and not to take everything for granted.

We welcome the book for the serious attempt that has been made to consider critically the various forms of the occult. But while in many cases, the verdict is definitely against the existence of the phenomena, in other cases the counter arguments are not sufficiently adequate and the questions still remain open.

The reviewer is one with the author that the facts must be scientifically studied. But after rejecting many forms of the occult there would still remain some phenomena which cannot as yet be accounted for on scientific principles. Just as there may be a 'so-called occult phenomenon it should be remembered there may also be a 'so-called scientific procedure.' Approached from the psychoanalytical point of view many of the unexplained experiences can be more satisfactorily understood. A reference to Freud's writings on the subject would testify to that.

The book is a highly interesting one and maintains a challenging style throughout which keeps the reader always on the alert. But one question crops up in our mind: Is the author protesting too much?

S. C. Mitra

THE GRACE OF GOD: *Edited by Swami Madhavtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashram, Valad Post, Ahmedabad. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.*

This book contains the spiritual experiences of a South Indian devotee now residing in Saurashtra. It shows how from the ordinary ritual worship the devotee is gradually led through the grace of God to spiritual illumination. The five chapters into which the book is divided deal respectively with purification, illumination, bliss, realisation and integration. Swami Madhavtirtha, who is a distinguished monk and author of about a dozen thought-provoking books on Vedanta philosophy, has contributed an adequate introduction to this book. The two appendices on definition of a time-vision and singularity of soul are also written by him. These three compositions have definitely increased the worth of the book. The spiritual experiences are described in the form of questions and answers. The questions mentioned are raised by the questioning soul and their suitable answers were received through the grace of God. It is rightly stated in the Abadhuta Gita that by the grace of God a man gets undivided integral knowledge. This book is, therefore, rightly named and sure to impress upon the reader that ritual worship is never useless but very necessary for the aspirant as preliminary practices for spiritual life. The religious practices are, therefore, not to be discarded but slowly transcended when higher stages of spiritual unfoldment are reached by the devotees.

Swami Jagadiswarananda

SRI AUROBINDO: ADDRESSES ON HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: *By A. B. Purani. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1955. Medium 8vo. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 6.*

Sri A. B. Purani is a well-known disciple of Sri Aurobindo. He has dived deep into the spirit of his master. He is neither dogmatic nor superficial. In these addresses he has dealt with most of the works of Sri Aurobindo. From these lectures one can have an easy introduction into the works of Sri Aurobindo. It is encouraging that at least a few modern thinkers are being faithfully re-thought and re-lived by some of their followers, which alone can bring out the true import of the messages that have been ushered into the new age and thus benefit the coming generations.

Sati Kumar Chatterji

CONTINUITY: *By Taradas Chatterjee, M.Sc., B.L. Published by B. Mukherjee, 112, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1.*

In this small philosophical discourse the author has presented almost all the prevailing philosophical and scientific ideas and touched almost all the scientific subjects, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, Biology, Psychology, History and Religion, in support of his theory that from the beginning of creation the life-process is in a state of continuity towards the evolution of man's mind. One would be amazed to find the vast amount of knowledge in almost all the branches of science incorporated in this small book. The author has marshalled the scientific facts with skill and the whole book has a persuasive strength of conviction.

Krishnamay Bhattacharya

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FRENCH

L'AVENIR DES PAYS SOUS-DEVELOPPES (The Future of the Under-developed Countries): *By Michel Ponialouski. Collection de "L'Economie," Editions Sefi, Paris. 1954. Bibliography. Pp. 199. Price 16-6.*

Any book which contains, as this one does, in a short compass such a wealth of information on one of the liveliest economic issues of the day cannot but be, even when lacking in original thought, of immense value to laymen, students and administrators. It is a model of scholarly comprehension and logical presentation of difficult material, not to speak of lucidity and realism in which French writers peculiarly excel. But the book is endowed with original thought.

In the days of imperialism, the industrially advanced countries arrogated to themselves a divine right to invest much of their capital in their own colonies which were rich alike in cheap labour and in valuable raw materials. The two world wars have changed all that. Many of those under-developed countries have since attained political self-determination. The new nations do not wish to be developed except on their own terms. Even the most enlightened schemes of development, when such schemes emanate from foreign countries, are held in suspicion.

But the need for development is there. The urgency and necessity of developing the under-developed countries is much on the conscience of the relatively advanced countries. And contemporary political strategy has rendered the development of the former the necessary price of survival of the latter. Political self-determination has led to economic self-determination and since technical knowledge as well as the possibility of obtaining foreign aid have vastly improved, the hunger, poverty and ignorance which exist in these areas and the intimate knowledge of better standards of living elsewhere have driven the leaders of the under-developed countries to achieve progress at any cost.

The essence of the problem is not therefore whether the under-developed countries should be developed but how, or more pertinently, how best. To judge from the literary energy devoted to it, the definition of an under-developed country has been a thorny problem. What country is there which can cock a snook at development? The basic criteria which command the greatest measure of acceptance in defining the under-developed areas are insufficient utilisation of the known resources of the country and a very low standard of living. The emphasis is clearly on potentiality of development? It is now a commonplace of the extensive literature of the United Nations and the economic publicists that two-thirds of the entire population of the world are underfed, that about twice as many people as before the War now fail to have the minimum food ration of 2200 calories per day, that 85 per cent of the world's income is enjoyed by one-third of the population, that at the present rate of population growth a constant increase in the national income by 3 per cent to 5 per cent is necessary for reasonable improvement in the standard of living of the under-developed areas, that to raise the national income of this population by 2 per cent per annum there will be required a total annual investment of $14,000 million.

Clearly, much has to be done before capital on such a vast scale can be mobilized for investment in the under-developed areas. In the light of experience it looks as though short of adoption of an international statute defining the terms of international loans, investment will lag behind the level necessary. On the other hand, the economically advanced countries should be prepared to facilitate an expansion of trade by the under-developed countries by lowering tariffs and subsidies even at the risk of increasing competition and to stabilise the prices of primary products in the world markets on which the under-developed countries are excessively dependent. Clearly, the prejudice has to be broken down that the development of these areas will not be to the ultimate detriment of the lending countries. Clearly, the pace of development must not be set too high. The author emphasizes the risk inherent in forcing the tempo of changes in the social framework of the traditional pattern of life through such measures as drastic land reforms. Clearly, the essential equilibrium between agriculture and industrial production, between export goods and goods for home consumption, between saving and consumption, must be maintained. Caution is equally necessary against an uncritical application in the under-developed countries of economic measures based on Keynesian principles more appropriate to highly developed countries. Clearly, the health services and education must not be pushed ahead of the capacity of the country as a whole. Longer lives and extra mouths do not reduce but add to the problem.

Coming from a Frenchman the book has a good deal to say about the French colonies. The author warns his compatriots against the danger of economic parochialism since the colonies must be able, if they are to live, to buy on the cheapest market and sell on the dearest. But the excellence of the book lies above all in the selection of the soundest principles of development and in the clarity and cogency in stating them. Readers will be repaid for the extra trouble which may be entailed by the fact that the book is written in French.

MARGARET R. BASU

MARATHI

SHRIMAD BHAGVAD-GITA: *Translated into Abhanga by Tukaram. Edited by V. S. Bendre. V. V. Patankar, Poona-2. Pp. 283.*

The competent editor's illuminating introduction to the translation into Marathi *abhanga* of the *Bhagvad-Gita* (together with the original Sanskrit text) by saint Tukaram is bound to enhance the reader's joy and understanding of the scripture. Indeed, the *abhanga* form lends itself easily to a congregational singing of the Lord's song. For simplicity of idea and of expression constitutes its very soul.

G. M.

HINDI

TALASH: *By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 113. Price Rs. 2.*

PANCHARANGI: *By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.*

These are two collections of short-stories. Their author is today an acknowledged adept in the art of telling a tale from a peculiar angle and in a particular style, reminiscent of some of the European masters, but with a gusto, which never wearies the listener. However, satire, realism, non-conformity, suggestiveness, tantalization, dramatic excellence,—all these are there. Who can ever, for instance, forget the story, entitled "Coupon" in *Pancharangi*? Its rollicking

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humour will resound in one's ears for many a long day. And so will the sights and sounds of Kashmir, in which *Talash* abounds, abide in his memory lingeringly. If literature is more of a mirror and less of a mentor, then Shri Krishna Chandra has achieved this objective admirably, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SURYA : *By Gulabdas Broker. Published by the Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated cover. Thick card-board. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a collection of a dozen short stories, written in Shri Broker's chatty style, painting a realistic picture of our changed present life, social, domestic, and cultural. The reader will not fail to notice the points made by the writer, *viz.*, that we are changing.

VIDYA PITHA READING SERIES, Books I, II, III : *Published by the Gujarat Vidya Pitha, Ahmedabad. 1950. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 58, Price As. 4; Pp. 106, Price As. 7; Pp. 138, Price As. 10.*

In 1940, the Gujarat Vidyapitha had published a reading series. The present series is a modified form of the same, the modifications being prompted by experiences of the requirements of the students and the attainment of Swaraj in 1947. It is an admirable series, just the thing required for children and juveniles. The lessons are easy to pick up and follow and the suggestions given at the end of each lesson to supplement its contents and impress the object of the lesson by means of relevant stories are the most important part of this otherwise very valuable series. Patriotism, duties as a citizen and as a member of society, with suitable national anthems and songs set out in them, add to their utility.

VIJNAN PRAVESH, Part I, II, III : *By Harareo Anmlakhrai Desai, B.A.S.T.D.C., Bombay. 1950. Published by the Ananda Book Depot, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 93, 116, 140 respectively.*

These are introductory books to the study of science in Standards V, VI, VII of Primary and Standards I, II, III of Middle schools. Study of science was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1949 and these three small books written by one who has been a life-long educationist now retired after getting mature experience of teaching such subjects, leave given the benefit of it to the students and teachers by prescribing lessons therein. The second sections touch topics like, breathing, diet, water, fire, flower and tree, the sky and the stars, the sun and the moon and furnish requisite, relevant and useful information about them with suitable drawings. The books are sure to prove useful.

K. M. J.

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Olive Schreiner was one of those fascinating characters who both perplex and captivate their contemporaries. She was easier to love than to understand. She was a restless and solitary soul in the midst of her fame and her many friends. She combined a rationalist outlook with a mystical temperament, and was both a passionate crusader and a creative artist. Although an ardent feminist, she never lost her feminine charm and grace. Miss Dorothy Hewlett writes in *The Aryan Path* :

A Man's life of any worth is a continual allegory—and very few can see the Mystery of his life—a life like the scriptures, figurative.—JOHN KEATS.

In *The Story of an African Farm*, written in youth, Olive Schreiner gives us a story, an allegory, concerning a hunter who abandons the chase for a lonely search after Truth. He seeks Truth among mountains, climbing ever higher, hewing out the ascent painfully step by step, from hard rock. The search has been long; the Hunter grows old : at last, looking down at the comfortable valley far below, he pauses, panting in an air rarefied almost beyond human breathing. His "wizened, shrunken face looked out above the rocks."

It saw the eternal mountains rise with walls to the white clouds; but its work was done . . . . If Truth had appared above him in the clouds now he could not have seen her, the mist of death was in his eyes.

But others will follow, making the ascent by that stairway he had fashioned with so much pain. "'My soul hears their glad step coming,' he said, 'and they shall mount ! they shall mount !'"

On reading this remarkable book we heardly need to be informed that the sensitive, suffering Waldo to whom a mysterious Stranger tells the story of the Hunter (interpreting a carving of the boy's own) is Olive Schreiner herself, or one aspect of her. The story, the allegory of her life, is here made plain.

She was born, the daughter of a German missionary and an English mother, among mountains, the Witteberg, the "Switzerland of South Africa," one hundred years ago, when life in these remote uplands was still primitive and the only transport by ox wagon. During her life, with much personal effort and pain, she was to hew steps for others to follow, as a feminist, as an advocate of justice and of world peace and, above all, as an apostle of love. "You know," she wrote. "We *must* love everyone in this world. It is only ignorance and darkness keeps us from it."

Her outlook was Christain but she was a freethinker from childhood ; a freethinker nagged at and persecuted by brothers and sisters. The too close view of a narrow religion in a minister's household, among Boers leading a pastoral life with their flocks and herds, who believed literally in the Bible—particularly in its harsher aspect —early sickened her of conventional religion : although inclining in later years towards Buddhism, she never subscribed to any faith. But in both heart and mind her yearning was towards the high hills.

In those hills Olive Schreiner breathed freer, not only mentally, emotionally, but physically : at sixteen she was struck down by an attack of asthma, a disease which was to dog her through life. But this nervous ailment was a symptom of a graver defect in health, almost a cleft in personality. She, who hated war, was torn apart by a conflict within herself.

The circumstances of her early life were frustating: the endeavour to write while working as an ill-paid governess among ignorant Boer farmers, a lack of formal education with a feverish but unsystematic effort to fill up the gaps in her knowledge. But others have triumphed personally over such handicaps and attained at last to peace of mind, and in one way her path was made easy : fame came to her comparatively early with the publication of *The Story of an African Farm*. In England, and the centre of admiring friends, she might have settled down to continuous work, giving the world more books of the same calibre. But it was not only asthma which was to drive her back to African wilds and limit her output : that frequent concomitant of genius, a capacity for laborious work, seems to have been denied her. She could concentrate fiercely, but only for short periods of time.

And, apart from her work, Olive Schreiner was inhibited, incomplete. A woman physically strong vital, beautiful, she was unable to respond naturally to the love of a man. "This celibacy," she wrote Havelock Ellis in 1888, "has not been good for me ; but it would have been worse to marry any man I have ever seen . . . ." When love did come to her in 1893, in her late thirties, Olive fought against it doubting, returning to England on a visit to test her feeling. After her marriage in 1894, surrendering completely to a man worthy of her, she could not enjoy happiness to the full, being unable to live on the farm he worked and loved. The cruel asthma again struck her down. She was denied motherhood : her only child died a few hours after brith.

She might have got peace within herself, have been able to exercise her craft to the full, if she could have lived continuously with her husband, Samuel Cronwright, a man who, in the days of accepted male domination respected her both as genius and as individual. So strong was his admiration for his wife and her feminist views that he added her name to his, calling himself Cronwright-Schreiner. From the first he relieved her of all household cares.

In search of health for Olive he abandoned farming, consenting to live for years on her small income so that she might find tranquillity to complete two oher big novels already partly written, and which it was calculated, would bring in enough money to render her financially independent. But illness, or temperament,

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did not permit his wife to keep her side of the bargain. His sacrifice of his work, of freedom, was made in vain: she wrote little. At the end of that time Cronwright Schreiner was forced to take up the law seriously, thereby binding himself to a town, and eventually settled in Johannesburg, where she was unable to live in the summer heat. For most of their married life, therefore the two were parted; not only, in Cronwright-Schreiner's opinion, because of the recurring asthma but because, dearly though she loved him. Olive, a prey to deep-seated restlessness, was unable to live for long in one place.

As in work and marriage, so in other spheres Olive Schreiner's peculiarities, marred her life making those steps upward painfully hard to cut, and often ineffective Her personal habits were so strange that existence was difficult anywhere except in the wilds of her native South Africa. She would sleep during the day and walk about half the night muttering to herself, disturbing other inmates of a house. She had little social common sense; during her five years in England as a young unmarried woman, at the height of her fame, she would receive men friends in her room, keeping them with her until late at night. This, in an age when the division between the sexes was still wide and behaviour conventional, outraged many landladies, who asked her to leave. She, a born rebel, refused to pander to convention. Once, when talking with a prostitute in the street, trying to help the poor soul to a purer life, she was nearly arrested by a policeman.

These misunderstandings, these hostilities, were particularly painful to one who loved her fellow men. "I can't live with people without loving them." Her arms were stretched wide to embrace the world and yet she was at odds with it. In relations with a number of closely attached (and long-suffering) friends there was again no compromise. She, an idealist with little sense of character, expected too much of those she met and, when they quite naturally failed her, was bitterly hurt and disappointed.

Yet Olive Schreiner's life was not all frustration, all tragedy: that outwardly uncompromising, "awkward" woman had a rich inner and private life. Her work, though she was humbly aware of a smallness of output in spite of intense effort, was the result of glowing fervour. Writing was to her, she told Havelock Ellis, "like being continually in love." This power of concentration, in a complete oblivion of surroundings, resulted in those minutely observed descriptions which are now, I suppose our chief pleasure in *The Story of an African Farm*—such as the behaviour of the chickens at the close of the book where she writes that Waldo drew his hat lower over his eyes, and sat so motionless that the chickens thought he was asleep, and gathered closer around him. One even ventured to peck at his boot; but he ran away quickly. Tiny yellow fellow that he was, he knew that men were dangerous; even sleeping they might awake. But Waldo did not sleep, and coming back from his sunshiny dream, stretched out his hand for the tiny thing to mount. But the chicken eyed the hand askance, and then ran off to hide under its mother's wing, and from beneath it it sometimes put out its round head to peep at the great figure sitting there. Presently its brothers ran off after a little white moth, and it ran out to join them; and when the moth fluttered away over their heads they stood looking up disappointed, and then ran back to their mother.

But in Olive Schreiner's own way it was her allegories (as well as this powerful story in its novel setting), her outspoken criticism of intolerance both in religion and social behaviour, and her plea for the freedom of women, which so excited interest and enthusiasm. There was, too, in that rather weary *fin-de-siecle* period, a hope in the book, a hope for me and the future, which inspired or stimulated earnest young people who saw salvation in the new socialism. But in socialism though she outwardly adhered to it, Olive Schreiner with her wider vision foresaw danger, a danger which has become in our own time a frightening reality: the danger of regimentation. "Socialism," she wrote, "is only one half of the truth, individualism is the other half."

We, who accept so much, forget the newness of these pioneers, men and women who wrote and spoke for social justice, for the advancement of women; and who, like Olive Schreiner, pleaded pity for the criminal and the prostitute, seeing in their ill behaviour a disease. We accept a truer relation between the sexes, especially in marriage, forgetting that it was women like Olive Schreiner who first tore apart the veil of reticence, talking and writing of sex feelings to the investigating Heavelock Ellis. Some of her pamphlets like *Women and Labour*, had an immediate power of conversion, but it is the long slow influence of her ideas for which we have perhaps to thank her most.

And, apart from this triumph of doing what can we say of the frustrated life, the genius largely unexpressed, of this strange woman? Was she fundamentally dissatified, unhappy? In the main, I think, not. The power of intense concentration which fashioned her genius gave ner moments of happiness, of ecstasy so intense that, when more than middle-aged, she could find herself singing, dancing clapping hands at the sight of a moving train. "Life," she wrote to her husband, "is such an awful delight to me if the physical and mental pressure is lifted a little."

She lies now, fitly as part of the allegory, in a high place, at the summit of Buffels Kop, beside those dearest, her husband, her baby and a favourite dog; in a high place chosen by her where once, on a perfect summer's day, she had experienced one of those movements of concentrated, "awful delight" as, soon after marriage, she watched with her husband beside her, a swarm of butterflies feed on a spike of flame-coloured aloe.

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The Land of the Kazakhs

Ivan Sergeyev writes in the *Soviet Land* :

It is said that the first impression is the strongest. And my first impression of Kazakhstan, which I had first seen in my youth, was remarkably distinct : nowhere have I ever had the feeling of such broad and limitless vastas as in the land of the Kazakhs. In that year of 1925 I covered thousands of kilometers over Kazakh territory, and it seemed as if there was no end to it.

True, this limitlessness can easily fit into ordinary geographical standards and concepts. The land of the Kazakhs stretched from the mouth of the Volga and the Caspian Sea to China, from West to East, and from the Siberian Steppes to the swamps and snow-capped mountains of Tien-Shan, from North to South. The territory occupied by Kazakhstan approximated the size of the territory of the Indian Republic today, but the population of Kazakhstan was only about one-fiftieth of the population of India.

That probably accounts for the impression of a limitless desert.

This impression was heightened by the peculiar nature of the country.

Steppes exposed to all the winds . . . . level plains with barren lakes within flat shores . . . . vast expanses dotted with small conic hills . . . . the Kzyl-kum sand desert . . . . one could travel through this territoy for a whole week, a fortnight, a month and two months, and still have before the eyes the same pictures of desolate steppes, barren plains with spots of lifeless salt lakes, dead depressing sands . . . . rarely did we encounter tiny settlements, lone tents, filthy sheep flocks and camel caravans.

The region seemed deserted and vast also because we saw its truly vast proportions as pedestrians or horsemen.

The automobile was rare in that part of the country in those days, to say nothing of the aeroplane.

And there were very few roads in Kazakhstan.

Only one steel thread stretched from Central Asia to the North, towards Russia, along the shortest but the most boring route, through desolate steppes, sands and the barren bank of Syr-Darya river.

Dusty cities with small populations and paltry handicrafts industries were encountered along this sole railway.

But this story could perhaps be told best of all by the geographical maps of those days.

I had a map printed immediately before the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the few years between this significant date and the year of our trip nothing had changed on the map with the exception of the internal boundaries indicating the national demarcation of Turkestan, the name of which the vast region inhabited by the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, the Kara-Kalpaks, Dungans, Uigurs and other of the less unmerous nationalities, was known in the recent past. The boundaries of the new states were defined in August, 1920. That year witnessed also the birth of the new republic of the Kazakhs the 35th Anniversary of which was observed recently.

The map kept us from going astray, and it also gave us a better understanding of the country, of its history and of the spirit of the people. We saw on the map the routes followed by caravans, dotted lines indicating the sands, dashes indicating swamps, winding ribbons of the few rivers and the rare circles of inhabited points. Only in the South, at the Tien-Shan spurs, where the fields received water from the cool mountain streams, were these circles more numerous. We knew, however, that those villages were inhabited not by Kazakhs, but by Russians who settled there in the second half of last century.

They cultivated the land, planted wheat and raised wonderful frunit orchards. There were very few Kazakh farmers. All the people, young and old were wandering through the limitless steppes with their herds.

"We are a nomad people and we shall remain nomads to the very end," was what an old Kazakh I had met when we pitched camp near a well told me in his leisurely way. He wandered through the steppe together with his two sons, their wives and children. The eldest boy was 11 years old.

In my notebook I still have the following record :

" . . . . and will these children keep on wandering as their fathers and grandfathers had done ? But how can a nomad life fit in with science and culture? With schools and univernities ? But perhaps nomads have no need for them ? I heard that they have only two literate persons per 100 Kazakhs . . . . It would be interesting to see what will become of these children some 25-30 years hence . . . ."

Turning a few pages, I find the following :

"Life will change here as well within one hundred years or more. Some change is bound to occur. There will probably be roads and some settlements will spring into existence. After all, it is a rich region with deposits of coal, oil copper, lead . . . . but all this will not be tapped soon. I shall probably not live to see it."

My readers, you have probably never met any people who would sincerely rejoice over their own mistakes. But the author of this article belong to that class of people. And my joy was especially great owing to the speed with which my error was disclosed.

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It would take a long time and much space to give a detailed account of that. I shall therefore let you gather the story from the new map of Kazakhstan published in 1955.

On this map you will see numerous railways in the East and South, in the West and North of the republic. The Kazakhs call them roads of life, and they had truly brought an active, bubbling life to the formerly desolate expanses.

You can see its features in the black signs on the map next to the steel roads: They stand for the new ore and coal mines sunk in the barren steppes, for the new oil fields extending in the West next to the Caspian Sea, new factories and mills built in the heart of the desolate plains, on the low hills, on the lake shores, in the foothills and right in the mountains . . . .

Equally striking are the changes in agriculture. The cultivated areas occupied a barely noticeable place on the pre-revolutionary map, whereas they occupy a vast territory today. It is especially large in the North, in the virgin steppes adjoining West Siberia and the Altai. The tiny spots of irrigated territories have grown manifold in the South of the republic where wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar beet, various technical crops and wonderful fruit (remarkably beautiful and tasty apples, honey pears, grapes and a wealth of raspberries used for making splendid raspberry wine) are growing today.

In the year when I made my first trip to Kazakhstan its production was limited to meat, wool and a small amount of grain.

The rich natural wealth of the republic was still dormant, whereas today nature's hidden treasure store is nurturing a powerful mining industry and many enterprises which process these minerals. Nor are they ordinary enterprises. The Karaganda coal basin is one of the leading of the USSR for its technical equipment.

The lead works at Chimkent are classed among the biggest in the world. The Balkhash copper refinery is the most powerful of its kind in Europen and Asia.

I need not ask myself the question how it was possible for a typical land of nomads with a low cultural level, without machines or implements, to take such a leap in technical progress. But this question must arise in the mind of any person who has not had the good fortune of seeing the country and the character of its people change with such remarkable speed.

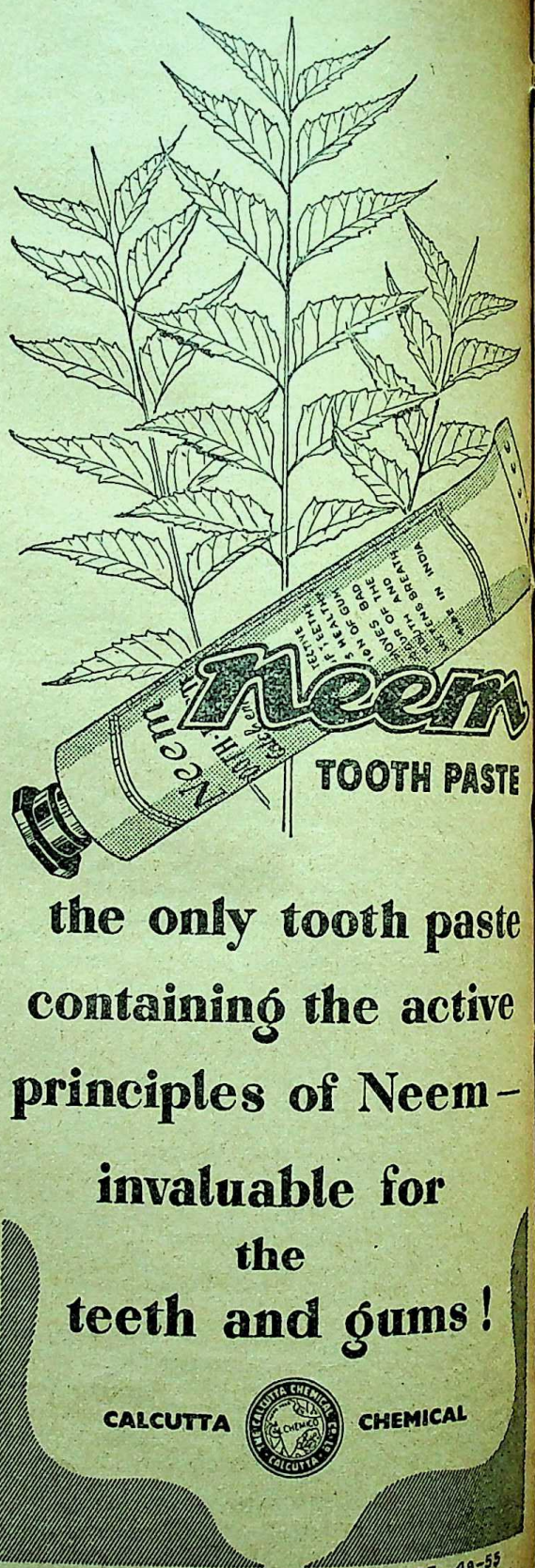
It has been the good fortune of the author of these lines to see all that with his own eyes.

I have made many trips to that country in the past thirty years. I have seen the construction of the Turksib the first railway between Turkistan and Siberia, of the Chimkent collossus of the first hydro-electric stations in the mountains. I was present at the opening of the first Kazakh University and of the first opera theatre. And I saw with my own eyes the most wonderful change in the history of a people, the transition from a nomad to a settled existence.

This change from a mode of life which prevailed for many ages was not as simple and light a process as it may seem today. To most of the nomads it meant a difficult departure from age-old habits which had become traditions. And many difficulties had to be surmounted before the first villages came into existence.

The pioneer village appeared in the South of the Republic next to the Russian villages, and the nomads had a concreate example: the new Kazakh families there were far better off. Their life was more secure than the life of the wanderers in the steppe.

The Kazakhs who led a settled existence were



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always sure of food, warmth and shelter. They did not observe, did not freeze and they were not ailing as much as the nomads. Their children did not die in the first or second year of life for very few could endure the scorching heat in summer, the bitter cold in winter, the autumn rains and the cool spring when the steppe was swept by howling winds.

The Kazakh villagers had a school next to their homes, and a hospital where the sick were treated by doctors and not by incantation of the witch doctors in the steppes.

The new villages were growing like mushrooms after a summer rain. This growth was so quick that the villages were given numbers (11, 28, 46, 73, etc.) before names were found for them.

The Russians helped the Kazakhs to educate a national intelligentsia.

They also helped the Kazakhs prospecting their natural wealth, and they built the first factories and hydro-electric stations and mines.

These industries received young technicians, engineers and other specialists educated in the colleges of Moscow and Leningrad and trained in the ore mines of the Donbas and the Urals, in the factories of the Ukraine and Russia. A few years later a university and institutes were founded right in Kazakhstan. And the research institutions opened in Kazakhstan were subsequently turned over to the Kazakh Academy of Sciences.

Thus did the Kazakhs acquire their own scientists, professors and academicians.

Thus were Kazakh workers trained for the oil, mining, lead and copper refining and other industries. They learned to operate the machines which cultivate the soil and reap crops of grain and rice, cotton and tobacco and many other plants which found a new home in Kazakhstan.

The population of the republic has been growing year after year, this growth becoming especially rapid owing to the great decline in the mortality rate. And still the republic would be sure to suffer from a shortage of laobur if it had not been for the powerful machines and other equipment which do the work of hundreds, thousands and even—tens of thousands of men.

These steel assistants of man required electric power. It is supplied by the fuel-driven stations built next to the coal and oil deposits and by the hydro-power of the swift mountain rivers.

Kazakh cities differ little today from many cities in the advanced republics of the USSR while such a garden city as Alma Ata the capital of the Kazakh people, is superior to hundreds of other cities. It is perhaps one of the most beautiful cities of the Soviet Union.

During my recent trip to Kazakhstan I chanced to retrace the route of my first trip. I remember how I once regretted the fact that I did not make a note of the name of the old herdsman and of the names of his sons and grandsons. Today, however, I think that it was not necessary, because their fate is inseparable from the general destinies of the Kazakh people. I am certain that there is not an illiterate member in that family because illiteracy has been banished from the Kazakh rebublic. And surely every member of that family has his trade or profession and place in life as does every Kazakh: We meet in their midst today, pedagogues and doctors architects, writers, composers and astronomers.

In three and a half decades Kazakhstan has covered a great historic road. There is incalcuable natural wealth in the vast territory of Kazakhstan. It is not without reason that the republic is called a land of unlimited possibilities. But its greatest asset is represented by its people who are cultivating the wealth of their native land, reclaiming millions of hectares of virgin land for agriculture every year, steadily advancing the culture of the rich and strong nation into which the Kazakhs, a nation of yesterday's nomads, have developed in the family of Soviet nations.

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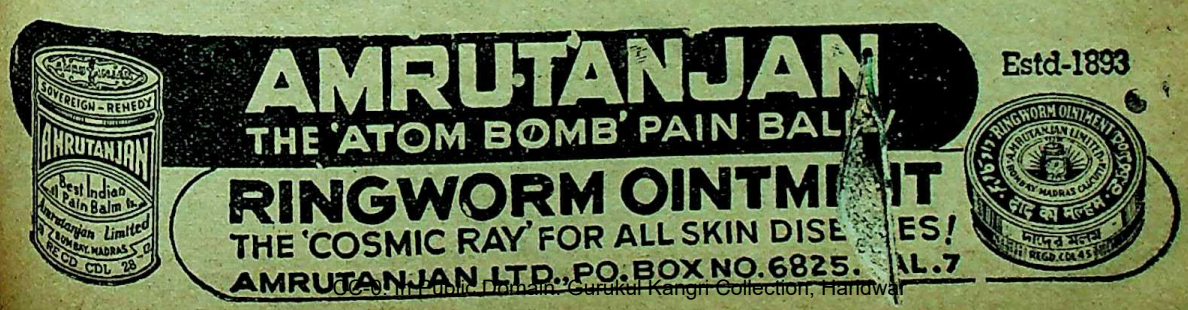

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Why Russia Can't Attack Us Now

The "inside report" that Dr. David J. Dallin analyzes here is one of many trying to show that a Communist attack is imminent. Such "reports," often officially inspired, invariably lead to the conclusion that we must strike first. Dr. Dallin shows how flimsy are the premises for such stories; our readers can judge the intentions of those who circulate them:

A story called "Russia's New Strategy for War," written by an anonymous former military attache of a Western power, has been published in *U. S. News and World Report* and aroused considerable discussion. The story says that, under Khruschev and Bulganin, the Soviet Union is out to regain the strength it lost after the war "thanks to Stalin's stiffness and Molotov's unimaginativeness." Since March 1955, the unknown author says, new and highly aggressive military plans have been developed, which Soviet "marshals and admirals" are now working out in detail.

The essence of the "new strategy," according to this analyst, is the belief that surprise nuclear attack would be decisive in any war. Therefore, it would be a "deadly error" for the Soviet to wait for such an attack by the West. Instead, the Soviets must "forestall the enemy by attacking by surprise" themselves. With appropriate quotations from Soviet sources, the author builds up the following picture of Soviet reasoning:

1. The Soviets, no longer encircled, are no longer bound to defensive strategy.

2. The West's war preparations and political-economic solidarity must not be underestimated.

3. The new thermonuclear weapons, employed by surprise, might decide any war.

4. Thus, the Soviets must avoid a surprise attack on the part of the West; they must continue building their own strength and weaken the West, so as to gain enough power for their own, decisive attack.

The wide circulation given this story recalls the forecast three months ago by a "highly authoritative source" in Washington that the Chinese Communists would attack Formosa in mid-April. Although that forecast was presumably based on intelligence reports, the attack never materialized. The "new Soviet offensive strategy" seems to have emanated from a similar source. Taken seriously, it would call for a complete revision of the policies of the Atlantic alliance; the logical consequence of such an analysis would be to prepare for a speedy "preventive" attack on the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, however, the analysis is not true to fact; its materials are culled from a much broader context which, on the whole, gives little cause for sudden panic on our part.

Soviet military doctrine, in its consideration of atomic warfare, has always distinguished between two kinds of wars: (1) a war between a great power and a small nation, and (2) a war among two or more great powers with strong air forces using nuclear weapons. In the first type of war (a war similar to those between Italy and Abyssinia, Nazi Germany and Holland, the USSR and Finland), a surprise attack emphasizing airpower and the most modern weapons *can* be decisive. But in a war between two first-rate powers, neither atom bombs nor hydrogen bombs nor a surprise attack utilizing both can be decisive. The *U.S. News and World Report* story quotes an article by Marshal P. Rotmistrov in *Red Star* (March 12, 1955), which says that "in some cases, surprise aggression might become a deciding condition for success not only in the initial phase of a war, but even in its final outcome." However, Marshal Rotmistrov goes on to say, such success would be possible only against a nation which could not properly resist or retaliate.

The molders of Soviet military strategy are not experts and level-headed planners; they are controlled by a set of leaders who, though aggressive and ruthless, are not long-shot gamblers. Let us attempt to see this supposed "new offensive strategy" through their eyes.

Let us imagine that the Soviet surprise atomic attack has taken place and that it was "successful." Millions of Americans are dead, other millions are wounded, a number of cities lie in ruins, and death continues to devour thousands of victims. Has this successful attack meant victory for the attacker?

Moscow knows full well that the U.S. economy and defenses cannot be paralyzed even by several air attacks. Despite tremendous losses, a U.S. government, U.S. armed forces and a great number of dispersed U.S. bases and arsenals would survive. The Soviets have never doubted that, within 24 hours of its "surprise attack," a huge fleet of U.S. bombers would bring death and havoc to Russia. Because U.S. stores of nuclear weapons are admittedly bigger and better than the Soviet stores; because the U.S. has bases not only at home, but at a myriad of points around the Soviet perimeter; because the U.S. would be assisted by other nations whose combined forces are vastly superior to Russia's; and because Russia's radar screen is inferior—for these reasons, the destruction of Soviet cities would far exceed the losses inflicted a few hours earlier on the United States.

And then what? Not a single one of the nations involved in this apocalyptic struggle would be anywhere near victory. When the sun rose the following morning and made its way slowly from Siberia over Moscow, Berlin and London to New York, Washington and Chicago, everywhere its rays would be cast over mountains of corpses and heaps of ruins. Yet life would not cease, and victory would be just as far away as before the attack. When human and material losses were counted, Russia would be the biggest loser in any war started by her own government. And her chances of winning the war in subsequent stages would be almost nil. Belligerence and ruthlessness are not enough to win a war; this the world learned from the Axis in World War II.

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launch a surprise attack. Although the Soviets suffer from many misconceptions, an exaggerated belief in the decisiveness of atomic weapons is not one of them. Quite the contrary: This is one of *our* most widespread misconceptions. First came the illusion of victory through air power" which facilitated dangerous cutbacks in our ground forces. Then came the illusion that the newest-model A-bomb alone could win any war for the nation possessing it. Behind these illusions was an unwillingness to face the imperative need for recruiting and equipping large-scale ground forces. Neither Stalin nor his heirs have made similar mistakes.

It is also inaccurate to depict Stalin as a "stiff" adherent of "peaceful co-existence," and to deem the Khrushchev-Bulganin course aggressive by contrast. Stalin was far more inclined toward risky international adventures than any of his collaborators or successors. He played with the fire of war from 1939 till the day of his death. It was Stalin who invaded Finland in 1939; who ordered his armies to hold the Balkans at the end of the war; who kindled the Communist up-heaval in Northern Iran; who stayed in Manchuria long enough until Mao Tst-tung could successfullp wage the Chinese civil war; who ordered the Berlin blockade; who initiated the war in Korea and so on. Since Stalin's death, his heirs have been trying to *limit* the scope of the conflict.

Were it true that the Soviets are preparing a surprise atomic attack, then their recent maneuvers would be all deception: the Austrian State Treaty, the *rapprochement* with Tito, the release of U.S. fliers from China, the *de facto* truce in the Formosa Strait, the easing of travel to and in Russia. Are these steps calculated simply to lull the West into a false sense of security? If so, the policy of this nation is a sequence of grave blunders. If we are to expect an atomic catastrophe soon, perhaps in the next few months, then there is no place for careful, circumspect diplomacy; then the only intelligent men in Congress are the three Senators (Jenner, Malone, McCarthy) who voted against the Austrian Treaty.

But are such expectations of disaster reasonable? To be sure, "peaceful co-existence" is a hypocritical phrase in the mouths of the Soviets, and among the world's governments today, the Soviet regime is certainly the most suarrelsome, provocative and militant. At its first opportunity to make a real gain it would not hesitate to move its forces into a foreign land. That is why the armament of the free world is so essential, and present hopes for effective disarmament so illusory.

Nevertheless, Soviet policy is not a mere cover for an imminent attack. There has been a real change in Soviet policies in recent months. It is *not* a reorientation from "cold" to "hot" war. Though halfhearted and inconsistent the new Soviet course represents an effort to stabilze the *status quo*, to freeze present strategic and military relationships before new facts reduce the relative impact of Soviet power. The new Soviet policy is dictated by the realization of the weakening of Soviet and Communist positions all over the world, but especially in Europe.

Soviet spokesmen react bitterly to American comments that the new Kremlin policy is being dictated by the West's "situations of strength." Yet that is the fact nevertheless. There is a world of difference between the power of the United States and its allies in 1945-46 and their combined power now.

In addition to the fundamental military and economic changes induced by Western rearmament, there has been a basic psychological change. Something new has been growing: the Western will to

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resist. It first emerged with the Berlin airlift, then again when we helped Tito after his break with Stalin. It emerged in full force when American troops entered the Korean War. Now the principle that Soviet encroachments must be resisted by force is a permanent and basic assumption of American and British policy. Strong will is itself a powerful force in world politics; Moscow understands its impact and is now trying to draw the consequences.—*The New Leader*, June 27, 1955.

Pilani—Combination of Gurukul and Varsity

K. K. Duggal writes in the *American Reporter*, September 14, 1955:

Pilani (Rajasthan).—On the arid soil of this remote village in the heart of the Rajasthan desert has grown an oasis—a 400-acre campus of rolling lawns, flower-studded parks, tidy cottages, and sprawling schools and colleges.

Here is afoot an uncommon experiment in education that combines the ancient Gurukul philosophy of austerity and the modern, uninhibited, congenial atmosphere of the American university campus.

In this ideal rural setting where no city noises distract the student nor cinema houses or luxury restaurants claim his time and energy, are groomed career engineers, economists, researches and administrators. What is more important, they are taught to be self-reliant, enlightened democratic citizens who will help build the New India in the making.

What started as a two-student *pathshala* for Seth Shivanarayan Birla's grandsons 55 years ago has today grown into a first-rate academy of education where 4000 boys and girls pursue study courses in arts, sciences, crafts commerce, and engineering.

One of the 17 institutions that make up this "university town" of Pilani is the Birla Engineering College, which, within nine years of its birth, has assumed a truly international character. Here come scholars from countries as afar as Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan and Africa to acquire professional skills in varied engineering careers. And from here have graduated 700 engineers to man India's leading industrial plans and factories, the multipurpose river valley projects, and the Air, Naval and Army workshops in different parts of the country.

Recognition of the college's usefulness has come not only from the nation's private and public sectors and the Rajputana University but also from across the seas. Two years ago, the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., entered into a TCM-sponsored teachers' exchange agreement with the Pilani college.

Under this programme a "mature, ripe teacher" (to quote Principal Lakshmi Narayanan) from the world-famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Prof. Boyd B. Brainard was assigned to the college faculty for one year. He left in May this year. Two more Americans—Prof. Franklin O. Rose and Prof. Lawrence A. Ware—will arrive shortly to teach mechanical engineering and electronics. Prof. Ware is an authority on electronics; he has written two text-books for American students.

The visit is being reciprocated by four Pilani professors—N. K. N. Murthy, B. L. Maheshwari, Inderjit Nagrath and R. P. [illegible]th—who left for the United States by air on August 9 on a two-year study-cum-teaching grant from the University of Wisconsin. The grant includes free passage, free tuition, and free maintenance. They will prepare for their doctorates at Wisconsin. Principal Narayanan also has been invited. He plans to leave some time next year on a six-month lecture tour.

Of the exchange programme, Mr. Narayanan said: "Cross-fertilization of ideas promotes Indo-American understanding and goodwill. From Prof. Brainard our students and staff learnt a good deal about American teaching methods and the American people in general. The visiting professor, in turn, enjoyed living at the Pilani campus. Both he and Mrs. Brainard made many friends with whom they continue to be in correspondence."

Prof. Brainard, recalls Mr. Narayan, was pleasantly surprised at the Indian students' level of intelligence. Once he remarked: "Indian students are more hard-working and devoted to their studies than their American counterparts."

Close Tie with U.S.

The exchange programme is not Pilani's only link with the United States. A close study of U.S. campus layouts and curricula went into the college blueprints. "We tried to adopt as much of U.S. practices as we could," said the Principal. "That is one advantage," he smilingly added, "of starting from scratch. You are not hampered by traditional, outworn techniques."

U.S.-manufactured tools such as electronic gadgets, electric generators, Ford and Chevrolet auto-engines, graphs on nuclear science and the Argus-Wright aeroplane on which students learn aero-engineering, fill Pilani's well-equipped laboratories; books by American authors line the shelves of the 5,000-volume college library.

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The Vice-Principal, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, who heads the Electrical Engineering Department, is an alumnus of Illinois and Cornell Universities. One bright student of the college, Jagdish Chander Shourie, is currently studying for Ph.D. at the University of Columbia, Missouri. Another graduate, Harish Chander Pande, is leaving this month for the University of Purdue, Indiana, for higher studies.

Eastman—Author of Modern Photography

G. N. Radha Krishna writes in the same issue of the *American Reporter* :

It was the summer of 1888 and the Hartford *Courant* splashed the banner-line "Beware the Kodak !" on its front page. It added :

"The 'Kodak' has added a new terror to the picnic. The sedate citizen can't indulge in any hilariousness without incurring the risk of being caught in the act and having his photograph passed around among his Sunday school children. And the young fellow who wishes to spoon with his best girl while sailing down the river must keep himself constantly sheltered by his umbrella."

The 'Kodak' brought a fortune to George Eastman and photography to millions. This catchy name was evolved one day when George Eastman was playing anagrams with his aged mother. The name Kodak raced around the world from the Hawaiian Islands to the remote hill tracts of Tibet. The newspapers outdid themselves in giving the name unprecedented publicity as demonstrated by the banner headline of the *Courant*.

Kodak's famous slogans, "You press the button and we do the rest,' appeared in 1889 and release another whirl of publicity.

Eastman's interest in photography grew in an accidental way. When he planned a vacation trip to Santo Domingo, a fellow employee of his bank suggested he buy a camera and make a picture record of his trip. Eastman's interest was aroused and he started taking lessons at $2 per lesson. It was the era of wet-plate photography. The plates had to be made and then photographed. The process was clumsy, slow and irksome.

From then on, Eastman became an ardent fan of photography. He pored through all technical literature and journals. An article in the *British Journal of Photography*, describing how dry glass plates are being used in England, drew his attention. He learnt the method and started making them in his own way and on a mass scale. He marketed them under his own trademark to the largest dealer in New York City. He was then working full time at the bank and gave his photographic business what attention he could, "between the hours of 3 p.m. and breakfast." His only rest was on Sunday when he slept, except for mealtimes, straight through the day.

All these ventures used up all his savings and he might have well gone bankrupt but for the boarder of his mother's one Henry Anvah Strong, a Civil War veteran who owned a buggy whip factory, who invested $5 000 in the business. This enabled Eastman to resign from the bank and go in full steam ahead into the photography business.

Eastman entered photography at the close of the wet-plate era, passed rapidly to the use and manufacture of dry plates and then by a series of inventions and improvements, which he completed in 10 years, shoved the whole process forward approximately to modern photography.

In 1879, Eastman started mass-producing negative material on machinery. Later, there was a race to substitute glass with lighter, flexible material. This contest among rivals continued from 1880 to 1884 till Eastman patented the "American Film" in 1884. It was not like the film of today. It was a band of paper coated with two layers of gelatin, one of which was made sensitive to light by silver salts. After it was exposed and developed, the sensitive layer of gelatin was peeled off and became negative for printing.

In 1884, in collaboration with William H. Walker, his partner-engineer, he invented the spool to roll up the "American Film." Eastman's personal invention came in 1888, when he produced the Kodak Camera, which contained a lens, a roll-holder and spool of "American Film" with 100 exposures. The novelty of this invention was the revolving shutter which was operated by simply pressing a button. In 1889, Reichenbanch, employed by Eastman, produced a material for making films without a paper-back support. This was used till 1940, when replaced by acetate film.

Quality and Cheapness

Apart from his inventive genius, Eastman proved his mettle in business. His ambition was to trade throughout the world and to capture all international markets. He achieved this by the quality and cheapness of his products The first Kodak Camera was sold for $25 in 1888; 10 years later a much improved model cost $5. In 1900, Eastman brought out what he then considered as the ultimate in camera value—the $1 Brownie with rolls of films for only 15c.

In 1925, when Eastman stepped out of the presidency of his company its profits were $18.5 million. In 1953 alone, it sold $633 million worth of products and made a net profit of $50 million after paying $87.5 million in taxes.

George Eastman remained a bachelor throughout his life. His constant companion was his mother. Eastman spent his money as fast as he made it. As soon as he made his first million dollars, he began to give it away in large chunks. During his life, he gave away $80 million and his will added public bequests of $20 million more. If he had retained his capital and invested for personal gain, he might have died worth $200 million to $300 million.

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The French Car Industry

The car industry remains one of the greatest of French industries. It directly employs 110,000 people and indirectly gives a living to more. Its turnover topped 350 billion francs in 1955 and will easily exceed this total in 1954. Every autumn French and foreign techniques can be compared at the French Automobile Show.

In 1938 the French car production ranked fourth in world production, with 358,000 vehicles of all descriptions. France came after the United States, Great Britain and Germany, and was closely followed by the U.S.S.R. and Canada. In 1953, with 497,757 vehicles, France kept the fourth place, having been outstripped, so it seems, by the U.S.S.R., but coming before Germany. During the first half of 1954 France turned out 301,965 vehicles, and was classified after the United States, Great Britain and Germany.

The characteristics of French car construction are closely connected with the needs of the population. France is no longer, as in former times, one of the richest countries in the world: for that reason luxury cars are less prevalent. On the other hand, the average customer is more attracted by this means of travel; but they demand cheap cars which consume very little petrol and oil.—*News from France.*

French Technology Abroad

J. G. Fevrier write in the *News from France*, 15th April, 1955:

When one speaks of French commercial expansion abroad, one thinks chiefly of foreign trade statistics, that is to say, of the direct sale of goods. But there are many other ways in which French technical achievements reveal themselves successful in other countries. They can chiefly contribute to the industrial development of other countries by sending engineers and specialists, by drawing up plans for works, by the granting of patents and by delivering machines. This form of exportation creates stronger and more lasting ties between France and her customers than a mere exchange of goods. But this is not often known, and some still continue to represent France as a country only interested in the production of high-quality wines, fashion models, and the so-called articles from Paris.

Perhaps as illustration it would be worth mentioning that the fastest electronic calculating machine in the world (3 times as fast as those of rival countries) is of Franch invention and manufacture and that America has ordered them in large quantities (to a value of 2 billion Franch francs); and that the Egyptian government has signed an agreement with the great nationalized French firm, Electricite de France, for the organization in common of the production and the exploitation of electricity in Egypt.

It is not possible here to draw up a list of all the successes obtained by French technical achievements abroad in the last few years. But a few typical facts must be mentioned.

South America is a zone where international competition is particularly keen. In Columbia the highly important Iron-smelting works of the Paz do Rio will shortly begin production. They were built by French firms and engineers. French firms are also charged with suppling the town of C[illegible] with drinking water. In Peru, a group of French firms associated with the Bank of Paris and that of the Low Countries, has been awarded the contract for the works which are to finish the building of the enormous Santa factory; these works comprise a saw-mill and a hydro-electric generating station, the total cost of which amounts to more than 15 million dollars. In Brazil the National Company of Alkali has ordered from French firms the materials necessary for the construction of an important factory of chemical products at Caba Frio, near Rio de Janerio; in the same country, the firm, "Grands Travaux de Marseille," is charged through a local firm with the harnessing of the Cachoeira Dourada falls, on the Paranaiba river, the construction of the dam and the installation of a hydro-electric power plant.

Throughout the East, international competition is just as keen. We have already spoken of Egypt. In Iraq the Development Board officially announced that the important works to be carried out on the Diala river in the Kurdistan mountains (construction of dams and irrigation works) will be in the hands of French firms.

In India, at Jachali, near Bangalore, a factory for the manufacture of electronic material will start work in from 1956; it will be administered by the Bharat Electronic Ltd. Twelve Indian technicians are at present going through a training course in Paris, at the General Company of French Broadcasting and Television, in order to form the technical nucleus of the factory. In Ceylon, a French firm, the Industrial Work Company, is carrying out the test of enlarging the port of Colombo. In Turkey, Franch industry has obtained a large number of orders. Three French firms have been awarded the contract for construction of several aerodromes. Etibank has charged the French firm, Merlin and Gerin of Grenoble, with the research, the supplying and the installation of 15 transformer sub-stations to supply a transport network with energy (15,400 volts) in the North and North-West of Anatolia. The whole of this order amounts to almost 200,000 French francs. The General Society for Tractors and Exploitation has signed an agreement for the construction of an underground railway line at Istanbul.

In the Far-East, except for China, which is economically dependent on Russia. French technical achievements have been just as successful. In a highly industrialized country such as Japan, the Shuan Machine Tool Company at Osaka is equipping itself for the construction of 20 precision lathes with a license from the Franch firm, Cazeneuve. These lathes are supplied with hydraulic copying devices. The Shouan Company will sell these lathes in Korea, Siam, the Philippines, Formosa, Indonesia and naturally in Japan itself. In Indonesia the firm Degremont is building installations for the purification and the complete treatment of the waters of the Bangir canal at Djakarta; the contract has a value of 200,000 French francs. In Australia the governmented invited tenders for the construction of an electric generating machine on the river Tumut. In spite of keen competition it was a group of 6 French firms which was awarded the contract for a total value of 3,900,000 Australian pounds. The generating station, situated in the region of the "Snowy Mountains," will be underground. It will be equipped with 4 generators each of 90,000 KW.

If we now turn to Africa we find that in Kenya two French firms are building a pipe-line, 150 miles long and for a valuc of 500,000 French francs. In the Belgian Congo, the Home and Colonial Firms have just finished a dam on arm of the Inkasi river. In South Africa, at Durban, a French firm has obtained a big order for the canalisation of water.

This enumeration is of course incomplete but at least shows that French production is not only turned towards specialities, it also manufactures which need the most modern equipment and the best technical achievements.

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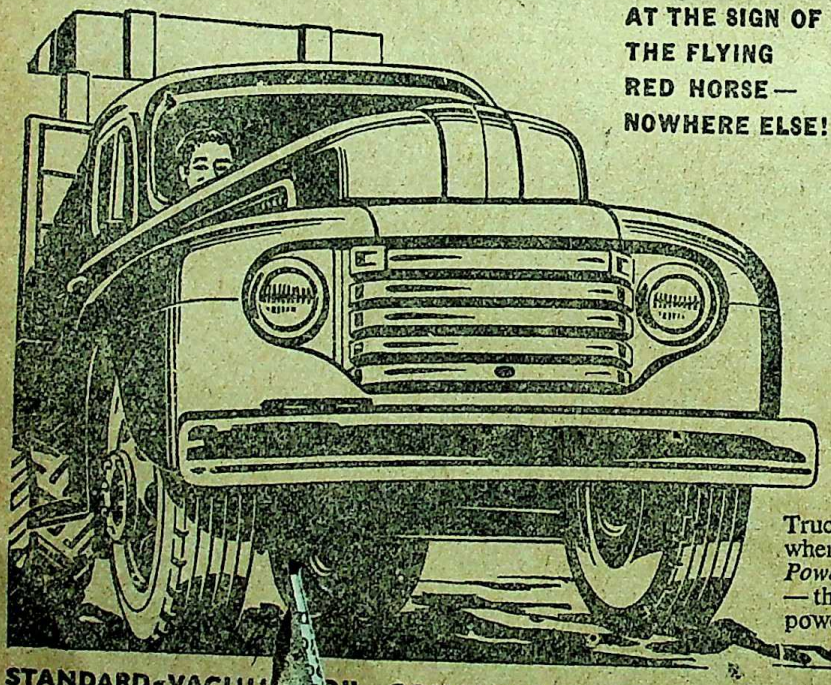

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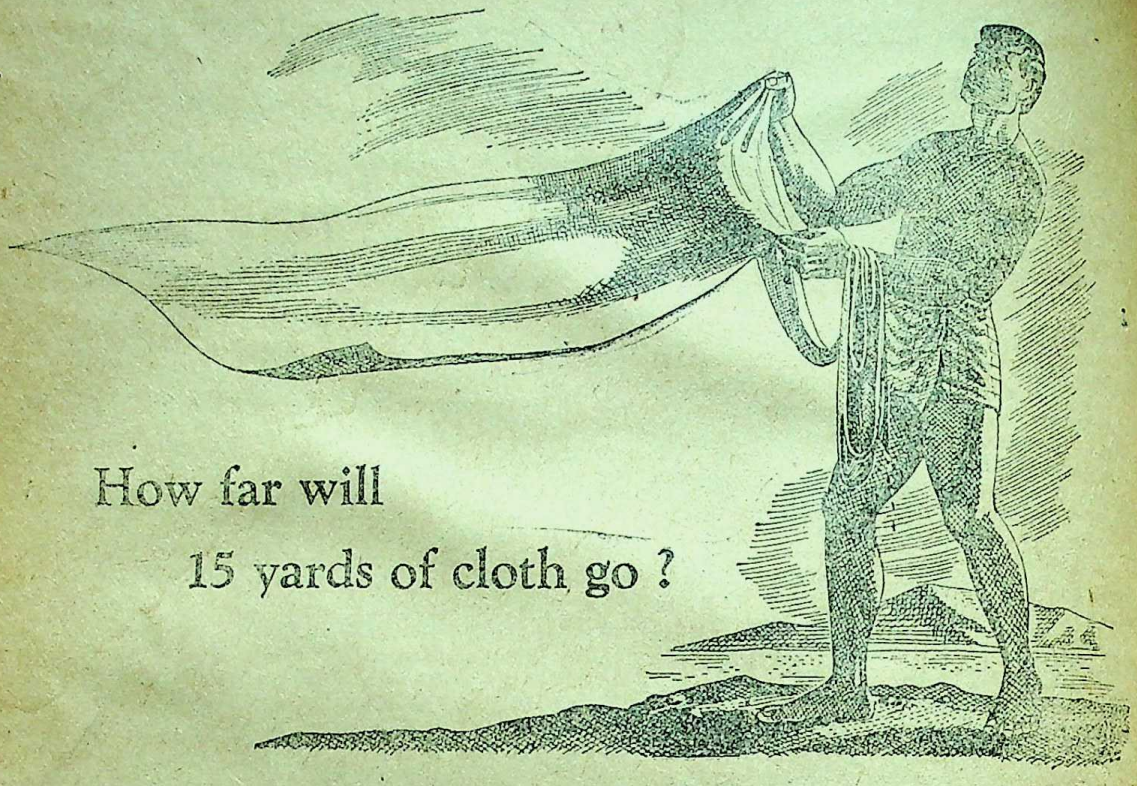

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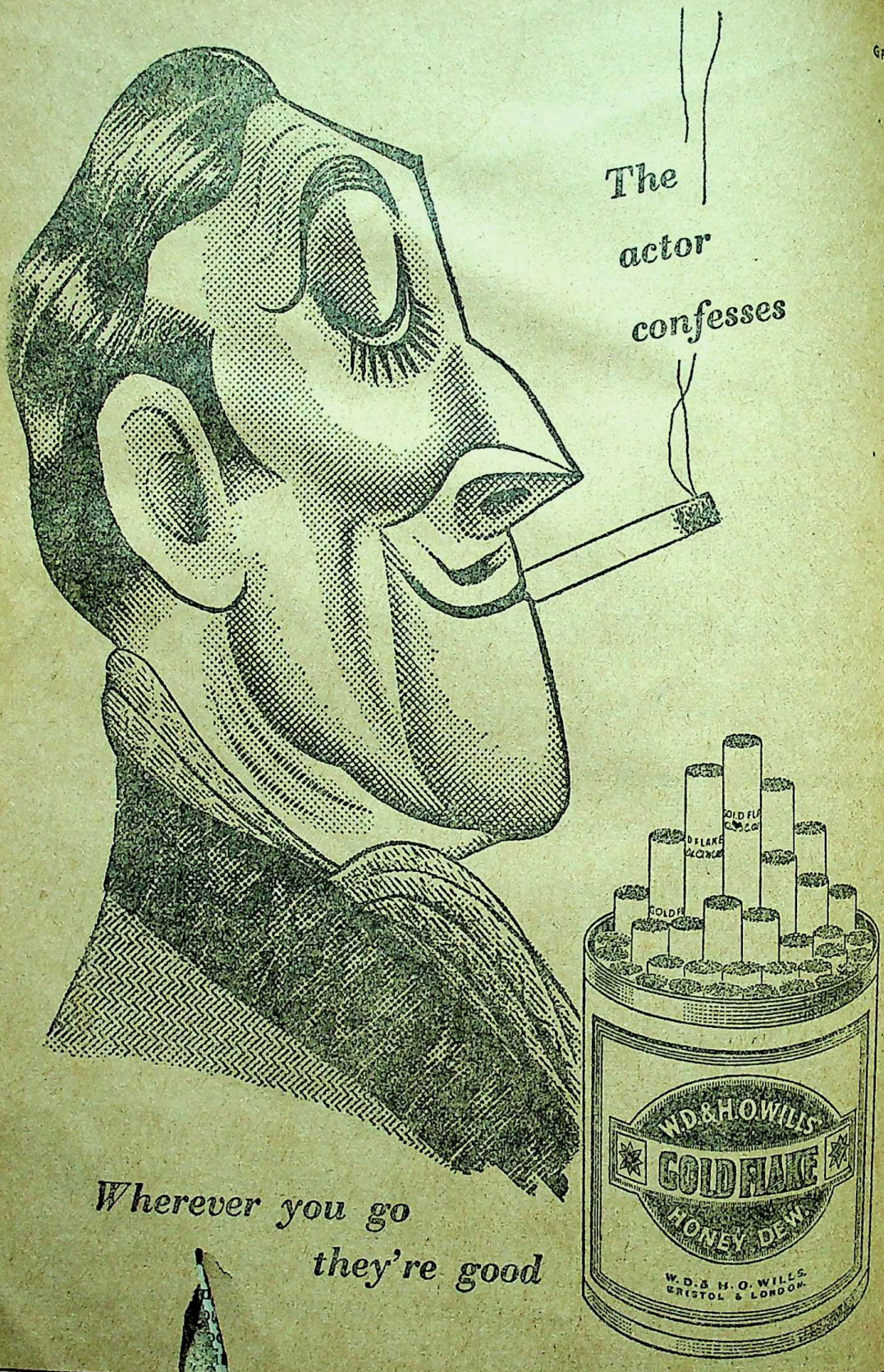

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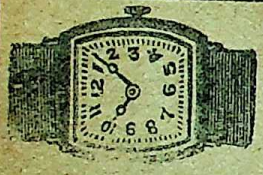

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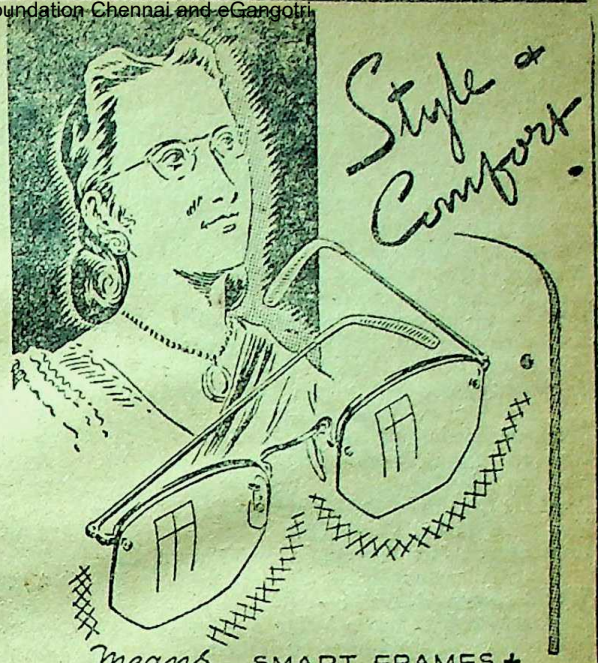

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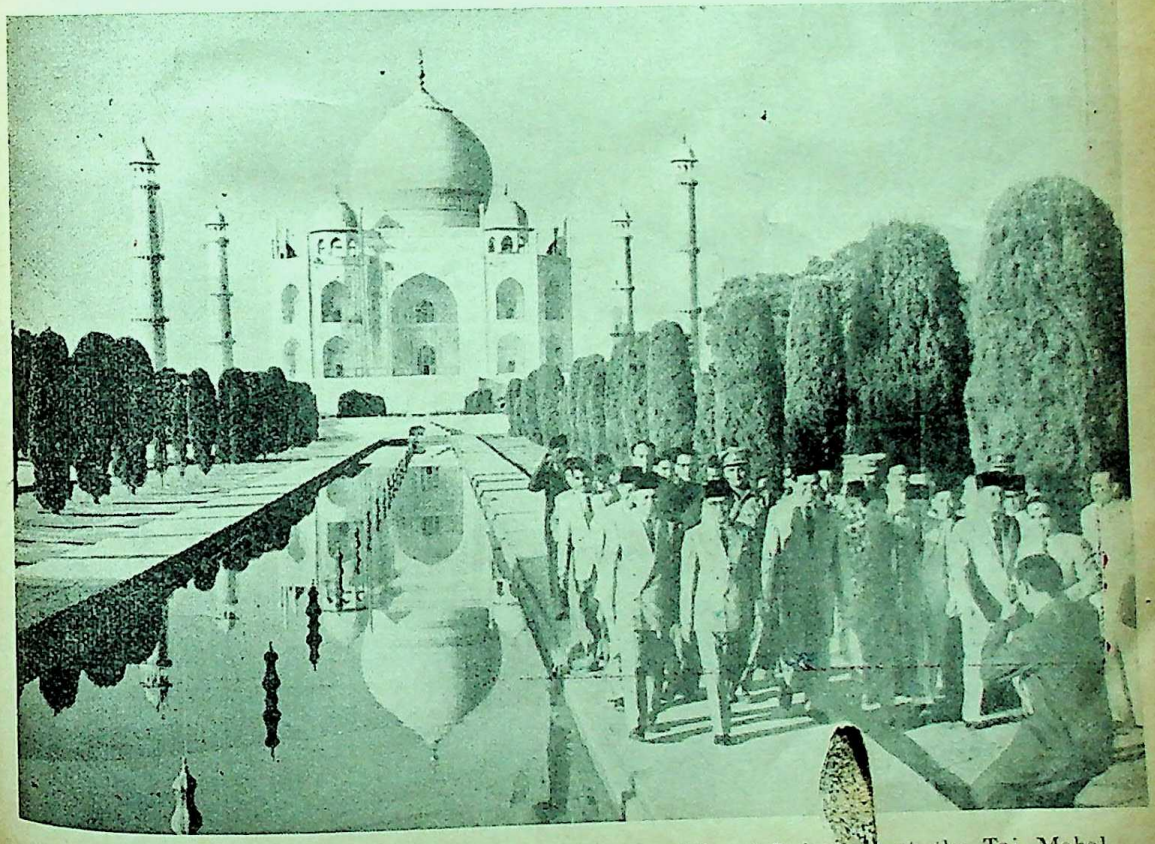
Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev with a group of artists who participated in a Dance Concert, specially arranged in their honour, at Nangal, on November 22



Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Taj Mahal, Agra, during his recent tour of the historic city

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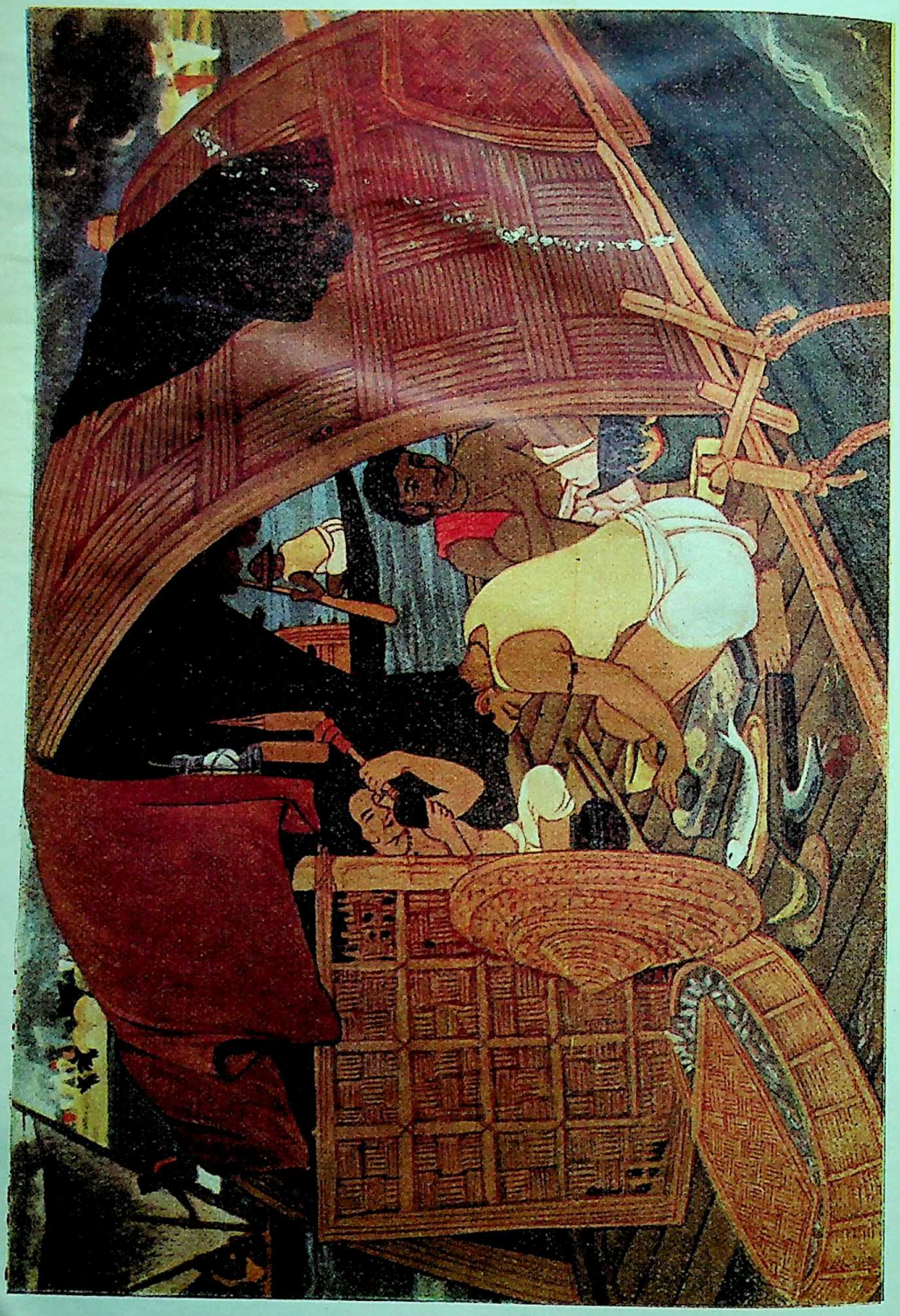

BOATMEN OF THE PADMA
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1955

VOL. LXXXVIII, No. 6 WHOLE No. 588

NOTES

Our Guests

We have had a number of distinguished visitors from many lands, as State guests, within this last month or so. Mr. Lester Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, arrived here at the end of October, with the specific invitation to open the Massanjore Dam of the Mor Valley Scheme. That pleasant function took place at the beginning of November, and will be remembered long, by the people of West Bengal particularly, as a lasting link of friendship with Canada.

The next to come were Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, on a visit and tour of goodwill and friendship. They were given a rousing reception and they are still with us at the time of writing these notes.

Then came a flying visit of an old friend, Premier U Nu, on his way back home from a tour in the U.S.S.R. He arrived practically in time to add his personal felicitations to our Premier, on the occasion of his 66th birthday. In passing we may also record our good wishes, for an occasion that has, quite fittingly, now been recognised as a festival for the young custodians of our future.

Dr. Hatta, the Indonesian Vice President, had also arrived, and ended a prolonged tour of goodwill in the third week of November. His visit was a mark of the bonds of friendship that binds India and Indonesia.

Then came the long-awaited visit of the Russian leaders, M. Nicolai Bulganin, the Prime Minister of U.S.S.R., and M. Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. They were welcomed with the greatest demonstrations of friendship ever accorded to any distinguished visitor, at New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and indeed all over the country.

Lastly came the visit of King Saud of Arabia on a State visit. He was given a royal welcome at Bombay and Delhi, and is still on tour at the time of writing.

What is the significance of all these visits? That is the question over which foreign Powers, particularly of the Western Bloc, are racking their brains. The main point, of course, is the official tour by the two topmost executives of the U.S.S.R.

Here in India, as abroad, different views are being taken of these visits. Most people think that at last India is being put on the World Maps. Others again think that at last this country is finding friends, who are willing to help in raising India's status.

There are quite a few that are concerned with the fear that India might be forced, through the repercussions of these visits, to align herself with one of the warlike groups, and thus be obliged to abandon her neutrality. They point out the reactions of the extreme leftist parties, particularly the Communist Party of India. They also point out that with the exception of the Bombay S.R.C. incidents, the myriad functions and processions that have ensued out of these visits, have passed in calm and quiet, thereby clearly emphasising the source of all disruptionist activities.

It is too early yet to comment or to draw conclusions. We shall have to wait for the world repercussions.

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Indo-Soviet Relations

The Indian people have given the heartiest welcome to the Soviet leaders, M. Bulganin and M. Khrushchev. The visit is historic in every sense of the term and Sri Nehru was not exaggerating a bit when he said on November 19 : "This day on which we are welcoming the distinguished guests from our neighbour country, the Soviet Union, will go down in history as a very important event. I hope the result [illegible] will now flow from it will be significant not only for the Indian people, but the whole world."

In an editorial article on November 21, the *Hitavada* writes that though commercial, cultural and political relations had existed between India and Russia for centuries it was only since the achievement of Indian independence in 1947 that the two countries came really near to each other. The most notable feature of Indo-Soviet co-operation since that time was the initiation of the one-million ton Steel Plant at Bhilai. "This plant which is rapidly taking shape under Russian sponsorship represents a new and fruitful phase of Indo-Soviet collaboration in the industrial field. In the sphere of international relations there has been a Community of interests between the two countries based on the acceptance of Panchashila and on the need for lowering tension and promoting world peace."

Concluding the newspaper writes : "We are confident that the relations between the two countries, based as they are on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference and close co-operation, will grow still further as a result of the visit of M. Bulganin and his colleagues to this country. We also hope that the friendship and collaboration between India and the Soviet Union will serve as an example of the co-operation that is possible between States with different political and socio-economic systems."

Writing on 18th November just on the eve of the Soviet leaders, arrival in India the Soviet Communist Party daily *Pravda* (Truth) says : "The Soviet people, who gave a warm and generous welcome to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, in their own country a few months ago, unanimously welcome the return visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to the friendly India.

"Through their leaders the Soviet people extend their warmest brotherly greetings to the great peace-loving people of India."

The newspaper recalls that Indo-Soviet relations had all along been friendly and mutually respectful and writes : "The great Lenin, the founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, had a deep faith in the creative forces of the Indian people and in their inevitable victory in the struggle for freedom and independence."

The newspaper concludes : "The Soviet people have always sincerely wished and do wish the friendly people of India happiness and success in further strengthening their national independence and in their efforts for peace. Speaking at the meeting in Moscow Nikolai Bulganin said : 'The industry and talent of the multilingual four hundred million people of India, who have created immortal cultural monuments in the course of their centuries-long history, their steadfast striving for freedom and national independence, their invariable love of peace, have earned them the profound respect and warm sympathies of our country.'

"May Soviet-Indian friendship and co-operation gain in strength and scope for the good of the peoples of both countries, for the good of world peace and security."

The influential *Izvestia* of the same date writes : "Soviet-Indian relations are built on a firm and reliable basis. It is founded on the principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. Our relations with India convincingly confirm the correctness of the principles proclaimed by great Lenin on the possibility of peaceful co-existence and co-operation of states with different social and political systems."

"The Soviet people on their part highly appreciate the role played by India in the struggle for peace. With the active participation of India together with the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic armistice was established in Korea and an end was put to hostilities in Indo-China. Like the Soviet Union India comes out for reduction of armaments and armed forces and for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Our countries make joint efforts for the successful settlement of the problem of Taiwan with due regard paid to the national interests of the Chinese people. They struggle jointly for granting the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate place in the United Nations. The peace-loving peoples appreciate the fact that India was one of the countries that took the initiative in convening

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conference of Asian and African countries in ndung, which was an important landmark in the ggle of the Asian and African peoples for ir rights and independence, for strengthening versal peace."

lganin's Speech at Calcutta Airport

Marshal Bulganin and M. Khrushchev re received at the Dum Dum Airport by an ress of welcome in Bengali by the Chief nister, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy. The *Hindusthan Standard* reports: "M. ganin prefaced his reply to the welcome h the words 'Dear Friends' which drew d applause from the crowd.

"M. Bulganin said that it was a great to be on the soil of Calcutta, which had yed a great role in the history of India's ional liberation movement and in the deve- ment of India's economy and culture. From ir plane they had seen great fields, peaceful ages and big rivers. They had also seen the gest city, Calcutta, with its smoking chim- s and factories.

"M. Bulganin added, riches of golden gal were unaccountable, and together with we are glad that the people of Bnegal are ming masters of wealth created by them. were participating in the great work of lding up their motherland, he said.

"We shall be happy," M. Bulganin conti- ed, "to have close acquaintance with the k and life of Bengal, with her achievements d success. We have brought to you the best shes and the warm greetings from the multi- lion people of the Soviet Union, who have en following the progress of independent ia with great interest. Let us strengthen the ndship and fruitful co-operation between e peoples of India and the Soviet Union," he cluded.

e Soviet Leaders in Calcutta

Shri Krishan Bhatia, *Statesman* reporter, ering the Indian tour of the Soviet leaders es: "The mammoth welcome which M. ganin and M. Khrushchev received in Cal- a on Tuesday has completely eclipsed the ptions given them in the other big cities of ia." He adds, compared with the reception Calcutta the other receptions including the e in New Delhi "appear small functions."

"That the breakdown in traffic arrange- ments caused inconvenience to M. Bulganin and his companion is regrettable, but the Calcutta crowds were probably more orderly than in Bombay. On the Russians' arrival in Bombay, some parts of the city experienced a traffic jam which lasted over two hours. Many people were unable to reach the reception on that account.

"In respect of decorations on the road from the Air Port to Raj Bhavan, Calcutta did not impress those who had seen the decorations earlier in the tour."

An American newspaper correspondent who had travelled widely and had been in the profession for long time, told Calcutta reporters that his experience on Tuesday was "unique," the *PTI* reports. He had never seen such a large crowd.

The Soviet Leaders' Tour

As expected the present tour of the top Soviet leaders in India has had different reactions in the Western Press. Some have reacted strongly against the welcome accorded here, others have taken a more or less sober view. Thus writes the *New York Times*, International Edition, of November 20:

India is not Communist, nor is India on the road to communism. These examples of Communist activity throughout the country—and there is a mountain of others to choose from—actually show something quite different. And that is that the Communists have come to think of India as the major obstacle to a Communist Asia and have made India the target of their most intensive and integrated propaganda campaign in this part of the world.

In the past year Moscow has sweetened that campaign, at least publicly. For the time being it does not fit in with the Soviet Union's happy attitude toward India. But chances are that historians some day will decide that the Communist party of India lost nothing from the fact that Moscow so enthusiastically pursued Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the spring, summer and fall of 1955. All over India these days city folk and villagers are seeing motion pictures showing in detail the astoundingly warm reception received by Nehru wherever he went in Eastern Europe. Some of the show felt here today the Russian people must be elected on the Indian Communists.

Indians feel that all the emphasis on

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communism, its growth or decline, overshadows the work being done by a non-Communist Government to build up the nation. "India is not just a Western problem," said a young Indian journalist, "it is our country."

But grant once that the story of India is what the Government and people are doing with their country, and not just what the Communists are trying to do to it, and almost Indians would agree that they have been paid the compliment of having been selected as communism's No. 1 [illegible] target.

The United States and Britain carry on propaganda work in India, too. But the truth is that the West's propaganda work simply is not in the same league as the Communists, and can never be. The Americans and the British have some top-notch specialists in India doing diplomatic and information-service work, men who know the country and are warm to it. But they operate always, and must operate, as foreigners. They have to walk and talk softly; this is a country sensitive to the nerve-ends against being sold anything political from the outside.

Soviet Objectives

The same issue of the *New York Times* gives front page editorial space to a retrospect and survey of world politics titled "After Geneva," in which are the following comments on the objectives of the Soviets:

What were to be "the means short of war" by which the Soviets would pursue their objectives? The pattern had begun to unfold before the Foreign Ministers' conference. Russia clearly was embarking on a course in which it planned to use all its non-military resources—economic, political and diplomatic—to try to create trouble for the West and advance the frontiers of communism.

There are three main target areas at which the Soviets seem to be directing these tactics—Germany, the Mideast and Southeast Asia. This is the apparent Soviet strategy in each region, and the problems for the West:

Germany. Moscow clearly believes it is in the cat-bird seat on the German question and hence was in no mood to negotiate on Germany at Geneva. Russia alone, by her control over East Germany and her diplomatic relations with West Germany, has the power to negotiate unification.

Mideast. Russia is playing a complex and dangerous game in the highly unsettled Mideast. The volatile conflict between Israel and the Arab States has stopped short of an explosion largely because the Arab nations are militarily weak and have been dependent on the West for economic aid and diplomatic support. Soviet offers, through its satellites, to sell arms to all comers in the Mideast; its hints that it might supply funds and technical aid for construction of a huge hydro-electric project on the Nile and another in Lebanon, and its alliance with Arab nationalists in the U.N. have brought Russia forcefully into the Mideast picture.

Southeast Asia. The Soviets have begun to woo the "neutralist" Southeast Asian nations with diplomatic and economic overtures. Last week, as major step in that campaign, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Communist party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev set off on a 5,000-mile "good-will" tour of India, Burma, and Afghanistan. In New Delhi Friday, an estimated 1,000,000 Indians turned out to greet and cheer the Soviet leaders.

In the matter of economic aid, Soviet capabilities are limited. Nevertheless, they appear to get maximum propaganda advantage out of every gesture they make. For example, a Soviet offer to send a team of oil experts to India received as much attention in the Indian press recently as the United States' appropriation of $50,000,000 to India this year. Russia has also achieved a high degree of success in economic penetration of Afghanistan. There are about 500 Soviet technicians in the country which now sends 35 per cent of its exports to the Soviet Union. It is assumed the Soviet leaders will hold out some form of economic bait when they reach Rangoon.

In terms of economic aid, the United States is in a far better position than Russia to supply the money and goods the countries of Southeast Asia need. But in granting economic aid, the United States has to contend with political problems and pressures that are foreign to the Soviet rulers. John B. Hollister, director of the International Co-operation Administration which handles the Administration's foreign economic aid program, has gone on record as favoring a curtailment of foreign expenditures. In an election year, the pressures for budget balancing and tax reductions—and consequently cuts in foreign aid—are bound to be strong.

In short, the West is now confronted with

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diversified Soviet challenge that promises to provide some of the sternest tests in the history of East-West relations—tests that cannot be met with military alliances. The London *Economist* said last week :

What the free societies of both the West and Asia now face is a challenge to mortal combat—no less mortal for being largely nonmilitary.

Tata-Kaiser Steel Agreement

Under a recently concluded agreement [illegible] of the largest engineering and contracting firms in the United States Steel Industry, Henry J. Kaiser Company, would help the expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company of India. The designing procurement and construction of the expansion project would cost about 65 crores of rupees. The project would increase India's current steel plant capacity by about 45 per cent and raise the Tata plant's production from approximately 1.3 to 2 million ingot tons annually. It would be completed in about two and a half years' time.

A spokesman of the Kaiser Company announcing the conclusion of the agreement said on November 22 that the agreement was a "private deal and not government to government."

A U.S. Department of Commerce bulletin of November 22 disclosed that the U.S. steel mills were operating at 98 per cent of rated capacity in October, 1955.

Banks on Wheels

The State Bank of India would open several hundred branches in the rural areas in the near future. In this background the following news-item published in the 15th October issue of the *News from France* is of some interest. The periodical reports: "One of the problems which the French regional banks had to face was how to reach a scattered clientele, living at varying distances from the head office or even the branch offices. To have opened more branch offices would have involved too much expenditure on buildings and staff, which would not have been offset by the addition of new clients. So a new solution had to be found, and it has been found by introducing a system of travelling banks in vans, like travelling circulating libraries. These little banks on wheels visit a number of centres every-day, and their itineraries and halts are fixed in advance and notified through the papers. These travelling banks are very well furnished, and contain both public counters and offices for the agent."

Indian Employees in Foreign Firms

The position of Indian employees in foreign firms operating in India over the past several years is available from the following table published in the *Hindu* of November 6, 1955 :

Year	No. of Indians	No. of Foreigners	Total
1947	6,162	7,623	13.785
1948	7.902	8,052	15 954
1949	10.033	8,286	18.319
1950	11 803	8 318	20 121
*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*
1954	18.642	7.750	26 392
1955	21 242	7.526	28 768

The *Statesman's* special representative in New Delhi adds that the progress of Indianization of services in foreign firms were officially regarded as satisfactory and no legislative action had therefore been taken.

He further writes : "A new factor being taken into consideration is the demand for technicians created by the industrial boom in Europe which, together with the increase in taxes in India, has reduced the net inducement to work in India.

"Government policy, it is officially pointed out is not to push foreigners out in order to create vacancies but to ensure that a high proportion of posts falling vacant in the normal course are filled by Indians.

"A recent example of an agreement seeking this objective is with tea plantation companies in which the highest percentage of foreigners are employed. They have agreed to appoint Indians to three out of every four senior vacancies.

"Employment figures indicate that foreigners are now in an overall majority only in plantation companies. Jute companies, in which a similar position existed last year, have employed an overall majority of Indians this year."

Resources for Second Five-Year Plan

Recently the problem of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was dis-

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cussed at several authoritative levels. At the third meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, held recently in New Delhi, the question of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was considered. The Committee reiterated its emphasis on heavy industries and proper integration between hand industries and large-scale industries producing consumer goods. The Committee also placed the target of expenditure at Rs. 4,300 crores and stressed the need for exploring additional methods of increasing revenues and savings for financing the Plan.

The Prime Minister emphasized that planning had to be on an all-India basis and said that the various draft Central and State Plans added up to more than Rs. 12,000 crores as against the plan provision of Rs. 4,300 crores. The raising of resources is a complicated problem and they will have to give serious thought to the question of adding to the resources for financing the Plan by 'normal' ways. They would also have to think about 'abnormal' ways of adding to the resources for the Plan.

Referring to the basis of approach for planning, Pandit Nehru said that the authorities had decided to lay emphasis on heavy industsies and village and small industries. He has rightly pointed out that without heavy inlustries, the rate of progress would be low and a country remains dependent on imports from abroad. For instance, the shortage of steel is a great big hurdle to our expansion programmes not merely in respect of rail transport but in regard to housing and other schemes of development. Sri Nehru considers the development of heavy industries as vital to the nation's economy, and also of the small industries as an employment providing factor.

The Finance Minister put emphasis on the fact that the size of the Plan and the resources should be properly matched. From such calculations as had been made it appeared that if the ratio of public receipts to national income was maintained at the existing level, the Government should be able to provide altogether about Rs. 3,500 crores for the Second Five-Year Plan. As against this, the size of the development programme as indicated in the Plan frame papers, was Rs. 4.300 crores. The problem is how to raise another Rs. 800 crores so that the size of the Plan and of resources may be suitably adjusted. A part of this expenditure should have to be raised by taxation. The Finance Minister, however, stated that efforts would have to be made to devise new methods of raising loans and mobilising savings. In his view, a lowering of the size of the Plan in the public sector below Rs. 4,300 is not desirable. During the First Plan period the rate of increase in national income was about 3 per cent per annum. "This is the minimum to be kept before us as a target," he added. He pointed out that the Planning Commission had in view a target of 5 per cent increase in national income.

If the country continues to increase the national income at the rate of 5 per cent per year, the national income will be doubled in 14 years. Taking into account this long term prospect, the Finance Minister emphasised that the raising of resources to match the development programme was absolutely necessary. If there is a short fall in the resources, of Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000 crores, what is to be achieved in five years will be achieved in six years and there will thus be a lengthening of the period for achieving a given level of development.

Reviewing the general position regarding iron and steel, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry stated that, including the demand of the Railways, India would need about a million tons of imports every year to meet internal requirements. Some progress has been made in regard to the Russian and German steel plants and actual production will strat in Janury 1959. The Government, however, is trying to speed op the production programme of these two plants. The Government has also expansion schemes for the Tatas and IISCO's plants. Production of Tata's plant will be stepped up by another 500,000 tons by early 1958 when the steel situation is expected to ease. Production at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works is also proposed to be stepped up from its present capacity of 25,000 tons to 100,000 tons and India's steel production would total 4.5 million tons by 1959.

The essential aspects of the main approach in the draft plan-frame are : (1) Planning is to be undertaken with reference to the physical needs and possibilities subject to financial considerations and especially foreign exchange requirements ; (2) emphasis is to be placed on heavy industries, especially on the development of machine-building capacity ; and (3) development of village and small-scale industries will be speeded up. The development of village

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and small-scale industries is important from several points of view, notably, supply of consumer goods, employment, decentralisation of industry, avoidance of social problems such as slums, lower capital costs and smaller expenditure on overheads.

On the subject of financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan, the outlay in the public sector has been divided broadly into two parts, namely, Rs. 900 crores on revenue account and Rs. 3,400 crores on capital account. It has been estimated that the balance from revenue and additional taxation could be brought up to a total of Rs. 700 crores. There is a gap in the share of the States in this amount which has to be made good. There is also a further gap to be met if the resources on revenue account are to be raised from Rs. 700 crores to Rs. 900 crores. The target of public loans and small savings over the next five years has been placed at Rs. 900 crores, *i.e.*, an annual amount of Rs. 180 crores per year. As there will be a gap of Rs. 800 crores for a plan of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector, additional steps are needed to be taken to raise the amount to be obtained from public loans and small savings.

In considering the size of the individual State plans, the Planning Commission will take into account a number of factors such as, population, commitments carried over from the first to the second plan, the level of development reached at the end of the first plan, the revenue position of the State and its ability to finance its plan on revenue account and the programme of irrigation and power which was determined largely on the examination carried out by the Technical Committee for Irrigation and Power.

As regards the employment aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan, 10 million jobs must be provided for new entrants to the labour force and there is also a considerable back-log to be made up. From such estimates as made by the Planning Commission, it appears that if the physical targets envisaged in the draft plan are achieved, in the non-agricultural sector employment opportunities to the extent of about 8 to 8½ million jobs may be realised. The Planning Commission also emphasises the need to devote special attention to the problem of educated unemployment. Special programmes are to be worked out for providing opportunities for the educated unemployed persons through work and training camps and other measures. The aim is to equip 1,00,000 educated youths in the first year of the second Plan for productive work either in specific jobs in fields in which large-scale development was being undertaken and by way of self-employment.

During his Press conference at New Delhi in the first week of November, the Finance Minister of India gave the latest position regarding the financial resources of the Second Five-Year Plan. He expressed a measure of satisfaction with the progress of expenditure under the first Plan. His estimate is that nearly 85 to 87.5 per cent of the expenditure envisaged under the first Plan would be spent by the end of March 1956, that is, out of the target of Rs. 2,300 crores, as much as Rs. 2,000 crores would be spent. The achievements of the first fiive-year Plan include the ending of food scarcity, and the sufficient production of clothing and agricultural raw materials for industries. But the most disappointing failure under the first Plan is in the direction of providing employment at a much faster rate. The Finance Minister himself admitted that unemployment during the period of the first Plan increased by 4 million, although no correct estimate of unemployment is available. On the assumption that the creation of a job per person involves an expenditure of nearly Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000, the Finance Minister estimates that additional employment to the extent of 4 to 5 million jobs must have been created in the first Plan, as against an increase of 9 million employable persons during that period. These figures indicate some idea of the magnitude of the problem. The population of India is increasing at the rate of 4.5 million per annum, and without the investments in the public sector under the First Five-year Plan, the unemployment situation would have worsened.

The Finance Minister estimated that of the amounts spent so far, Rs. 200 crores would represent deficit financing while by the time the Plan ended another Rs. 300 crores would have been spent by deficit financing making a total about Rs. 500 crores. Judging by the present level of prices, he felt that the deficit financing had been more or less matched by the additional production. He said that this deficit financing of Rs. 300 crores also included some of the expenditure planned for tackling the unemployment problem. The amount of deficit financing is nearly 25 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores.

Dealing with the resources for the Plan, the

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Finance Minister said that after taking note of the trade balances and the foreign assistance likely to be available, the deficit was expected to be of the order of Rs. 400 crores. Possibilities of floating a foreign loan had been explored in a distant way and he had some preliminary talks last year in Switzerland and he had made some tentative enquiries in the London money market. But for the moment India does not need to go in for loans and the question might become of some importance only during the second plan.

As regards the total outlay under the second Plan, the Finance Minister gave his personal opinion that the second Plan would be of the order of about Rs. 4,800 crores, thus representing an addition of Rs. 500 crores over the original estimate. This estimate he made from his association at various stages in the formulation of the Plans of the States and Central Ministries. In his view, the foreign exchange requirements would be of the order of about Rs. 1,500 crores. Of this amount, nearly Rs. 700 crores would be made up by way of foreign trade balances and about Rs. 400 crores by way of foreign assistance including loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There would still be a gap of another Rs. 400 crores. Asked whether there was need for floating loans in foreign markets, when they had large sterling balances, the Finance Minister said that part of their sterling balances would have to be utilised as backing for their currency which would grow in the implementation of the second Plan on account of deficit financing. Taking all that into account, it would be found that the spendable surplus of the sterling balances would be small, even if nothing else happened.

To encourage the flow of foreign capital to this country, particularly dollar capital, the Government of India would take a decision on the American investment guarantee scheme in the not too distant future. The United States Government has suggested to the Government of India that India might participate in the scheme. Twenty six countries including the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Japan and the Philippines are stated to have joined this scheme. If India accepts this scheme, the payment of compensation to an American investor in this country in the event of nationalisation, would not be justiciable matter in the sense it might have been between a private party and Government, but would have to be settled between the two countries, namely, India and the USA by methods to be agreed upon as part of the scheme. The Finance Ministes said that India would require foreign capital and foreign "know-how" in the field of those goods which our people cannot produce. In regard to the American investment guarantee scheme, the investment of the American investor would be in the private sector like the consumer industries which the Government of India is not thinking of nationalising.

In our view, India's foreign exchange resources can be increased by two ways, apart from those under contemplation of the authorities. Firstly, the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank should be revalued in line with present world price level. The old price of Rs. 21 per tola is much too unrealistic and uneconomic. By revaluation India should certainly get an additional sum of quite a substantial amount. The value of the present gold holdings is about Rs. 41 crores. We do not agree with the Finance Minister's views that sterling balances could not be spent as these are kept as currency reserves.

It is simply a wastage to keep gold or foreign exchange as a reserve against the issue of currency notes. Britain has adopted the system of entirely fiduciary issue which dispenses with the necessity of keeping gold or foreign exchange reserves and in consequence this system is the cheapest in the matter of note issue. It is time that India should switch on from the present costly system of proportional reserve to the fiduciary issue. The Bank of England's gold holdings are almost insignificant. There cannot be any better credit than that of the Government and gold is a costly substitute for that. In the socialistic pattern of economy, reserves of foreign exchange against currency issue seem to be an anachronism.

Trade Protection

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was modified at the tenth session of the Contracting Parties who met at Geneva during the last week of October, 1955. For various reasons this session was important from the point of view of international trade. This is the first session after the admission of Japan into the GATT. Moreover, the deliberations and decisions at this session will pave the way for a freer and smoother flow of world trade. It

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may be recalled that the Havana Trade Charter which was drawn up in Havana in March 1948 has remained inoperative since then and the GATT has continued to be applied provisionally by its signatories. In accordance with the provisions of the GATT, a review of its Articles became necessary in view of the changing conditions in the pattern of world trade. This review was undertaken at Geneva in the winter of 1954. The objectives of this review were firstly, to consider amendments to the GATT itself where necessary and secondly, to provide for the setting up of an Organisation to administer it, since the International Trade Organisation which was to administer the Havana Charter had not come into being.

Speaking broadly, the GATT has three objectives: firstly, to eliminate trade discrimination; secondly, to abolish unfair practices of all kinds, and, thirdly, to reduce the barriers to the smooth flow of international trade. India is in full support with the first two objectives. India does not believe in trade discrimination, and she allows imports from all parts of the world with the exception of dollar area. This is because on account of dollar shortage she has to be more restrictive. Likewise, in the matter of tariffs, she does not apply a discriminatory rate against those countries that do not have a Most favoured Nation Agreement with us. Our country does grant preferences to certain specified goods originating in particular countries within and outside the Commowealth. These preferences are being continued largely because so long as some countries enjoy preferences in particular markets, India canot afford to give up our own preferences. The GATT prevents the creation of new preferences, and as a result of the tariff negotiations under the GATT the area of preference has been considerably reduced.

The second aim of the GATT is to provide a set of trade rulers to regulate international commerce. In this category come matters such as the freedom of transit, methods of valuation for customs purposes and formalities connected with import and export. There are also provisions to deal with the questionable practices like subsidies and dumping. All these are matters where India can unhesitatingly subscribe to the principles of the GATT and the application of these principles are necessary for the interests of our own foreign trade. India does not give subsidies, open or hidden, to her exports, and she does not dump goods in other markets. But if other countries do not follow a similar code, our exports and domestic industries are sure to suffer. So far as non-discrimination and trade rules are concerned, the GATT has the full support of India.

But when we come to the third principle, that is, the question of reducing trade barriers, we find that the provisions of the GATT call for amendments. As a country with a substantial stake in international trade, India can certainly demand that there should be the minimum of obstacles to the smooth flow of her foreign trade. She has many industries dependent on export markets. These are important industries like the jute industry, the tea industry, the mica industry and the coir industry, to name but a few. It is quite undesirable that these industries should be allowed to suffer on account of unjustified trade restrictions.

The Government of India holds the view that in the course of our economic development it is inevitable that we should seek to discourage particular lines of imports in order that domestic industries producing similar goods may grow and expand. This point was recognised when the original GATT was drafted by providing Article XVIII for special measure to promote economic development. But the problem which the industrially developed countries have in this respect differ largely from those confronting a country which is in the early stages of its industrial development. This was the point which was overlooked by the old GATT. The old provisions of the GATT gave to its members a completely free hand except where the country concerned had during the course of tariff negotiations voluntarily agreed to give any tariff concessions in return for any concession which it had asked for and received. Although this was in no sense an unfair position, India felt that what was necessary was that there should be a suitable procedure to enable countries in the process of rapid economic development to withdraw concessions on particular items without too much difficulty or delay if such a course was found necesary in the interests of their development.

Further, the GATT stipulated that Quantitative Restrictions on trade should not be used except when a country is in balance of payments difficulties. Accordingly, the Indian delegation to the review session of the GATT was given in-

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structions to press for amendments to its articles to secure two objectives: namely, to enable under-developed countries like India to use quantitative restrictions on import in order to fulfil their programme of economic development and to assist the development of particular industries, and secondly, sufficient flexibility regarding the bound rates of tariffs should be secured to enable under-developed countries to make changes as and when new industries develop.

Accordingly, to meet the special position of the under-developed countries in the matter of extending protection to their growing industries, Article XVIII of the GATT has been wholly revised. Under the modified Article, member countries in the early stages of industrial development would enjoy additional facilities to enable them (a) to maintain sufficient flexibility in their tariff structure to be able to grant the tariff protection required for the establishment of particular industries and (b) to apply quantitative restrictions on imports to protect their balance of payments in a manner which takes full account of the continued high level of demand for imports likely to be generated by their programme of economic development.

The modified Article begins with the recognition that there should be special facilities for the development of economies which can only support low standards of living and are in the early stages of development. There are thus two criteria laid down for use of these special provisions. If a country is under-developed in the sense that there are vast resources which have not yet been tapped but which has a high standard of living—for example a country like Australia, it cannot have recourse to all the facilities of Article XVIII. The same applies to a country which has a low standard of living but is well developed economically, as for example, Japan. The modified Article is really intended for countries which suffer from both handicaps like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and certain South American countries. Provisions for these have been incorporated in Section A, B, and C of the Article. Section D deals with countries still in the process of development but not having a low standard of living.

We on our part should, however, like to suggest that the protection of industries should be related to an overall plan of economic development; otherwise there may be unequal distribution of burdens and an unplanned and uncoordinated development of industries. The criteria to be applied for granting protection to industries in the unplanned private sector should be the economic advantages enjoyed by the industry, its actual or probable cost of production, possibility of its development within a reasonable time and its ability to carry on successful without protection or assistance and/or it should be an industry to which it is desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance, the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community being not excessive. Protection must not be the protection of uneconomic and inefficient industrial units, nor protection should be an indulgence to recalcitrant and anti-social industries, as was the case with the sugar industry which was admittedly anti-social in the difficult days after the attainment of independence.

Another point which we should like to stress in this connection is that the authorities should not forget, while according protection to industries through import control, that the interests of the consumers would suffer if competition is totally shut out. A total prohibition in the import of particular consumer goods will lead to price racketeering at the cost of the State to the detriment of the consumers.

Why the Stubbornness over Goa?

The Soviet's standpoint on Goa has been very clearly expressed by our distinguished guests. It has had many repercussions in the West, and further reactions are likely. It would be interesting to note the background to it all as given in the *Worldover Press* for September 9, under the above caption:

On the face of it, Portuguese India, or Goa, is nothing but a relatively unimportant speck on the west coast of India. Its area is only 1,538 square miles, partly jungle; its population only some 640,000. Yet India is determined to acquire it, to wipe out this vestige of colonialism, and Portugal has an obvious—*and an undisclosed*—reason for hanging on. The little territory has every characteristic of colonialism—an idle clique of Portuguese socialites, the tranppings of a virtual police state. If India gave firm guarantees, more than Nehru's personal assurance, that Indian possession would not detract from Catholic observances, local stubbornness might be assuaged.

As usual, however, there are factors that do not meet the eye. Even as far from Europe as

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this, the drive to put Spain into NATO has had a lot to do with the controversy. Portugal's dictatorial regime is Spain's chief sponsor and unofficial spokesman. Britain has often gone along with Lisbon's boss, Dr. Salazar. Indians reason that if Spain gets into NATO, the nature of that alliance will change for the worse, and even as it is, India wants neutrality rather than backing for the NATO set-up. It sees Goa as a potential outpost of NATO in future conflict, and can't tolerate the thought of even [illegible] military activity centered on its doorstep. In spite of its confidence that Goa could hardly, without NATO, ever be used as a springboard for interfererence with New Delhi policies, it hasn't forgotten that when the Portuguese first occupied Goa, their leader exclaimed: "If you lost the whole of India, from Goa you could reconquer it."

Behind the Worry over NATO

The same issue of the *Worldover Press* has also the following revealing comment which would explain a lot regarding U.S. sympathies for Portugal:

You can discount some of the moans lest NATO countries, in view of the changed Russian line and the spirit of the "Summit" Conference, "let down their guard." There is genuine concern because France has pulled troops out of West Europe to back its colonialism in North Africa. And though the Italian government backs U.S. plans, last March a popular poll showed 51 per cent of the Italian people for neutrality, and the tide in recent weeks has swelled.

Concealed behind the expressed alarm, however, is American frustration in Weshington's attempts to get the Spanish dictatorship into NATO. When a House of Representatives committee voted for it, several NATO countries were angered. Norway said, "Never." Denmark di to. And in recent days, off the record, other governments have manifested a strong displeasure.

West European coun ries which hate all forms of dictatorship have not yet recovered from their shock at a message sent last July 18, by President Eisenhower to Dictator Franco, congratulating him in effect on his 1939 overthrow of the legally elected Spanish Republic with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini. The triumph of Spanish Fascism is now celebrated as an annual holiday, though for 80 per cent of the people it is an ironic mockery. Yet Mr. Eisenhower said to Franco: "On this national holiday of Spain, it gives me pleasure to convey to Your Excellency *and to the people of Spain* the best wishes and congratulations of the people of the United States." World-over Press informants inside Spain have reported the despiar and dismay caused by this moral backing for the cruel and oppressive Madrid regime.

Singapore and Malaya

What the background to the recent occurences in Singapore and Malaya is provided by the following commentary in the *Worldover Press* bulletin:

Singapore.—Ever since early April, when David Marshall took over as Chief Minister in Singapore's first mainly elected government, there has been labor trouble. Criticized in the initial outbreaks as showing lack of firmness, the Chief Minister has lately been coming off better. At best his task has been extremely difficult.

What is going on in Singapore, a small island with 1,250,000 people, migh. not matter so much if it weren't for the important position it occupies in South-east Asia. What happens there, however, can easily influence the Federation of Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Borneo and Hong Kong. A lot hinges on Singapore's experiment in democracy.

The government's first big test came in late May. Workers at a Chinese bus company came out on strike because the company tried to break the men's union with a yellow union created by the firm itself. Thousands of Chinese students ranging from 11 to 22 years toured the streets singing songs and shouting slogans. Bloodcurdling speeches by strikers and students aroused hatred against the police. When rioting broke out, 20 badly hurt policemen were sent to hospital; two were beaten to death. In the senseless fury, an American correspondent, Gene Symonds, was also brutally murdered. *Ironically, Gene was known for his sympathetic understanding of Asian aspirations.*

Peace was restored when Mr. Marshall brought pressure on the bus company to dissolve the yellow union. But when he threatened to expel from school certain students he said were guilty of inhuman brutality, thousands of boys and girls staged a stay-in strike. There they remained until the Chief Minister changed his mind and set up a committee to go into the whole question of Chinese education in the colony.

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Shortly after, 2,000 bus drivers and conductors came out in a sudden strike in sympathy with striking Harbour Board Clerks and a conductor charged with cheating the bus firm. At this stage, three trade union leaders threatened a general strike. They were Assemblyman Lim Ching Siong (aged 22), secretary of the Factory and Shop Workers' Union; Devan Nair, not long out of prison where he spent two years as a Communist suspect; and S. Woodhull, secretary of the Naval Base Union. At first, although sympathetic strikes are illegal, Marshall talked with these men, giving the impression he had made a deal. That night, however, the police arrested six trade unionists and raided the premises of Lim's union.

Enraged, the three unionists called a general Strike. While 17,000 bus and factory workers came out, more than 100,000 workers —Mr. Woodhull's own union among them— ignored the call. To save face, the trio told workers to go back for eight days to see what happened to the six men who had been arrested and charged with planning subversive violence. Marshall refused to be intimidated. Nevertheless, on June 24 the last of the arrested men were released.

Lim, Nair and Woodhull are members of the anti-colonial, socialist People's Action Party. Consequently, his party has been blamed by Mr. Marshall and a strong section of public opinion for causing all the trouble. The three, in fact, did not have the party blessing. The party's policy is based upon constitutionalism. Neither its president nor its secretary gave any approval to the acts of Lim, Nair and Woodhull, and the secretary, Lee Kuan Yew, pointedly stayed on holiday.

There is an extremist group within the party, however, and a struggle between the party and the Labor Front government for control over the unions, for political purposes. Few trade union officials here yet understand the idea of unions democratically organized and operated.

Indonesian Elections

The first General Elections in Indonesia were held on September 29. Though the final results are not yet available a broad picture of the relative position of the contesting parties discernible which is not likely to be materially disturbed by the final figures.

The most notable outcome of the elections is the disappearance from the political arena of the greater of the majority of the one hundred and ninety parties and organizations that took part in the elections. Even some of the parties with relatively large membership in the "provisional" parliament have failed to gain popular backing for them. So that for some time, at least, Indonesian politics is going to be a struggle for power between four parties—P.N.I. (National list), Masjumi (Moslim), Nadatul Ulema (Conservative Moslim) and the Communist Party.

About 75 per cent of the 430 million voters actually took part in the elections in which the proportion of male and female voters were about equal. Despite a number of instances of malpractice detected it may safely be concluded that the elections were greatly successful.

Indonesia is soon to have another election based on adult franchise. On December 15 the citizens of Indonesia would elect a 520-member Constituent Assembly which would frame a constitution for the country.

UNESCO on South Asia

The second issue of the *South Asia Social Science Abstracts* covering the year 1953 was recently published in New Delhi by the South Asia Science Co-operation office of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Following the classification in the first issue the abstracts are presented in five groups :- Sociology, Social Anthropology, Social Psychology, Political Science and Economics. The abstracts cover 57 publications in three countries, India, Burma and Ceylon, but admittedly the greater majority of the abstracts come from Indian journals since the number of social science journals published in Burma and Ceylon were very small. The Abstracts showed that greatest emphasis was being given to Economics in the three countries, although Political Science also claimed some interest. Relatively little was published in the other social science disciplines.

A publication of this character, even with its present limitations, particularly as regards the number of countries covered, cannot fail to receive the heartiest welcome of all concerned with the study of social sciences.

Britain and Self-determination

Mr. Samuel Hoare, the British delegate in the United Nations Social Committee, urged the adoption of a motion sponsored by the three

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powers—Britain, Australia and the Netherlands—to eliminate the first article of draft covenant on Human Rights which said that all peoples and all nations have the right to self-determination—namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status. According to the view of the British Government there was a "fundamental difference between self-determination as to right as (as it was spoken of in the right) and as a principle (as it was referred to in the United Nations Charter)." The British Government accepted the principle but denied the right, which could give a handle to minorities in many countries to launch break-away movements and deal a blow at the sovereign rights of nations.

Speaking on a different occasion and at a later date U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert D. Murphy also echoed the British view. In a speech before the conference on "Africa and Asia in the World Community" sponsored by the Catholic Organization for World Peace, Murphy expressed U.S. sympathy for the colonial people's striving for self-determination. "We look forward," he said, "to the day when the remaining non-self-governing teritories, large and small shall have attained the goal of self-government and where suitable, the status of independence." But "the Charter articles on self-determination should not be given the far-reaching interpretation of a general right for any people or country to break all ties with the mother country."

Mr. Murphy added that because of the various concepts of self-determination, the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations would propose that the whole question of the principle be made the subject of a "much more profound study to see if a substantial measure of agreement on the meaning and essential elements of the problem can be reached."

Reuter reported from New York on November 3: "India today appealed to opponents of the article on self-determination in the draft covenants on human rights—particularly the U.S.A.—to recosider their position and join in a final attempt to reconcile differences on it."

Rev. J. D'Souza, the Indian delegate referred to the fact that the U.S.A. had joined with India, Belgium and Lebanon at Paris five years ago when it had been decided that there should be two separate covenants—one dealing with civil and political rights and the other with economic, social and cultural rights. The U.S.A. had then agreed to welcome the covenant on political rights, but now it took a position that it could sign neither.

A Sample of "Civilization"

Southern Rhodesia in the continent of Africa is a British colony. Its membership in the 1953 Central African Federation did not materially changed its political status. Despite general non-interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia by the British Government the approval of the latter was compulsory for any enactment relating to the African population.

Following the usual racial policy of the European settlers in other parts of Africa, Southern Rhodesia also had a system of racial segregation in operation within the country. Needless to mention that the best lands had been appropriated by the white settlers.

Recently two diplomatic and consular representatives from India and Pakistan went to Salisbury—the capital city of Southern Rhodesia—on official business. But in spite of great efforts they could not secure suitable accommodation for their offices. The two representatives were (at least to the British eyes) dark-complexioned; so they could not secure any premises in the area inhabited by the whites. The African-inhabited areas, on the other hand, being very poor had no suitable accommodation to offer from where diplomatic and consular activities could be carried on fruitfully. Eventually they were able to obtain temporarily an office for their purposes only with the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, Lord Malvern.

It may be mentioned here that it was not only in regard to residential accommodation that the Indians were subjected to such humiliating discrimination. Such discrimination extended to cinema houses, hotels and streets.

Middle East Security

The Egyptian Economic and Political Review, a monthly review of economic and political affairs in Middle East published from Cairo, writes in its leader of October, 1955, that the crumbling facade of the Turco-Yugoslav-Greek alliance over the Cyprus question conclusively demonstrated that "no serious defence of the Middle East can be assured without the collaboration and support of the

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local populations;" that alignment in military pacts and defence structures being hopelessly incapable of rallying the required popular support was no solution at all.

Referring to the periodical Western accusations against Egypt and other Arab countries that the latter were irresponsible trouble-makers the review writes: "It is only fair today for us to accuse both the Turkish Government and whoever in Britain is responsible for the present Cyprus impasse of equal irresponsibility and disregard for Middle East security."

The magazine regrets the attacks on the places of Christian worship in the anti-Greek riots in Turkey and condemns these outrages, "for such deeds are not only condemned by the Faith, but the Moslem is required to protect and secure the churches of the Christians from attack." Even after all these riots the Cyprus issue was not nearer any solution and such disorders were clearly unnecessary, the paper notes. The Turkish Government's efforts to disclaim all responsibility and to put all the blame on the Communists are ridiculed in the editorial article. "In the Turkish police state hardly anything happens without the Government's knowing about it, for, in Turkey, there are more policemen and soldiers per inhabitant than in any other country in the world," it writes. The violence of the anti-Greek demonstrations was also "a reflection of the state of internal security in Turkey, where growing economic instability and political resistance is steadily increasing against the Government."

Criticizing the British stand on the Cyprus issue the editorial says that the main stumbling block to any agreement or compromise in Cyprus lay in the outlook of the British Colonial office "that Britain is in Cyprus for good." This indefensible stand upon permanent occupation of the island must at once be given up. Again if it was Britain's policy to stay on the island "there was really no reason at all for inviting Greece and Turkey to discuss a matter which must in such circumstances be an internal British affair."

The editorial assails the Turkish claim to represent the Cypriot Moslems in the following words: "Cyprus has never been Turkish, for Turkey is a product of the First World War. If, on the other hand, relationship with the former Ottoman Empire now inspires Ankara, one must assume that it is concern for fellow Moslems that moves them. Should this be the case, one feels that other Moslem States whose relationship to the Empire was more definite than that of the Kemalist Turkey should also have been invited to London."

Refuting the argument that Turkish concern for Cypriot Moslems was related to the maintenance of her State security in the southern borders, the newspaper points to the fact that Caucasus area was far more important to her State security than is Cyprus. "There are certainly more Moslems of Turkish origin in Southern Russia than there are in Cyprus. It is easy to adopt martial attitudes when the attendant risk of retribution is small but where the Caucasus is concerned Ankara no doubt considers that discretion is the better part of valour," the periodical writes.

A Philosopher's Sacrifice

The subjoined news-item sent by *Reuter* from Rome is a reminder of the cost of one single step forward in the genuine advance of humanitarian scientific knowledge: "Prof. Mario Ponzo, pioneer Italian radiologist, today (October 25, 1955) underwent his 18th operation in 30 years for cancer contracted in the course of his radiation studies. One of his disciples Prof. Achille Mario Doolotti amputated two of the three remaining fingers on his right hand.

"The senior professor, whose condition is stated to be satisfactory, lost his left arm and part of the shoulder last July."

The Buraimi Oasis Crisis

For several years now the Buraimi Oasis has been an apple of discord in the relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom. The question of the jurisdiction over the disputed area was submitted to a five-man arbitration tribunal in Geneva in July, 1954. The tribunal was to decide: (1) the location of the common frontier between Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Sheikdom of Abou Dhabi involving some 75,000 square kilometres of territory lying between Buraimi and Hofuf; and (2) sovereignty over Buraimi Oasis, an area defined for arbitration purposes as a circle containing about 2,000 square kilometres. Saudi Arabia considered Buraimi to be a part of her territory while the United Kingdom supported the claims of Obou Dhabi to part of the Oasis and the claims of the Sultan of Muscat, who also Britain represented, to the remainder. The British delegate on the tribunal Sir Reader Bullard resigned on Septem-

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ber 16 of this year alleging that the Saudi Arabia representative on the tribunal, Sheikh Yusuf Yasin was not acting impartially as a member of the tribunal. Following the resignation of the British delegate the President of the Tribunal, Dr. Charles de Visscher of Belgium also resigned from the tribunal on September 23. The other members of the tribunal were Sr. Ernesto de Dihaigo of Cuba and Mr. Mahmud Hassan of Pakistan.

In a statement issued on [illegible] membership the Saudi Arabian delegate, Sheikh Yusuf Yasin refuted the charges of the British delegate. He pointed out that his official position in the Saudi Arabian Government had all along been known to the entire tribunal and his position had never been a cause for objection on the part of the neutral members although the tribunal had been in existence for nine months and had held two full sessions.

Following this disruption of the tribunal troops of British-protected Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi occupied the disputed Budaimi Oasis on October 26, 1955. Disclosing this fact in the British House of Commons on the same date Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister, said that the troops had occupied the Oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937. He added that the Saudi Arabia Government would be informed of the decision to reoccupy the Oasis up to the modified 1935 frontier line. "I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare," he concluded.

The Saudi Arabian delegation to the United Nations denounced this action of the British Government and said that Britain was trying to force the Buraimi issue to an armed conflict rather than settle it by peaceful methods. The statement of the delegation issued on the night of October 2 recalled the fact that originally Saudi Arabia favoured a plebiscite in the disputed area to ascertain the wishes of the people whether they wanted to remain Saudi Arabian citizens or would like to join either Muscat or Abou Dhabi, "so-called British protectorates." It was only at the suggestion of the British Government that Saudi Arabia had accepted international arbitration. But at the moment the British Government "felt that the tribunal's decision was going to be unfavourable to her, she ordered the British representative to resign in order to hinder the work of this international body and forestall any peaceful settlement of the dispute." Afterwards an official protest was lodged with the British Government against the forcible occupation of the Oasis.

In a statement issued from Cairo on October 29, Emir Fai[illegible], the Saudi Arabian Prime Minister w[illegible] the Persian Gulf chiefs, th[illegible]an of Muscat and the Sheikh of Abou [illegible]abi against the dangers of furthering British designs at the Buraimi Oasis.

The British Commonwealth Secretary, the Earl of Home, said in Peshawar on November 1, 1955, that the occupation of the Buraimi Oasis by British troops was an act under treaty obligations. Troops had been moved in only at the request of the Rulers of Muscat and of Abou Dhabi.

According to *Reuter* the permanent Saudi Arabian delegate to the United Nations reportedly said on November 2 that unless the British Saudi Arabian dispute over the Buraimi was solved peacefully "we might have to resort to force." The delegate, Sheikh Abdullah at Khayyal added the question of bringing the matter before the Security Council was under active consideration of the Saudi Arabian Government.

Commenting on the resignation of the British delegate to the arbitration tribunal the *Egyptian Economic and Political Review* writes that "on the British must rest the responsibility for the stoppage" of the work of the tribunal. However, it notes, the disruption of the tribunal was not surprising since clearly "the Buraimi question is of an importance and a magnitude which tends to place it above the competence of an arbitration court, for of such conflicts wars are made" (the editorial article was written before the British occupation of the territory in October, 1955).

It goes on to add: "It would appear that Sir Reader had counted far more than was prudent on his supporters in Muscat and Abou Dhabi and was in consequence taken by surprise when confronted with the evidence that many of these had supported the Soudi argument rather than his own. It is this that has brought forward the accusations of Saudi bribery, which h[illegible] been broadcast with such vehemence durin[illegible]e last few weeks.

"It would be interesting to hear the British representatives' opinion on what they

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consider is bribery. Bribery is a word easy to use but hard to prove and define. For the coercion of bribery can come in many forms but not least amongst them that of the military and financial support given to many of those whom Britain claims to represent in the *Persian Gulf*.

Referring to the bloodshed in the Buraimi area consequent on the armed attack on Saudi Arabian positions on October 26, the Moscow weekly *New Times* writes that evidently it was not the vassal states of Muscat and Abou Dhabi "that are interested in the annexation of Buraimi, but British oil companies which intend to operate the petroleum deposits of the area. The London *Times* wrote some two months ago that it was important to retain control over Buraimi, 'because it is supposed to contain rich oil deposit, because companies are prospecting there and because, if sovereignity cannot be determined, they will not be certain that their investment is made upon a safe foundation'."

The *New Times* notes the significance of the timing of the armed occupation of Buraimi and says that "it is in a way a demonstration of determination to act in the Middle East from 'positions of strength.' It is plainly a move to exert pressure on Saudi Arabia which, with some Arab States, is pursuing an independent foreign policy and upholding its national interests."

U.S. Air Bases in Pakistan

The New York correspondent of the Madras *Hindu* quotes the *New York Times* of November 18 to report that agreement was reached between the United States and Pakistan for use of 20 million dollars of American counterpart funds for improving air bases, port facilities and highways in Pakistan.

He adds: "General Talley, who was in charge of construction of American air bases in North Africa will, it is stated, proceed to Pakistan next week to supervise the operations there."

Traffic in Women

Press Trust of India reports that the Social and Moral Hygiene Advisory Committee appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board were presented in November 11 at the conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards in New Delhi by the President of the Committee, Mrs. Dhanwanti Rama Rao.

The Committee laid greater emphasis on preventive steps rather than on detection and punishment in regard to trafficking in women. It also drew attention to the weak enforcement of the existing laws.

The Committee referred to the existence of a countrywide network through which this immoral business prospered. The existence of this network was evident from the fact that in large cities women drawn from distant parts all over the country were lodged in what were freely pointed out brothel areas. These women could not have found their way unguided into those areas. "Most prostitutes operate only under the 'protection' of the *gharwalis, naikas*, pimps and procurers. A determined effort to break the system is the surest method of minimising this evil."

Though prostitution was regarded as primarily being an urban problem as many as 66.5 per cent of such women came from rural areas, the age group of prostitutes falling between 10 and 29 years on the average. On the causes of prostitution the Committee gave the following facts: 55.4 per cent took to prostitution on account of economic distress; 27.7 per cent due to domestic disharmony, inadequacy, ill treatment, desertion, widowhood, etc., and 16.9 per cent due to certain social and religious practices obtaining in some communities. "While figures for kidnapping and seducing are not available, it is estimated that even in respect of such women the original cause would fall under one or other of the above three heads," the Committee said.

Military Wealth of USA

Anthony Leviero writes in the *New York Times* that, according to an official estimate disclosed on October 29, the United States had $123,900,000,000 tied up in armed forces properties and goods. This evaluation, however, did not include the investment in atomic energy which was valued at $12,500,000,000 including $6,000,000,000 in capital investment. The following categories were also excluded from the above estimate: Properties and equipment of the national industrial plant and equipment reserve, which were in the custody of the General Services Administration; supplies and equipment in overseas field Army

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depots and some overseas Airforce depots that had not yet brought into the monetary accounting system, properties in the hands of the Civil Works Organization (rivers and harbours and flood control) of the Army corps of engineers and certain other minor items.

The bulk of the evaluated properties could be used up, wasted away or could become obsolete. The report of the Defense Department to President Eisenhower said: "So[illegible]dership 4,000 000 of different kinds of items aggregating well over $100,000 000,000 of assets comprising the properties and material inventories owned by the Department of Defense are involved in these accounting and reporting systems."

Land, buildings and long-life equipment, such as ships were priced at acquisition costs. The total cost of the Government of real estate controlled by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force was thus valued at $21.500 000,000 as on January 1, 1955. But that figure by no means indicated the present market value of the properties because some land had been acquired a century or more ago at a fraction of today's prices and some lands had been received as donations to the Defense Department. On the other hand, no allowances had either been made for loss in value as a result of depreciation. Moreover, since the data represented an inventory as of a given date, they did not include costs of structures which had been demolished or replaced prior to that date.

The Army portion of the total inventory holdings on the basis of cost was 39 per cent, Navy 34 per cent, and Air Force 27 per cent.

About 82 per cent of the holdings were in the continental United States.

"The Department of Defense," the report said, "though the three military departments controlled a total of 29,400.000 acres of land throughout the world on January 1, 1955. This included land owned, leased, used on temporary permit, and various occupancy rights (easements and foreign rights of different types)."

Recapitulation of the Inventory (Millions of Dollars)
As of December, 1954*

Type of property	Total	Army	Navy†	Airforce
Grand total	$123,866	$34,082	$56,428	$33,356
Real property inventories	21,469	8,399	7,352	5,718
Machine tool inventories	2,883	836	1,084	963
Equipment & supplies in the supply system	50,643	20,729	17,680	12,234
Stock funds inventories	8,784	6,185	2,019	580
Appropriated funds inventories	41,859	14,544	15,661	11,654
Industrial funds inventories‡	332	121	211	**
Major equipment in use	[illegible]	3,997	30,101	14,441

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[illegible]nat[illegible]ful Uses of Atomic Energy

A resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the establishment of an international atomic agency which was sponsored jointly by eighteen nations was adopted by the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by a vote of 53 to 0 with 6 abstentions (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen). The resolution made the following major points :

It recognised the necessity of ensuring that the agency and the nuclear material which might be placed at its disposal would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes ; it suggested the convocation of a conference of all prospective members of the agency—all members of the United Nations or of its specialised Agencies—on the final text of the agency's statute; it requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to draw up suggestions for the future relationship between the agency and the U.N.; it increased the number of drafters of the statutes of the agency from eight to twelve by the inclusion of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the Soviet Union; it recommended the publication by the agency of a scientific periodical on peaceful uses of atomic energy ; and the holding of a second international scientific conference within two or three years and technical conferences on specific subjects and it endorsed the continuation of the Atomic Advisory Committee of the UN Secretary-General.

Whaley-Eaton Service in Washington recently published the world's first catalogue of the more than 1000 scientific and technical papers submitted to the UN Atoms-for-Peace Conference in Geneva. The catalogue is available free on request by educational institutions, business firms and government officials.

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* Except inventories in machine tools, which was as of March 1, 1955.

† Included marine corps. ‡ Consists of raw materials, supplies, work-in-process, finished goods, excess and salvage. ** Less than 0.5 million.

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Radiation Study

The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved the establishment of a U.N. machinery for a scientific study of nuclear radiation levels, their effects on mankind and for setting uniform standards to measure them. The resolution sponsored by India and the United States was approved by 59 votes to nil on the [illegible]. Earlier the Committee rejected several amendments separately sponsored by the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia and Syria calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests and for the participation of China.

The decision marked the second time within less than a month that the United Nations reached unanimity on a matter connected with peaceful uses of atomic energy. The earlier decision gave U.N. backing for international co-operation in the utilisation in medicine industry and agriculture.

Under the present resolution the Secretary-General of the United Nations would convene a committee of scientists from 15 nations to carry out the radiation study. After collecting and evaluating radiation reports from national sources, the Committee would make annual progress reports from national sources and would present a summary of its findings by July, 1958 at the latest.

The resolution called on all the members of the United Nations and its specialised agencies to co-operate with the committee and on the specialised agencies themselves to co-ordinate possible work in radiation research with the Committee. The countries making up the Committee were : Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and the USSR.

A USIS news release says : A Soviet amendment calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests was defeated by a vote of 39 to 9, with 8 abstentions. A similar suggestion by Syria and Indonesia was turned down by 36 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions.

Another Soviet amendment to include China and Rumania in the scientific Committee was rejected by a vote of 40 to 9 with 9 abstentions. An Indian amendment not naming China but opening the door to active Chinese participation was defeated by a 28 to 25 vote with 6 abstentions.

The Political Committee by a vote of 48 to 0 with 11 abstentions accepted an amendment sponsored by all the Latin American countries to add four nations—Argentina, Mexico, Belgium and Egypt—to the Scientific Committee originally projected as including eleven members.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission recently rejected a proposal for an "Atomic Summit" meeting in the Pacific made by one of its five members, Mr. Thomas E. Murray as "contrary to the best judgment of the AEC." The statement issued on November, 17, by Commissioners L. E. Strauss, Chairman, Willard F. Libby, John Von Neuman and Harold S. Vance said that the Commission had earlier rejected a similar suggestion of Mr. Murray to invite foreign observers, including Communist observers, to witness tests of nuclear weapons. The statement recalled that the Russians had been given an opportunity to witness the atomic explosion at Bikini in 1946. But that had not improved co operation.

After the recent atomic explosion in Russia Moscow Radio announced on November 29 that the Soviet Union was ready to discontinue tests of nuclear weapons if other Powers would do the same.

American Big Business

Five hundred American business firms, comprising less than two-tenths of one per cent of the 360,000 mining and manufacturing companies in the United States, controlled more than half of the United States industrial production and approximately one-quarter of that of the non-Communist world. All but two of these five hundred firms had net annual sales of $50 millions or more and together they accounted for 51 per cent of the sales of all manufacturing and mining companies in USA. Reaping 66 per cent of net industrial profits they commanded 56 per cent of all industrial assets although employing only 44 per cent of the country's industrial workers.

The report in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* from which the above facts have been taken adds ; "By far the most imposing of these giants is General Motors Corporation, with sales in 1954 of nearly $10,000 million. Second to General Motors come Standard Oil (N.J.) with sales of $5700 million, and next probably Ford whose sales, although not officially published, are thought to beat those of U.S. Steel, $3200 million, for third place.

"In many industries, three or four major con-

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cerns dominate production and continue to hold the lead from year to year. Below these, however, the composition of the 500 largest firms varies a good deal from year to year. In 1955, for example, between 50 and 100 new firms may succeed in pushing others of the list."

A *USIS* news release, October 28, adds : "The world's largest private manufacturing enterprise, the General Motors Corpoation (GMC), in the first nine months of this year has exceeded its earning for any full year in [illegible] history. The net income for the first nine months of 1955 amounted to $912,887,537 larger by 13.3 per cent over its income in the whole of the year 1954.

Private U.S. investments abroad stood at $26.5 billion at the end of 1954 registering a rise of nearly three billion dollars over 1953, disclosed the Office of Business Economics, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Most of the investments were mining and petroleum enterprises in Canada, Latin America and the Middle East. A striking development in 1954 and early 1955 was greatly increased purchases of European securities. Net purchases of European Corporate Stocks were $100 million in 1954 and a further $55 million were purchased in the first half of 1955. At the end of 1954 American holdings of foreign bonds and stocks were valued at $5 billion in current prices sixty per cent of which was in Canada where by the end of 1954 U.S. direct investments were valued at nearly $6 billion—$2 billion being invested in mining and petroleum and $2.5 billion in the manufacturing industries.

Direct investments in Western Europe were climbing at a rate of about $200 million a year in recent years, mainly through reinvestment of earning. At the end of 1954 their value was $2.6 billion, including $1.4 billion in manufacturing and about $700 million in petroleum enterprises.

Capital outflows for investments in foreign securities and short-and-medium-term foreign credits and assets reached a post-war high of $860 million in 1954.

The following chart shows the different types of investment :

Private U.S. Investment Abroad, 1953 and 1954. (Billions of dollars; year ends)

	1953	1954				
	Total	Total	Canada	Latins America	Western Europe	Other Countries
Total	23.8	26.6	9.7	7.7	4.8	4.4
Long-term	22.3	24.4	9.5	6.7	4.1	4.1
Direct	16.3	17.7	5.9	6.3	2.6	2.9
Portfolio	6.0	6.7	3.6	.4	1.5	1.2
Short-term	1.6	2.2	.2	1.0	.7	.3

Russell Pushes Abolition of War

In view of the new turn in the cold war, the following interview that the *Worldover Press* correspondent, Maurice Cranston, had with Bertrand Russell is of interest.

It will be seen how even this philosopher-scientist had to change his views when the "other side" also got the "know how" and the technique of atomic weapons:

London.—Undeterred at the brushing aside of his appeal for the ending of war by some American scientists, Bertrand Russell talked to me about the importance he still attaches to that statement, backed by many eminent scientific figures and addressed to the governments of the world. Lord Russell does not intend to slacken his effort.

"Scientific methods of warfare," said the 83-year-old philosopher, "have had the unexpected result of making war absurd. War can no longer be used as an effective instrument of policy, because nuclear weapons will destroy most of the participants in any war and may even destroy the human race."

I asked Lord Russell whether he did not think the traditional moral justification of war was obsolete. He said it was. "We can no longer say it is right to go to war to defend freedom, because war can no longer defend freedom. It can only serve to destroy freedom together with almost everything else." He did not accept the view many people hold, that it would be a good idea to ban nueclear weapons alone. "To say 'Let us ban nuclear weapons' is as futile as saying 'Let us go back to bows and arrows.' We must outlaw war."

Asked whether, while it might be impossible to defend freedom by nuclear war, it might be possible to defend it by the *threat* of nuclear war, Lord Russell replied : "That was the view I put forward myself five or six years ago, when the West had an overwhelming superiority of atomic weapons, and I thought an atomic threat might force the Communists to come into an international organization for peace. But now, of course, one can see that the threat of nuclear war can be used

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to uphold tyranny against freedom just as easily as to uphold freedom against tyranny. Behind such threats is the reality that neither side could achieve its object by acting on such threats. Both sides have the power to inflict enormous damage on tht main cities of the other side in a matter of hours, but neither side has the power to destroy the other's power to retaliate with the same weapons. That is the reason why a nuclear war is a war which cannot [illegible]n."

Lord Russell did not suggest there was any prospect of international friendship eliminating all disputes; he only recommended that there should be international machinery for settling such conflicts by peaceful means. "This is a long and arduous task," he admitted, "and it is not likely to be completed quickly."

At a recent conference of scientists on nuclear warfare held in London, several eminent scientists said they were reluctant to sign such appeals as that drawn up by Lord Russell because they did not think the scientist as such had any authority to speak on moral questions. "I have never claimed that the scientist has any such authority; what I have said," declared Lord Russell, "is that it is the duty of scientists to warn mankind of the disasters war must inevitably bring to the world now that nuclear weapons have been devised. It is also the scientist's duty to tell mankind about the immeasurable benefits which science might bring if the danger of war is removed."

Lord Russell said it was certainly not for scientists to decide how their knowledge should be used; the statesmen and politicians would have to decide that, and they in turn wiuld be guided by public opinion.

"We have reached a point in history where human beings must make the great decision," Lord Russell said. "On the one hand there is the prospect of war which may bring death not only to all mankind, but also to all living things on our planet. On the other hand, there is the prospect of peace and happiness, with scientific knowledge being used for the elimination of misery and want. That is the choice. I allow myself to hope that men will choose peace."

Film Awards

We have received the following communication from the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akadami:

The Sangeet Natak Akadami has decided to institute Akadami Awards in the field of films similar to the awards for outstanding attainment in the fields of dance, drama and music. The first two film awards will be made along with the next Akadami Awards in early March, next year:

1. To the best producer or director of a feature film.
2. To the best actor/actress in a feature film.

Film organisations and institutions, films and individuals connected with films are invited to recommend names of persons who, in their opinion, are qualified for the above two awards. In each case, full particulars of the person recommended and the reasons for the recommendation should be given.

Recommendations should reach the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akadami, 70 Regal Building, New Delhi, not later than January 31st, 1956.

Inquiry into Suicides

Suicides have apparently assumed such disturbing proportions in Saurashtra that the Saurashtra Government have considered it necessary to appoint a seven-member board under the Chairmanship of Sri Maldevji Adodra, M.L.A., to inquire into the reasons for suicide in the State. The Board would enquire details of suicides in the next three months and recommends to the Government the steps to be taken, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO *THE MODERN REVIEW*

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number, are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers before the 28th instant by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immedately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

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SOCIAL REGENERATION IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, PH. D. AND SONYA RUTH DAS, D.LITT. (Paris)

A most important factor in the upbuilding of India's new civilization is her social regeneration. Indian society has for a long time been moribund and backward and more or less [illegible] static, due to a number of causes such as poverty and disease, illiteracy and ignorance, caste and untouchability, superstition and prejudice, idolatry and priesthood, and invasion and conquest. Although the Renaissance and various other social movements have made great contributions to the awakening of national life, they have not yet touched more than a fringe of the vast society and its progress has been hampered by such factors as revivalism, communalism, separatism, colonialism, and imperialism. India is therefore urgently in need of reconstruction and reorientation of her cultures in order, first, to establish a solid moral and spiritual foundation of her new civilization and second, to build her social, political and economic life.

The most important factor in social regeneration of India is the achievement of national independence, which has been followed by the establishment of the democratic Republic. In the First General Election of 1950, India mobilized 176 million men and women of 21 years of age and over, by far the majority of whom were illiterate. It was not only the greatest event in the history of national election, but was also the greatest factor in the awaking of India's masses, who had remained asleep in the country-side since primordial times. There are, however, several other organizations and movements which have long been engaged in bringing about a veritable social regeneration of India, some of which have been discussed in the pages of this periodical.*

Cultural Reorientation

The greatest asset of society is its cultural heritage or social tradition coming down from time immemorial and supplying not only the most of the techniques of group life—mores, beliefs, folklore, customs, laws, and institutions [illegible] adding some kind of mysticism and sanctity to the social process and making life worth living. Social tradition in fact forms the basis of life, whether national, group, or individual, and gives it stability and solidarity. Moreover, its significance lies in the fact that it forms a subconscious part of human nature and exerts a great influence upon human behavior in all social activities.

Rationalization of the Tradition

Like the human body, the human mind, as far as its social attributes are concerned, is a continuation of the past. Even before it becomes self-conscious the child absorbs social traditions from its parents and other members of the primary group and gradually comes under the influence of larger and larger groups. An important problem of cultural reorientation is the rationalization of the old traditions in order to create an objective attitude towards the world and to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge in its true perspective and significance. The greater the volume of scientifically ascertained social traditions of a community, the greater the possibility for its continued progress.

Both the volume and the value of social traditions are of great importance to the development of the individual and society. Although a living institution, socal tradition has fallen into inertia and inactivity in India, and this is also the case in many old civilizations. In spite of its great achievements in art, philosophy, and science, India's cultural heritage suffers from a number of defects :

First, by far its largest volume was acquired during the pre-historic and ancient periods when superstition and mythology were the dominant features of social traditions. Moreover, unlike other religions, popular Hinduism is a mode of living consisting of customs, mores, practices, habits, laws, and institutions rather than a set of tenets or doctrines, compiled from the preachings of a prophet or the Sacred Book.

* See, for instance, in *The Modern Review* the writers' article on "India's Creative Recreation," (February, 1955) and "The International Movement in India" (June, 1955).

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Second, Aryan and Dravidian cultures are extremely rich in literature, such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and other works which have become parts of Hindu religion practised by the common people. But during the medieval period India was invaded, conquered, and ruled by the Moslems, and this often involved the destruction of temples, palaces, and universities, the annihilation of royal dynasties, and the forcible conversion of Hindus into Moslem religion, all of which had deteriorating effects upon Hindu culture.

Third, during the modern period, India was conquered and ruled by the British. The very fact of domination by a foreign power thousands of miles away, discrimination by the British Government against the Indians in all high functions of the State, and the neglect of India's arts and crafts that might compete with Britain's growing industries, created an inferiority complex among the people and retarded their moral and spiritual development.

Hindu civilization has thus passed through many varieties of experience from pre-historic to modern times and has inherited not only the cultures developed by the Aryan and Dravidian peoples, but also indigenous aboriginal cultures and heterogeneous foreign cultures. It thus contains a large variety of cultural traits, some of which are of the highest social value while others are primitive, obsolete, grotesque, and contradictory.

An important problem of social regeneration in India is the rationalization of her cultural heritage. Research studies should therefore be undertaken in all the phases of India's cultural history from ancient to modern times. An immense amount of research has been done both in India and abroad and the results of these researches should be compiled. Moreover, a large amount of Buddhistic literature, which left the country immediately after the suppression of Buddhism in the 12th century, should be brought back to India and translated into various Indian languages.

While there should be some general collection of facts throughout all these periods to serve as a source book, what are more important are: First, a cultural history of India from the earliest periods up to the present time including the various epochs and periods—Vedic, Buddhistic, and Hindu; second, a history of Moslem rule and its contribution to Indian civilization; third, a history of British rule and its contribution to Indian civilization; fourth, effects of Moslem and British rule on Hindu civilization; and fifth, such general subjects as religion, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, politics, economics, metaphysics, philosophy, mathematics, physics and chemistry, with an outline of the historical development and actual achievements in each case.

An important step has been taken for the reorientation and reconstruction of India's cultural heritage by the appointment of a committee to prepare a history of Indian philosophy, and it is hoped that similar committees will be appointed for the study of each of the important subjects mentioned above, thus giving an authentic and comprehensive idea of India's cultural achievements to her own people as well as to the world at large.

Adaptation of New Cultures

The adaptation of new cultural traits is still another important method of cultural reorientation. These may be derived from a variety of sources, as indicated below:

First, primitive indigenous cultures, some of which have already been assimilated with the Dravidian and Aryan cultures, particularly during the Buddhist period. They and the Buddhistic culture formed an integral part of Hindu civilization and should be analytically and critically studied in order to adapt them to India's rising civilization. The cultural traits of the tribal groups, numbering about 20 million in 1951, had been derived from the influence of their natural environment for thousands of years and may form the nucleus of some new cultural traits and also help in amalgamating these groups with other parts of India's population.

Second, Moslem rulers made India their home and brought their arts and crafts and science and philosophy and other cultural achievements with them. While some of their cultural traits have been fused into Hindu or Indian civilization, others have still remained unassimilated or even neglected. It is time for the Indian people, especially the Moslem population, to study such cultural traits as can be adapted to the national life of India. Moreover, such cultural adaptation would help to bring Hindu-Moslem communities closer together.

Third, under the impact of the West, some

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of the British and other western cultural traits have laid the foundation of modern political, juridical, economic, and educational institutions, and have already become India's cultural heritage. But many other cultural traits brought into India by the British and other Western nations still remain unassimilated, and attempts should now be made to ascertain their suitability for adoption into Indian national culture.

Fourth, some cultural traits of other countries should also be studied to determine their adaptability to Indian national life. The cooperative rural industries and mass education systems of China, the Japanese art of living with its simplicity, elegance and cleanliness, and the arts and crafts of Europe and elsewhere may be profitably studied for the same purpose.

Popularization of Learning

Popularization of learning is still another method of cultural reorientation, especially in India, where foreign domination during the medieval and modern times retarded not only political and economic development but also moral and intellectual progress. Reference has already been made to dissemination of knowledge through various methods, and some of them require further discussion.

First, the issuance of publications by competent authorities on modern science, philosophy, art and literature in Hindi or the national language under the auspices of national universities and with government subsidies; these should probably be of convenient size. Similar publications should also be prepared by provincial universities in provincial languages and with the help of government subsidies. Such publications should improve both national and provinvial languages. Moreover, the professors at national and provincial universities should be required to deliver public lectures in their respective fields.

Second, the circulation of valuable works through libraries. An important step in this direction has been undertaken by what has been called the library movement in Bombay. "A library for every village" is the slogan of the movement, and it proposes to set up a network of libraries in the entire province. The first step was taken on June 26, 1947, when the central library was opened in the city of Bombay. To carry out the project, the plans provided for: (1) Three regional libraries; (2) a library at each district headquarters; (3) a library at each *taluk* or *peta* (subdivision); (4) a library in every village having a population of 2,000 to 5,000; and (5) the gradual extension of the scope of the movement to include smaller villages. A similar step has been undertaken by Bihar and there is no doubt that similar measures will be taken by other provinces.

Third, the most significant social groups are what might be called the learned associations in science, philosophy, history, economics, politics, education, literature, medicine and other subjects, which have been increasing in number throughout the country for the last quarter of a century or more. These associations meet periodically and discuss important topics of their own research or of others both in India and abroad and often give suggestions as to the best means of solving some of the outstanding problems. They often guide social thought and it is through their constant efforts that society generally obtains scientific knowledge and directs its activities on progressive lines.

Fourth, the movements like those of political parties, trade unions, employers' associations, agrarian movements and other organizations of different political and economic interest are also important factors in the dissemination of knowledge. Although most of these movements are guided by party interests, their activities are important in view of the fact that they bring group interests to the attention of the general public.

Finally, the press and the platform are also great institutions for national awakening, inasmuch as they supply necessary information on almost all social questions. While most of the journals and periodicals are party organs and often express partisan views, there are also others which are impartial and take an objective view of things. To these must also be added the platform for the propagation of religious, political, industrial, ethical, aesthetic ideals by different organisations or individuals. Both the press and the platform are of great help to the popularisation of knowledge.

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GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

By Prof. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

IV

Multi-Purpose Projects

Recently several projects have been undertaken by the Government for power and irrigation in India. These projects are known as multi-purpose projects because of the many-fold advantages they yield. They are designed not only to provide irrigation facilities for growing additional food and commercial crops, but also for hydro-electric power, flood-control, fish-culture, navigation, conservation of soil, afforestation, drinking water and recreation facilities.[1] After the completion of these plans, India will be using about 10 per cent of her latent water power capacity, and about 28 million acres of land will become available for cultivation. About 153 projects are under execution in different parts of the country. Of these only six are multi-purpose, 104 irrigation and 43 power projects. 12 of these 153 projects are major. Of the major projects, 6 are multi-purpose, 3 power-schemes and 3 irrigation-schemes. The cost of these 12 major projects will amount to Rs. 439 crores and of the remaining 141 projects to Rs. 680 crores. The Five-Year Plan provides for the execution of 173 projects which will irrigate 8.53 million additional acres and provide a million kw. of additional hydel power. Eventually these projects will irrigate 16.94 million additional acres and generate 1.5 million kw. of additional power.[2]

Transportation

The extension of facilities of transportation is the most essential condition for the successful commercial and industrial development of a country. In fact, transportation permits a country to utilize its economic resources to the best possible advantages. Various kinds of transport means are available in our country. From the track animals of the mountains and the desert, the bullock-cart of the trackless agricultural areas, the country boats and crafts of fluvial water courses, to [illegible] that link up parts with important inland industrial and trading centres, the motor cars that have rendered door to door conveyance easy and economical, and aeroplanes that have reduced barriers of long distances to a minimum, India has become an epitome of all classes of transport. Transportation in India can be divided into four heads: (*i*) Roads, (*ii*) Railways, (*iii*) Waterways and (*iv*) Airways, all of which are influenced by the topography and climate of the country to a very great extent.

The road transport by its very nature touches the heart of the country and affects the well-being of the people at every turn. In India, road is the indigenous means of communication. Over a large part of India road-building of unmetalled type is a simple affair and presents no great difficulty. India has miles of roads. Over most of the country 40 to 75 per cent of the area is not served by road at all. Considering the size of the country this mileage is very meagre. We have only 73 miles of roads per 100,000 population compared to 2,411 miles in U.S.A., 4,398 miles in Canada and 934 miles in France.[3] Of the total road mileage of 241,513 miles (1950) only 95,463 miles are hard-surfaced. More than half of the metalled roads is in Peninsular India where the old hard rocks facilitate the building of such roads. Of the unmetalled roads, 146,060 miles, on the other hand, about four-fifth lies

1. In N. India: (*i*) Mandi Hydro-Electric Works, East Punjab 48,000 kwts.; (*ii*) Ganges Canal Hydro-Electric Grid System (U.P.) 18,000 kwts.

The important multi-purpose projects are:

(*i*) Damodar Valley Project; (*ii*) Bhakra Nangal Project; (*iii*) Koshi Project; (*iv*) The Hirakud Project; (*v*) Rhind & Nayar Dam Projects; (*vi*) The Tungabhadra Project; (*vii*) Machkund Hydel Scheme; (*viii*) Rampad Sagar Project; (*ix*) Tungabhadra Project and Chambal Project.

2. *The Five-Year Plan*, p. 351.

3. The following table gives an idea how deficient we are in road mileage in comparison with some other countries:

Country	Per sq. miles	Per 1,000 sq. miles	Per 100,000 persons	Remarks
Canada	..	160	4,938	..
Italy	0.89	1,467	376	Motorable
Japan	3.00	3,988	728	"
England	2.02	2,070	381	Motorable
France	1.84	—	934	"
U. S. A.	1.03	1,006	2,411	"
Germany	1.95	—	260	"
India	0.15	201	73	Only 35 p.c. motorable
Australia	—	168	6,602	—

—Vide *Eastern Economist, Annual*, 1952, p. 1064.

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in the Indo-Gangetic valley, where the soft alluvium, the great distance from which road metal has to be obtained and the frequent floods naturally favour the construction of the unmetalled road which is rebuilt chiefly after every rainy season. Want of adequate roads is keenly felt in rural areas. By far the greater portion of these roads is unbridged and heavy shower cuts off the communication whenever the stream crosses a line, and they are in many cases so unfit to stand the effects of the wheels while the surface is wet that in monsoon months they are out of use except for cattle or foot passengers.[4]

The best-served part of the country is South India and the areas worst served in this respect are Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa, Kutch and the Punjab. These are either too arid and thinly populated or too rainy and jungly with unbridgeable gorges and streams which intersect them.[5]

Indian roads are divided into five classes: (1) National Highways, (2) Provincial or State Highways, (3) District Roads, (4) Urban Roads and (5) Village Roads. The first are the important arteries of communication in the country.[6]

India's road system is insufficient for her needs and therefore in the Five-Year Plan a provision of Rs. 100 crores has been made for the purpose out of which 27 crores are to be spent on national highways and the rest mainly on State roads. The Plan envisages the development of nearly 3,000 miles of new roads and 16,000 to 17,000 miles of village roads through community effort.

Railways

The Indian railway system is by far the largest in Asia and the second biggest State-owned enterprise in the world. They employ about 9.23 lakh people, carry 123.21 crores of passengers, and 98.3 lakh tons of goods; consume about 10.8 million tons of coal; and their net earning is 66.55 crores of rupees. India has now 34,000 miles of railway lines,[7] which operate on three different gauges: 6 ft. 6 ins.; 3 ft. 3⅜ ins. and 2 ft. 6 ins.[8]

Of the total route mileage roughly about one-half is in the Indo-Gangetic Valley, which with its fertile plains and large population together with Calcutta, naturally offers the most favourable conditions for railway development. The general characteristic of this route in this valley is that it is straight over long distances because of absence of hills. But while the level nature of the valley helps the railways, the heavy rainfall and the numerous rivers necessitating costly bridges are a drawback. The frequent floods also raise the cost of maintaining the track. The railway lines in this valley are characterised by a large number of branch lines, which are particularly numerous in areas where the traffic is spread over the adjoining area. The railway lines running in Peninsular India are zig-zag. The broken topography of the south compels the lines to change their course and gradient from place to place, and also causes the making of tunnels at some places to get over obstructions. The mountains in the north and the Western Ghats also present considerable difficulties with regard to the construction of railway lines. The Satpuras and Vindhyas are low, and the railway lines can bypass the big ranges or cross them by means of tunnels. The Thar desert in Rajasthan with scanty population and resources make railway operation difficult and unprofitable. Thus in India, the railway pattern has been much influenced by the forces of economic geography.

The mileage of railways in India is very small as compared with that of other important countries. Large countries with comparatively small population, such as Canada and Australia, record a low territorial ratio, *viz.*, 11 miles and 9 miles of railways, while smaller countries with dense population and a high degree of railway development show high ratios. U. K. has 206 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles; France 120 and Japan 87 for the same area. India with her large territory

4. D. R. Gadgil: *Modern Industrial Evolution of India*, p. 4.
5. *Indian Year Book*, 1945-46, p. 36.
6. At present there are 6 National Highways: running from (*a*) Calcutta to Bombay; (*b*) Delhi to Bombay; (*c*) Bombay to Madras; (*d*) Madras to Calcutta; (*e*) Calcutta to Bombay *via* Nagpur, and (*f*) Delhi to Madras *via* Nagpur.
7. On the eve of the partition, there were 40,524 miles of railways in undivided India of which 6,958 miles went to Pakistan and 33,566 miles remained in India.
8. Of the total mileage, 15,700 miles narrow broad gauge, 15,000 miles are metre gauge and only 3,300 miles narrow gauge. The metre-gauge railways are seen mostly in the State of Assam, North Bihar, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and also in the northern part of West Bengal, in South India and some parts of U.P. The narrow gauge railways are in existence in mountains and in interior parts of the villages of West Bengal. In other parts broad gauge railways predominate.

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but with a moderate extent of railway development has only 28 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles. Distribution of railway mileage on the population basis presents an entirely different picture. Large countries with a small population such as Canada and Australia, show low ratios; while small countries with high population density, despite the relatively large route mileage, such as [illegible] or Japan, stand comparatively low under the population ratios. India has but 10 miles of railway per 100[illegible] people.[9]

With a view to effecting economy and efficiency in administration, a scheme for regrouping the entire railway system, except a few privately owned light railways, was prepared by the Railway Board in 1950 and enforced during 1951-52. As a result of regrouping the six zones were created: (*i*) The Southern Railway, 6,017 miles with headquarters at Madras; (*ii*) Central Railway, 5,428 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (*iii*) Western Railway, 5,461 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (*iv*) Northern Railway, 6,007 miles with headquarters at Delhi; (*v*) North-Eastern Railway, 4,767 miles with headquarters at Gorakhpur and (*vi*) Eastern Railway, 5,667 miles with headquarters at Calcutta. And from August 1955, a seventh railway zone, *viz.*, (*vii*) South-Eastern Railway zone is also going to be opened.

Water-Ways

India is a land of many rivers, and yet her water transport is not much developed. This is due to certain geographical drawbacks. Firstly, during the rainy season the rivers are in high floods and consequently have a strong current which is not easy to navigate. During the dry seasons, only the big rivers have water throughout their course, others become disconnected pools in which navigation is impossible. Secondly, even in big rivers the water is very shallow and there are sandbars due to silting which further reduce the depth of water. Thirdly, owing to the shifting of river courses, permanent jetties or wharfs cannot be made. Fourthly, the rivers usually enter the sea in shallow, sandy delta-mouths instead of deep and broad estuaries. In lower Bengal, Assam and in the river dletas on the east coast, there is enough water in the rivers and navigation is possible throughout the year. These regions are not well-supplied with roads or railways. This fact naturally makes navigation the only efficient means of communication. On the Ganga in Bengal and Bihar and on the Brahmaputra in Assam a large number of steamers ply.

There are other parts of the country where canal navigation is active. In Andhra and Madras States, the Godavari canals including the Dummagudan canal, the Kistna canals, the Bukingham canal, the Kurnool-Kuddaph canal, the West-coast canals and the Vedaranniyam canal; in Bengal, the Circular and Eastern canals; in U.P., the Ganges canals; and in Orissa, the Orissa canal, are important highways for water-borne traffic. On the West coast the backwaters form the chief means of transport.

The total mileage of waterways in India is estimated to be 25,000 miles. Of these about 10,000 miles are rivers and 15,000 miles canals. But the approximate length of navigable waterways at present is only 5,144 miles distributed, as U.P. 745 miles; Bihar 715 miles; West Bengal 777 miles; Assam 920 miles; Orissa 287 miles; Madras and Andhra, 1,700 miles.[10]

India has a coastline of over 3,500 miles and merchant ships from all important maritime countries call at her ports. The sea routes radiate mainly from the five major ports of Calcutta, Vizagapatam, Madras, Bombay, and Cochin. The principal sea routes are the Suez route, the Cape route, the Australian route and the Singapore route.

At the end of 1952, the total tonnage of Indian ships of over 150 G.R.T. was 452,274 G.R.T. with 111 ships and 25 companies. The coastal traffic is reserved for the Indian fleet since August, 1950. According to the statement made by the Government in Lok Sabha in March 1953, 24.48 lakhs of deadweight ton cargoes were carried on the coast in 1951 and 24.66 lakhs of deadweight tons in 1952. In order to carry our coastal cargo 259,000 G.R.T.

9. *Country* | Routes mileage | Routes mileage per 1000 sq. miles | Routes mileage per 100000 persons | Per capita passenger mileage | Electric traction routes miles

U. S. A.	227,244	60	118	224	2,708
U.S.S.R.	54,487	..	..	..	1,040
Canada	42,336	11	291	211	..
India	34,000	28	10	111	239
Australia	31,199	9	321	287	..
France	25,601	120	[illegible]	413	2,520
U. K.	19,357	206	[illegible]	411	905
S. Africa	13,932	28	[illegible]	Not available	
Japan	12,572	87	15	568	3,591

—Vide *Directory of Railway Officials and Year Book*, 1952.

10. *Times of India's Directory and Year Book* (1954-55), p. 260.

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of Indian shipping was employed. Practically the entire coastal trade and 43 per cent of the adjacent trade is now being carried by Indian ships. The total freight earnings of Indian companies from the coastal trade amounted to Rs. 10 crores in 1951-52. Indian shipping companies have regular cargo services to the U.K., the Continent, the U.S.A. and Australia. By the end of 1952, the total tonnage employed in the overseas tradeway was 253,000 G.R.T. The freight earnings of the Indian companies from overseas trade during 1951-52 was Rs. 9 crores, under the plan the total tonnage employed in the coastal and overseas trade will increase from 362,150 to about 600,000 G.R.T. by 1955-56 for an expenditure of Rs. 14.94 crores.[11]

Air Transport

India's place in Civil aviation is fourth among the nations of the world. As a meeting point of the air routes between the East and the West, India holds a key position in the international aviation. With its vast distances and favourable climate throughout the year, India provides an ideal field for air transport. But in spite of this fact, compared with U.S.A., U.K. and Canada the progress of Civil aviation in India is very modest.

There are three types of air-transport routes in India: (*i*) Trans-Continental trunk routes, (*ii*) Regional trunk routes and (*iii*) Local service routes. A typical trans-continental route is one which connects Bombay with Calcutta and is linked up with foreign and overseas air routes at Bombay and Calcutta. The regional trunk routes connects foreign and over-seas routes at Bangalore, Delhi, Nagpur and Hyderabad. The local service routes feed regional and trans-continental routes.[12]

India has three international aerodromes, Bombay (Santa Cruz), Calcutta (Dum Dum) and Delhi (Palam); seven major aerodromes at Agartala, Ahmedabad, Begumpet, Bombay (Juhu), Delhi (Safdarjung), Gauhati, Madras and Nagpur; 29 intermediate aerodromes and 37 minor aerodromes.[13]

The total route mileage is 27,763 miles of which 14,050 miles are domestic route mileage and 13,713 international route mileage.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we may say that India is a country unique in many respects. Within her own borders she presents every variety of natural features to be found on the surface of the earth. Snow-capped mountains, precipitous ravines, undulating hills, high plateaus, level plains, sandy deserts, verdant oases, mighty streams and rich fields diversify the surface of the country. India has been favoured bountifully from the permanent snows of the Himalayas and the glorious alpine regions of Kashmir to the rainless desert of western Rajasthan and the continental extremes of western U.P. and Rajasthan and the perpetual hot-houses of Malabar. India possesses great diversity of animals, vegetation products and minerals ranging from the heavily coated Kashmir sheep to the camel of Rajasthan, the tiger of Bengal and the elephant of South India; from wheat, fruits and fir trees of the north to the jute and rice fields of West Bengal and slender and elegant areca palms, banana, mango, and *dhupa* trees of Mysore, cocoanut palms of low-lying swamps and coastal regions; and from the coal and iron fields of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the gold region of Mysore, the manganese region of Madhya Pradesh, the salt lakes of Rajasthan and the oilfields of Assam.[14] Diversity of

11. India's share in the world's merchant shipping fleet is very insignificant as would be clear from the following figures:

Countries	No.	Gross R. Tonnage (000 tons)
U.S.A.	3,492	25,793
England	3,102	18,873
Norway	959	5,136
France	519	2,889
Holland	500	2,820
Italy	423	2,474
Denmark	307	1,116
Japan	423	2,783
Germany	174	476
India	111	452
World	..	872,000

—Vide *Eastern Economist Annual*, 1952, p. 1071.

12. There are 14 Indian transport companies. These companies run air lines on 7 routes as follows:
- Route No. 1 (Formerly Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—5 Services.
- Route No. 2 (,, Bharat Air Ways Ltd., Calcutta)—7 Services
- Route No. 3 (,, Himalayan Aviation and the Kalinga Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—2 Services.
- Route No. 4 (,, Indian National Airways, New Delhi)—7 Services.
- Route No. 5 (,, Deccan Airways Ltd., Hyderabad)—4 Services.
- Route No. 6 (,, Air India Ltd., Madras)—6 Services.
- Route No. 7 (,, Air Services of India, Ltd., Bombay) 4 Services.

Besides these internal services, Indian Air Corporation maintains overseas services with U.K., Burma, China, Japan, etc.

13. *Times of India's Directory and Year Book*, 1954-55, p. 252.

14. Vera Anstey: *Economic Development of India*, pp. 5-6.

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physical features and the climatic conditions have produced great varieties in population and the economic habits of the people. What different types are represented by the hard-working Deccanees of the peninsula, the ease-loving agriculturists of Bengal, the shepherd hill-men of the Himalayas, the traders and commercial magnates of Rajasthan and the primitive huntsmen of the hill regions!

What strikes us is the fact that the [illegible] economic life is rich in variety man in [illegible] has failed to profit adequately. The contrast between the bounties of nature and the poverty of man is here very striking . Nature has been very bountiful in bestowing her gifts lavishly but man has failed to play his part well. Hence, the usual statement, "India is a rich country inhabited by poor people."[15] What is needed is initiative, enterprise, business skill, capital, government co-operation and above all active population to use and exploit the dormant resources for material advancement and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. It is a happy augury to see that we are now fast on the road to development. India is not only reclaiming her marshy lands and bringing new lands under the plough with the help of tractors and bull-dozers, enriching her soils by inorganic fertilizers and improved appliances, planning her agriculture and industries, developing her [illegible] water resources, exploiting her forests and mineral wealth, fighting with her food and raw material shortages by every possible means, organising her railways and opening vast tracts of new lands by country roads but also developing her new outlook of life and devising various means of making the masses happy, healthy and prosperous.

(*Concluded*)

15. Jathar & Beri: *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, p. 32.

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CHINA AND ASIAN STABILITY

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

As Russia with the Asian Soviet forms the vast single block of diverse nationalities and languages inspired by a common ideology, so China, the compact mass of mankind dominantly Mongoloid is being transformed into the bulwark of Asian solidarity. But there is another fragment of Chinese party politics in Formosa under Chiang Kai-shek who with American support mainly is trying to perpetuate schism defying the People's Republic, fully functioning from 1949, with over 500,000,000 souls. Then the third element is represented by the Overseas Chinese numbering about 10 million : majority of them in Asia (with 2½ m. in Malaya and 1½ m. in Indonesia) and also in Oceania, Africa, Europe and America.

In religion the Chinese were cosmopolitan in spirit, harbouring the Jews in Honan, the Moslems counting 50 million and the Buddhists 150 million coming from outside. The rest are Taoists or Confucians but all religious groups are now subjected to the new communist drive to secularization. The resultant psychological types and their reaction to the new Government should be cautiously watched. The West has clashed with the East, in China as well as in India for over three centuries of modern history started by the Manchu dynasty (1640 onwards). Emperor Ch'en Lung (1736-1795) was a contemporary of Clive and Hastings; so we may follow easily the quick transformation of China during the last two centuries. China invaded Tibet in 1751 and began controlling the succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1758 Keshgaria was conquered maintaing Chinese control over Central Asia. In 1781 the revolt of the Muslims were suppressed, the Formosan rebellion was crushed, and the Gurkhas of Nepal were vanquished (1792).

Between 1757-1842 China suspicious of the Christian westerners stopped them systematically from settling down in any Chinese port under the pretext of trade ; Earl of Macartney was sent away (1793) from the Chinese Court of Peking; but the Americans luckily entered into a profitable trade in Canton (1784).

During the century of 1795-1895 we notice China declining through total refusal to take to modern science and industry which Japan accepted and, thus defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1893-94.

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In 1821 the Opium trouble started, for the East India Company began sending (defying Chinese Emperor's prohibition) 5000 chests of Indian opium to China. It was temporarily stopped (1834) with the end of the Company's monopoly of British trade with China. The Chinese burnt 30,000 opium chests and the British opened the Opium War (1841-42) and forcibly took Hongkong and opened other ports like Canton, Amoy, Fenchow, Nengpo and Shanghai. Chaos reigned between [illegible] the Tai Ping rebellion led to ruthless destruction of life and property. The French took advantage of it and gradually grabbed Indo-China (1862 onwards).

In these gloomy days was born Sun-wen famed later on as Sun Yat-sen (1862-1925), a contemporary of Lenin. Dr. Sun tried to organise rebellion against the decadent Manchus (1895) but failed; he escaped *via* Hawaii to Europe and America and organised (since 1893) the overseas Chinese. Meanwhile Japan defeated the corrupt Manchu rulers of China and took Formosa (1895). The big Powers of Europe—France, Germany, Russia—began a scramble for "concessions" forming States within a State. So the hot-heads of China started the Boxer Rising (1900-1901) lowering the prestige of the Manchus who were driven out in 1911 by the Revolutionary Chinese who elected Dr. Sun Yet-sen their President (December, 1911). After a second revolution in July, 1913, Yuan Shi-kai was elected President; but he too tried to play the Emperor (1917) and lost his chance. Dr. Sun moved to Canton and made his Government in 1921. In 1915 Japan presented the notorious 21 demands during the First World War but the Washington Conference (February, 1922) guaranteed to China independence and territorial integrity. There was also the remission of the Boxer indemnity of 6 million dollars diverted to rehabilitate Chinese education by creation of the China Foundation for Promotion of Education and Culture. So U.S.A. sunk billions of dollars in China to conciliate the Chinese and to capture their vast market. But other factors went against U.S.A.

Soviet Russia in repudiation of the Tsar's ill-gotten gains gave up (1919-20) extra-territoriality, etc., at Tientsin and Hankow and balance of the Russian share of the Boxer indemnity to be used for the education of young Chinese in Russia who with many other Asians, were invited to the first Pan-Asian Congress in Baku (1920). In January, 1924, the first Kuo Min Tang Congress at Canton with Sun Yet-sen as President admitted the Communists to the party which began to be influenced by Russian advisers, notably Michael Borodin; and Chiang Kai-shek (born 1887). himself trained in Japan, headed the Russian instructors in the new Whampoa Military Academy. He went to Russia for further [illegible] and on return—when Dr. Sen died (March, 1925)—began destroying the Chinese communists, who, in their turn, waged a 30 years' war against Chiang championing outmoded feudalistic capitalism. Yet Chiang's master Dr. Sun propagated progressive socialism since 1904-1907 (a decade before the Russian Revolution of 1917). Before his death (12 March, 1925) he published his lectures—San Min Chu I or the three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Progress—all three betrayed by Dr. Sun's corrupt or incompetent followers, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei.

Communist China

The dividing line between two historical periods was drawn by the youths of Peking who on May 4, 1919 called a huge demonstration against the supine and corrupt Government and thus began a truly nationalistic and cultural revolution. Few now remember that a young graduate of the Normal School of Ch'angsha organised the New People's Student Union joining the Revolutionary movement. He was Mao Tse-tung, (born 1893) in Hunan Province where he joined as a boy a small Communist Party cell which had its ramifications in Hankow and Peking. Mao in 1918 took a small job in the library of the Peking University studying books, writing poems and he was elected delegate to the first Communist Congress in Shanghai and Chialsing (July, 1921). Its second session met in Hangchow (July, 1922), which formally resolved to wipe out imperialism, warlordism, stressing Dr. Sun's Nationalism. They decided to join the Communist International and invited the third Congress to Canton (June, 1923) where Mao was elected Member of the Central Committee. The fourth Congress met in Shanghai (January, 1925) where the party resolved to organise the Farmers' and Labourers' movement and the youth and the women's organisations. Thus their youth corps had a good number and the Party had more than 1000 members. The fifth Congress in Hankow

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(April, 1927) brought 100 delegates representing 500,000 members of the party. Mao took the lead in Land Reforms. The sixth Congres met in Moscow (July, 1928), for Chiang started his ruthless campaign to exirpate the Chinese communists who took up guerilla activities against Chiang's Kuomintang Government. Mao formed the first Red Army (1[illegible]28) with the youths of Hunan, Fukien and Kia[illegible]hence Mao led the famous Long March (1934-35) to [illegible] (8000 miles). He also set up a Chinese Sovie[illegible] and led the Agrarian Revolution seizing for peasants the lands of the idle landlords. Meanwhile the Japanese began occupying Manchuria (1931-32) and Mao appealed to the nation and made common cause with Chiang for the war of Resistance. In September, 1937 Mao kept back his communist propaganda and ordered his Red Army to fight the Japanese as part of the Chinese National Army which was strengthened under Chiang who concluded a non-agression treaty between China and Soviet Russia (August, 1937). The Japanese and Russian forces clashed (August 1938) on the Manchuria-Korea-Siberia borders. The Japanese took Canton and Hankow amidst protests of the Western Powers but the Second World War broke out in full fury in 1939.

Liquidation of Kuomintang (1939-1949)

In August, 1939 Hitler and Stalin made a strange German-Russian Pact and in September England and France declared war on Germany invading Poland. In December, 1939, Russia was expelled from the League of Nations for distributing vital war materials to the enemies. In May, 1940 Churchill formed his Coalition Government with Labour Party in June, after French collapse, and America made a big defence programme with a "two-ocean navy" and offered warships to England in exchange for American naval and air bases in the British Empire by the agreement of September, 1940 when Germany, Italy and Japan entered into a Pact which encouraged Japan to attack Hawaii (December 1941). U.S.A. thus entered the war and England reopened the Burma Road to send supplies to China. But civil war raged in China (1941-45) and the seventh Congress of Chinese Communists met at Yenan in 1945. Mao after Japanese surrender (August, 1945) flew with U.S.A. Ambassador Hurley to Chungking to conclude Peace, if possible, with Chiang. But in 1946 civil war again broke out in Mukden, Kalgam and Yenan. From 1948 Mao Tse-tung began his big offensive and totally defeating (1949) Chiang's forces, drove them to Formosa and occupied the Chinese mainland establishing the People's Republic of over 500 million souls.

In June, 1950 Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a memorable address on "Fight for a better turn in the Economic situation in China" and the whole nation began working as one man to develop a New Democracy in the East with Soviet [illegible] U.K., India, Burma, Ceylon, among others, promptly recognised the People's Republic which is showing throughout very cordial sentiments to India led by Premier Nehru who was most warmly welcomed as a guest of the Republic. The Chinese Foreign Member Chou En-lai naturally gave full support to the policy of Nehru in the Bandung Conference (July, 1955). Chou En-lai was born (1896) in Kiangsu who studied western diplomacy while in Paris as a student forming Chinese communist cells in Paris and other European cities. Returning to China in 1923 he helped Chiang and Mao in their anti-Japanese drive but when civil war broke out Chow retreated to Yenan and finally emerged as Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic and administrative Councils and also as the Minister of Foreign Affairs helping Mao in all sectors.

Ten years senior to them is General Chu Te (born 1886), the Communist Commander-in-Chief. Graduate of the Yunnan Military Academy he formed the Revolutionary League taking part in the Yunnan uprisings. After that he visited Germany (1922) and fostered the Chinese Communist cells in Berlin and other places. He joined the North Expedition (1926) after his return to China were Kuomintang and Communists began clashing (1927). He helped Mao Tse-tung in building up the Red Army of Farmers and Labourers and led the Eighth Route Army and commenced the Long March (1935). Famed General and Vice-Chairman of the People's Military Council Chu Te is also Supreme Commander of the Chinese Forces.

Another great leader is Kuo Mo-jo (born 1892), poet, novelist, critic and scholar; now Head of the Cultural Ministry. He began as a medieval student (like Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Japan, publishing there his Poems (1921-22). On return to homeland he organised the "Creative Society" most influential in modern Chinese literature. In 1925 he was of the staff of the

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Sun Yat-sen University, Canton. In 1927 he fostered Proletarian literature from Shanghai (1927) and thence escaped to Japan where he studied old Chinese history and wrote copiously (1927-37). In 1945 he visited Russia and in 1949-51 he was in Poland and France. On return he was elected Chairman of the Committee of Cultural-Educational Affairs, President of the Academia Sinica winning the Stalin Peace Award. He translated also from Goethe, Tolstoy, Upton Sinclair, etc., and wrote [illegible]ership Political Science, Social Problems and Archaeology—a prolific and versatile writer who recently visited India.

This new generation, of course, got inspiration from progressive veterans of the last century some of whom I mention : The oldest to remember, I suppose, is Kiang Yu-wei (1856-1928), scholar and social reformer admiring western culture. Condemned by the Manchus he fled to Hongkong and then to Japan where he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but was against violent revolution. He rather followed Confucius and Buddha writing on the Theory of Compassion and Equality in the Buddhist Teachings, which should be translated by Indians.

His favourite pupil was Liang Chi-chao who invited Dr. Tagore to China in 1924. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's (I often met him and his colleagues) noble wife Sung Ching-ling (born 1890) helped Dr. Sun in his revolutionary works and later joined Chu Te, Chow En-lai, etc., of the Revolutionary Party. She could not pull on well with her brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek. She travelled through Russia and other parts of Europe and America for the cause of World Peace and Chinese Democracy. She wrote in English *The Struggle for New China* and got the Stalin Peace Prize (1951). She should be invited by the Indian Women's Organizations, as she is the real disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and now Chairman of All China Democratic Women's Federation of the Welfare Institute and also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic. Her Federation helped to convene (December, 1953) the Conference of Asian Women with 165 Delegates from 23 Oriental countries contacting 76,000,000 women workers of different grades and ideals. Free India should invite another such Conference soon.

The People's Republic of China (proclaimed 21st September, 1949) passed the Organic Law of the State led by the Communist Party with five million members (July, 1950) who strive for independence, democracy, peace and strength of China through unification. China (like India) is a subcontinent of 32 Provinces and 12 municipalities, covering an area of over 3,000,000 sq. miles. Food, clothing and housing problems are as acute as in India but within five years (1949-54) China has made tremendous headway through hard labour and honesty. By the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, U.S.S.R. granted to China commodity credits of 300 million U.S. dollars to be repaid in 10 years (1954-63). With great zeal for science, new China is applying modern methods of agriculture, reafforestation and irrigation. Foreign air services have closed but the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co. (1950) is operating lines from Peking to Central Asia and Russia has returned to China important railways to the East. Shipping industry is being developed and the Bureau of Navigation has regional centres at Tientsin, Shanghai, Tsingkao, Dairen and Canton. Before 1949 Communist victory there were many western trading agencies : 151 British, 142 American, 20 Swiss, 11 French, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, etc.; also 7 overseas Chinese. How many have resumed commercial relations are not definitely known. But Ceylon, India, Pakistan, etc., are doing good business with U.K. After U.S.A. and India, China is the third in the world's total cotton production, next in silk and tea. So manufactures relating to these articles are thriving. Coal and iron are there in plenty and will help developing heavy industries. China is also rich in minerals like gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, antimony, tungsten, etc., which are found in plenty. So oil is being extracted in Shensi, Kansu, Upper Yangtse and South Manchurian zones. Tin mining thrived in Yunnan with its vast tin ores. Sino-Soviet Joint-stock Companies are developing oil and non-ferrous metals in Sinkiang. Total trade union membership was over 4 million in 1950 and must have gone higher now. Like U.S.S.R. in the west China may develop into the biggest Labour Republic in the East benefiting most of the "under-developed" (yet over-populated) countries of Asia. On the livelihood and well-being of these teeming millions depend the permanent peace & stability of Asia.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA— MORE UNITARY THAN FEDERAL

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IT is interesting to note that although based on federal model our constitution does not contain any reference of the word 'federal.' Article 1 of the constitution describes India as a 'union' and not a 'federal union' of states. It seems to be a deliberate omission that strikes at the root of the intention of the fathers of the constitution. There is no doubt that the designation of units as 'States' and not 'Provinces' suggests that the Union is federal. But the Central Government under the new constitution has far more extensive powers than it had under the Government of India Act, 1935. Thus, the Prime Minister of India may seem to be "not merely a grand Moghal but a lion and the provincial Governments would be like lambs and goats which will tremble before him." *

"A serious complaint is made on the ground that there is too much of centralisation and that the states have been reduced to municipalities."*

These views might look apparently exaggerated, but a clear analysis of the relations between the Union and the States would make it abundantly evident that our constitution is more unitary than federal.

In every Federation there exists a clear demarcation of powers of the centre and the constituent units, for, as Professor Dicey has said :

"Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of subordinate bodies each originating in, and controlled by, the Constitution."

In India, too as, elsewhere, the legislative functions of the Union and the States have been placed under different heads. The spheres of activity for the Union and the States are precisely laid down by the Constitution itself, and within that particular sphere the authority of each is prescribed to the exclusion of the other in normal times. But the powers of the states are taken into consideration it becomes clear that our Constitution although given a federal shape has, at the same time, a very strong centre. The structure of Government contained in the constitution of India is federal, but the structure is so tight that it is almost unitary.

Article 246 provides that the Parliament has exclusive powers to legislate over 97 items prescribed, in the Union List and the State legislature has power to make laws regarding 66 matters only, enumerated in the State List, while both the parliament and the state legislatures have power to make laws on 47 subjects referred to in the Concurrent List.

According to Article 248 the residuary powers of legislation (subjects not included in the Union, Concurrent or State Lists) are assigned to the centre, *i.e.*, to the Parliament and not the Legislatures of the states. This is in contrast with the powers of states in U.S.A., and even Australia, although it conforms to the practice in the Union of south Africa and Canada. In U.S.A. and Australia the residuary powers have been given to the states, but in India as in Canada and Union of south Africa they have been vested in the Union Government in order to make it more powerful.

It has been pointed out that both Parliament as well as State Legislatures are empowered to make laws on the subjects in the Concurrent List. If Parliament as well as a State Legislature happen to make laws on the same subject in this List, and if it is found that the two laws are in conflict with each other, than the law made by the Parliament shall prevail and any provisions of the state law, which are repugnant to what has been enacted by the Parliament, will be null and void. Thus in the matters of Concurrent List the centre has been afforded a definite supremacy.

Normally the Union Parliament shall have no jurisdiction to make laws for those subjects which are in the State List, and in keeping with the essentials of a federal arrangement, a clear distribution of subjects between the Union and the States, has been made by the Constitution. But the Constitution also contains a further provision which will have the effect of empowering the Union Parliament to enact over a subject, enumerated in the State List, over which normally

* Shri Thakur Das Bhargava in the Constituent Assembly on November 15, 1949.

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the states have the exclusive jurisdiction. The Constitution, lays down that if the Council of States passes a resolution by a two-third majority of the members present and voting declaring that in the national interest it is necessary or expendient for the Union Parliament to make laws with respect to any matter included in the state list, Parliament shall be empowered to legislate on that matter so long as such resolution remains in force. The life of such a resolution shall normally be one year [illegible] necessary may further be extended by periods of one year at a time by subsequent resolutions. Such a drastic power given to one House of the legislature is unique in the history of federations. It negatives one of the most fundamental principles associated with federal polity, namely, that encroachment either by the Central Government or by the State Government on spheres which are exclusively assigned to the one and to the other will not be permissible.

Again, if the houses of the legislatures of two or more states pass a resolution that the Parliament may legislate for them, it shall have the power to do so. Any such Act passed by the Parliament shall apply to such states and to any other state also; by which it is adopted afterwards. Only Parliament shall have the power to amend or repeal any such Act, and the state to which it applies will, have no power to amend or repeal it.

Article 253 provides that the Parliament has also the power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any International treaty, agreement and convention or the like.

It is clearly stated that the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament, and that the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a state as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. Similarly, the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as not to impede the executive power of the Union. The Union can also give directions to a state as to the construction and maintenance of means of communication which are declared to be of national or military importance. It can also give directions to a state as to the measures to be taken for the protection of Railways within the state. If any state fails to comply with, or to give effect to, any directions given by the Union, it shall be lawful for the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, and to take the requisite consequential action, *i.e.*, he is empowered to take over the administration of that state in his own hand (Act. 265). Parliament also when it makes [illegible] which applied in any state, may confer powers or impose duties upon the state or its officers in respect of that subject even though it does not fall within the competence of the state legislature. Article 263 further authorises the Parliament to establish an inter-state council for settling inter-state disputes or discussing matters of common interest between them. Thus, in spite of the federal form given to the constitution, the responsibility for the faithful and adequate execution of the powers vested in the Union to operate within the territory of a state, is thrown on the shoulders of the State Government themselves.

Turning to the financial matters, it is found that certain sources of revenue are allotted to the states, but the power of imposing taxes or duties in regard to them is vested in the Government of India. The distribution of the proceeds of such taxes among the different states is to be determined in accordance with such principles as may be formulated by Parliament by law. The finance commission also is appointed by the President every five year.

To cope with national peril, such as in times of war, external aggression, internal disturbance, constitutional deadlock or financial stringency, the President of India has been armed with almost dictatorial powers. It is really during this period of emergency that the constitution becomes completely unitary. "The provision of Emergency Powers leaves in the hands of the President a loaded gun which can be used both to protect and to destroy the liberty of citizens." When a Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President is in operation, Parliament shall have power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to any of the matters enumerated even in the state list. Such a law will continue to have effect during the currency of the Proclamation and for a period of six months thereafter. During such a period the Union Government can give direc-

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tions to any state as to the manner in which the state's executive power should be exercised.

Again, if the President is satisfied, or has been informed by the Governor or Raj Pramukh of a state, that a situation has arisen in which the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may by Proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the state and all or any of the powers exercised by the Governor, he may declare that the powers of the legislature of the state shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament.

In the event of a financial stringency in India or in any part thereof, the President by a Proclamation can give directions to any state which may include the provision of the reduction of the salaries and allowances of public servants belonging to the Union or the State. In such abnormal times all money bills passed by the state legislatures may be reserved for the consideration of the President.

Thus, in an emergency the centre can supersede the powers of the states. The contribution is unique in so far as "it is at once unitary and federal according to circumstances. Normally it is meant to be federal, but in emergencies it can assume a unitary character." Such overriding powers mean to some extent that the states have been reduced to the status of "glorified municipalities and corporations." In the opinions of some, "the provinces have been tied with new claims of slavery." But a power of this type is essential in times of national crisis. During the two world wars even in countries like U.S.A., Australia and Canada the tendency towards an enlargement of federal powers, in order to meet the grave emergency, was found in practice to be irresistible. Political thinkers believe that a federal form of Government is essentially weak more in the face of an emergency as it parcels power into too many hands.

"In the vein of a philosopher, critics allege that a house divided within itself cannot stand when the rains descend in torrents and the overwhelming floods come—when dissensions within and the aggressive shocks from without put its stability to the test".

Naturally, therefore, a federal form of Government provision has to be made to meet the emergencies.

Like all federations, the federation of India has created a dual polity, but unlike the U.S.A. which allowed the states to have the right to continue their own constitutions or to modify them or even to make them if the states were new, it has laid down detailed constitutions for its Constituent units. The states in India have, therefore, no power or freedom to deviate from what has been prescribed for them in the same frame-work which has also prescribed the constitution of the Union.

The component units in the 'Indian Union' have no power to secede from the Union. Once a state becomes a part of the Union, it is not competent to severe its relations from the Union. The constitution of U.S.S.R. also provides a 'Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics' but it specifically allows the Republics to secede from the Union whenever they like. Our Constitution does not permit such a thing.

Our Constitution does not admit dual citizenship. Unlike the Constitution of U.S.A. it provides single citizenship. The creation of a dual polity has not resulted in the creation of a dual citizenship, with the aim to have uniformity in all fundamental issues for the consolidation of the Union. There is only one single citizenship for the whole country, namely, Indian citizenship, and there is no state citizenship. Thus another important characteristic of a federal constitution is absent in our Constitution.

Unlike other federal constitutions the Indian constitution provides a comparatively easy process of constitutional amendment, the initiative lying only in the hands of the Centre. Article 368 provides that if a constitutional amendment is passed by each house of Parliament by a majority of its total membership and by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for signature. Except for some matters enumerated in the above Article which requires its ratification by the legislatures of not less than one half of the states, the states have no initiative in constitutional amendments (unlike the constitution of the United States).

There is a single integrated judiciary, and uniformity in civil and criminal laws. The President appoints not only the judges of the Supreme Court but also of the High Courts. Article 222 empowers the President to transfer a judge from one High Court to another after consultation with the Chief Justice of India. Moreover, the Union Judiciary itself is not free from

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the control of Parliament which has the power to get the judges removed by passing an address to this effect and presenting it to the President.

The Governors of the states are appointed by the President and shall hold office during his pleasure. The Governors and the Raj Pramukhs in the states are connected with the Centre in more than one way. Article 160 provides, that "the President may make such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor." This and other [illegible] provision [illegible]ership shall knit together the State administration with the national Government almost on the pattern of a unitary system.

Discretionary powers of Governors would, in all probability, be exercised under the instruction from the President. The constitution makes an important reference to certain undefined powers of the Governors to be exercised in his discretion. Although silent on this issue the framework of the constitution makes it abundantly clear how this power would be exercised. A Governor is the nominee of the President and holds office during his pleasure, *i.e.*, the President may withdraw his pleasure even before the fixed term of five years. Therefore, the Governor, by a curious position in which he is placed, has no option but to obey the directive of the President which ultimately means of the Prime Minister. Governors, that is why, are considered by many critics as "the watch-dogs of the centre." It is possible that directions may be issued similar to the Instrument of Instructions as provided under the Act of 1935. This may be an inevitable development of a constitutional convention necessitated by the silence of the constitution on a vital issue like this. In this connection it may be mentioned that in Travancore-Cochin when recently the Congress Ministry was defeated and the opposition requested the Raj Pramukh to give them a chance to form a ministry, the Raj Pramukh, while obviously acting according to the wishes of the centre, refused to give any such permission and dissolved the Assembly, and thus acted in his discretion.

The administration of Part C and D states shall be directly under the President. According to Article 239 and 243, they shall be administered as the President thinks fit, through a chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him or through the Government of a neighbouring state.

Moreover, the Election Commission, envisaged in Article 324, whose members are appointed by the President, will superintend, direct and control elections not only to the Parliament but also to the state legislatures.

Again, the Comptroller and Auditor General appointed by the President under Article 148 will keep a careful watch not only over the finances of the Union, but also of the states.

The Union Parliament has been authorised [illegible]nal Articles 2 and 3 to establish new states, increase or decrease the area of a state or even change the name of a state.

Article 169 (1) authorises the Parliament to abolish the legislative Council of a state or to create such a body where it does not exist, on a resolution of the Legislative Assembly of that State.

Articles 200 and 201 provide for the reservation of a bill by the Governor for the consideration of the President.

The Union Government is also authorised to impose restrictions on the trade and commerce in any part of India.

Moreover, during the Emergency period the President is empowered even to suspend the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. He has the power to declare that enforcement of such rights shall remain suspended for the priod during which the Proclamation is in force.

At the same time, although the members of the state legislatures along with the members of the Parliament have the right to choose the President for their Union, the members of the Parliament alone have been given the power to remove him. In his removal the states have no say at all.

In a federation the upper chamber is intended to represent the states as units and their equality of status is embodied in the equality of their representation. In the U.S.A., for instance, every state, big or small, sends two representatives to the senate. In the Indian Federation, however, this principle has not been accepted. The Council of States which is the upper chamber, is not formed on the principle of equality of representation to the constituent units irrespective of their size or population. Besides, the President has been given the power to nominate 12 members in the Council of States. This is a clear instance of the emphatic preference for centralization that undoubtedly inspired the framers of

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the Indian constitution, even though they endeavoured to give it the federal form.

Thus, it is obvious that the partnership is not among equals but the Union Government stands supreme over the state Governments. Every effort has been made to make the Union much stronger than what central governments usually are found to be in federal constitutions. The emphasis probably is more on the authority of the centre than on the autonomy of the [illegible]. As a matter of fact, even where that autonomy is supposed to be guaranteed, interference and dictation by the centre is not only prohibited, but authorized as a normal procedure of the functioning of the constitution. Thus our constitution is more unitary than federal in essence and spirit.

"It is like a pyramid which begins with a broad federal base and narrows upward to evolve into a singular unitary top."

India's federalism, a type by itself as it is, may well be termed as unitary federalism. A federation which can easily become a unitary state in times of crisis may ultimately prove to be a variety of constitutional form hitherto unknown to history. It may even be taken to be a distinctive contribution of this country to the theory and practice of federalism.

Creation of a Powerful Centre Justified

This over-centralisation has retarded the spirit of federalism and has provoked much criticism. This grant of overwhelming powers to the centre has, however, been done under very compelling and strong reasons of diversity and vastness of the country. The national interests and the integrity of the country have always been the two dominating thoughts in the minds of the architects of the constitution. We can scarcely forget the colossal sufferings which we had long been subject to mainly due to the fissiparous and disruptive tendencies working in our country. India, being a land essentially of different languages, creeds and religions, rightly needed a central machinery to control and maintain its component units. Moreover, the latest upheavals caused by the partition of the country have also made the creation of so powerful a centre a necessity. The issue of the economic development of India on a nation-wide scale and the problem of raising the standard of living of the citizens of India as a whole, all necessitated a strong unifying central control. The economic unity should necessarily follow the political unity. The units are [illegible] except in cases of emergencies or when the national interes's are being threatened. In fact, there is always a necessity of a strong unquestioned centralised authority to face the grave emergencies, when the interest of the nation is in question. On such occasions federations have proved to be a failure, and they are always weaker in tackling the immediate problems, which require quick, forceful and immediate action. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee endorsing the same view held that

"There should be power reserved to the centre, full and untrammelled both in the formulation of the policy and its execution to deal effectively with such emergencies. The constitution which ultimately emerged guarantees all this and guards aganist the dangers of disunity and turmoil."

The centralisation of authority in a country is needed, for it is only the centre and not the constituent units that can work for a common end and the general interests of the country. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the so-called Modern Manu, rightly remarked :

"Those who do not admit the justification for such over-riding powers to the centre even in any emergency do not seem to have a clear ideal of the problem which lies at the root of the matter."

It has to be admitted in the end, as Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said :

"Whatever may be the constitutional provisions, success in their practical working would, however, be not in riding roughshed over provincial feelings but in evolving a balance between the exigencies of unity and the requirements of provincial atonomy."

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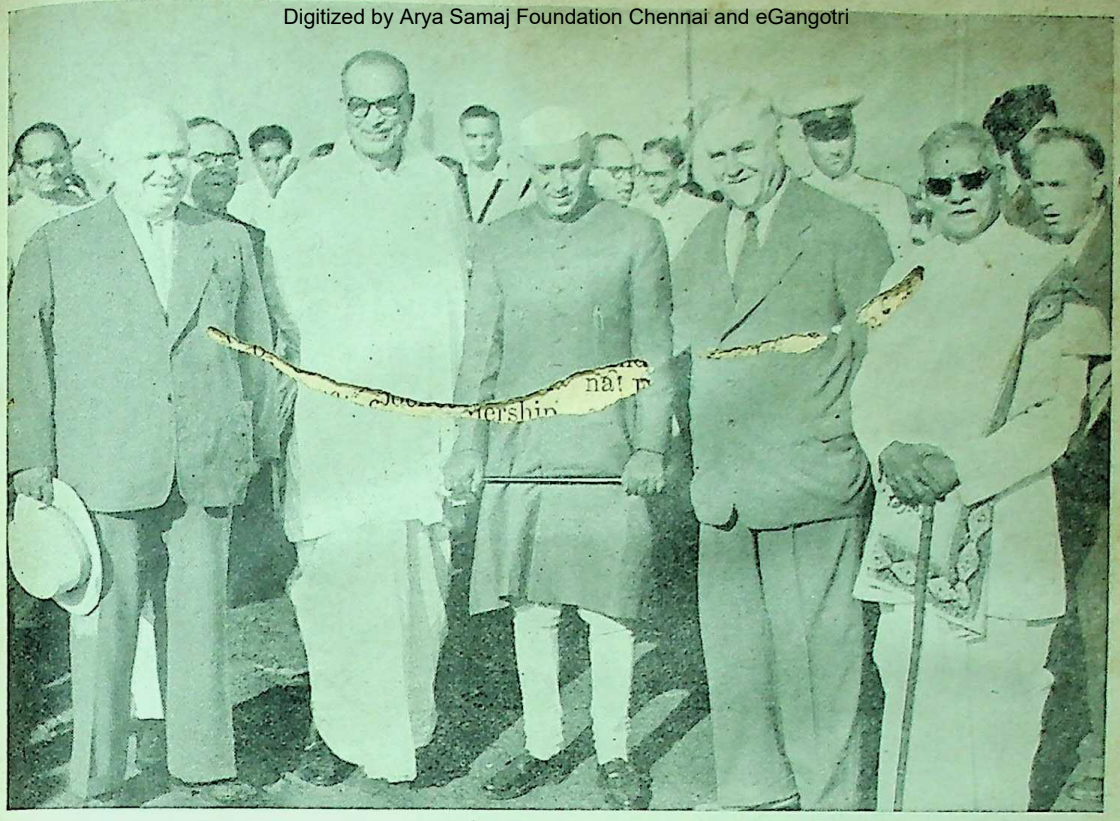
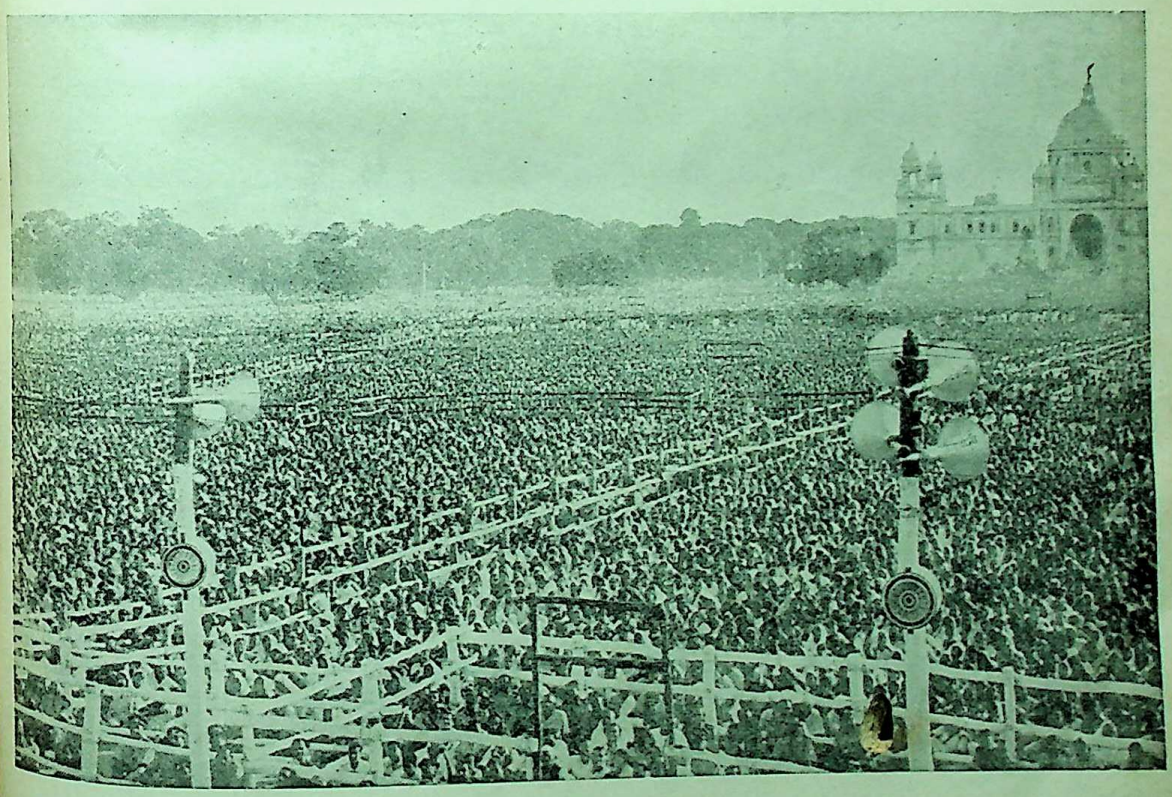


Mr. N. A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. N. S.Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, left Calcutta for Burma on December 1. They were seen off at Dum Dum airport by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and Dr. B. C. Roy



Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, addressing a mammoth public meeting, held at the Brigade Grounds, Calcutta, on December 30

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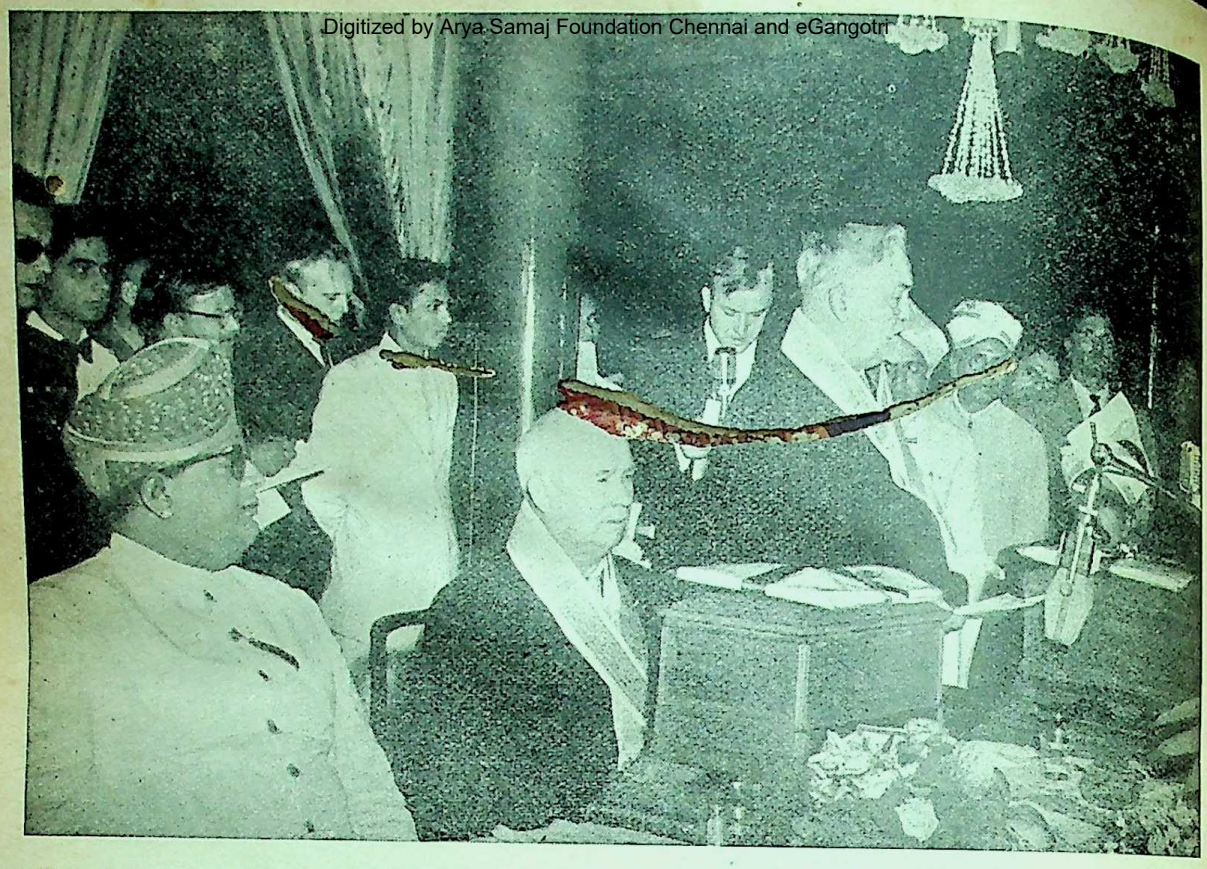

Mr. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., replying to the speech of the Chief Minister of Mysore at the State Dinner given in honour of Their Excellencies Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev at Bangalore on November 26

Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev being shown Components at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

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GOA'S LIBERATION : PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES

By ELEUTERIO SOARES

Recent developments in India have cast the Goa problem into an entirely new setting. While the determination of the Government of India to liquidate the foreign pocket is beyond in doubt, the question how and when the goal may be achieved has acquired a new angle following policy changes and adjustments. Old estimates are no longer valid and the situation calls for a complete reassessment of the prospects and possibilities of Goa's liberation in the context of the changed circumstances.

Broadly speaking, under the existing conditions the liberation of Goa depends either on a voluntary change in Portugal's colonial policy or on circumstances internal or external compelling the Portuguese to quit Goa. The former may come about as a result of self-enlightenment or the emergence of a new regime in Portugal while the pressure of world public opinion or economic sanctions or a resistance movement in Goa may induce the Portuguese to bow down to the inevitable. What chances there are of these possibilities being realised is of course a matter for investigation.

Now to begin with, the possibility of a voluntary change of heart on the part of the Portuguese ruling clique may be ruled out. The Portuguese are, to put it mildly, at least two centuries behind time in their political thinking and with their passionate attachment to past glories have failed to keep pace with the progress of ideas around them. It will need something more than a miracle to convince the Portuguese that the era of colonialism has ended and of the utter fallacy of their theory of "overseas provinces."

They cannot be expected, with their illusions about "civilising missions," to appreciate the fact that no amount of political juggling and high pressure propaganda can transform Goans into Portuguese or to recognise the justice of the contention that Goa's destiny must be decided not by the Portuguese National Assembly, wherein Goans have no representation worth the name, but by Goans themselves in the exercise of the inalienable right of self-determination. But their respect for democratic principles and the demands of justice are understandably not the virtues of dictators. Furthermore, constructive statesmanship and foresight have never been the strong points of the Portuguese, much less so are they of the present rulers of Portugal. Consequently, while the untenability of their precarious position in Goa is evident to any sensible individual, and the Portuguese are not unaware of it, they will rather break in the process of sustaining their false pride and prestige than bow to realities and quit with grace and decorum. Goa is a striking example of the traditional blind fanaticism of the Portuguese and we see them clinging to a historical relic with a callous indifference to the serious consequences which such a sentimental stand entails upon themselves and much more so, the people of Goa.

A democratic regime at the helm of affairs in Portugal would have undoubtely adopted a more realistic and liberal attitude towards the Goa problem but prospects of any change in the Portuguese political set-up are, at the moment, extremely dim. Opposition to the Salazar regime is undoubtedly growing in Portugal but in the face of official repression and the complete suppression of even the elementary fundamental rights it is comparatively ineffective. Only an army coup can dislodge Salazar from the pedestal of power, but the chances of such an event taking place, at least for the moment, being out of question, Goa cannot bank upon such an uncertain factor to free her from foreign bondage.

Reliance must, therefore, be placed upon more positive means and the mobilisation of world opinion against Portugal's unjust stand is one of the methods that suggest themselves. But here again the prospects are not encouraging. First and foremost international opinion is today so deeply influenced by the exigencies of regional security pacts and power-bloc loyalties and so little by considerations of justice and fairplay, that few nations can be expected to pronounce an unbiassed verdict on the Goa issue.

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Indeed, with great powers like Britain and France actively engaged in suppressing colonial peoples it would be foolish to expect at least the Western countries to prevail upon Portugal to quit Goa, even if they are firmly convinced of the righteousness of India's stand. On the contrary, it would be in their interest to encourage Portuguese obstinacy, as, it is feared, is actually happening today; the conspiracy of silence on the Goa issue on the part of the major powers and the jaundiced eye with which the foreign press, the British press in particular, with a few rare exceptions, has been viewing the Goa problem, have their own tale to tell.

But even if international opinion were to express itself firmly and clearly it is extremely doubtful whether that would help matters. The Portuguese dictators who, with their archaic political ideologies, have no respect for the wishes of their own people, can hardly be expected to show any consideration for the opinion of other nations. It would, therefore, be futile to hope that the pressure of international opinion will induce the Portuguese to quit Goa for such pressure does not exist and even if it did the Portuguese dictators would hardly be influenced by it. For similar reasons the talk of international mediation also does not inspire confidence.

The imposition of economic sanctions, however, holds out some promise of success. It is true that in view of the unhelpful attitude adopted by the Governments of Pakistan and Ceylon and the reported defaction of some Indian merchants in finding devious ways to convey supplies to Goa, the Indian blockade loses much of its sting, but its effects on Goa's economy cannot be discounted. Whether the Portuguese admit it or not, the steps which the Government of India has so far taken and the suspension of remittances in particular, have created serious difficulties for the Portuguese in Goa. A continued stalemate can only add to their difficulties, for the expenditure involved in running long lines of communications and supplies, and maintaining a large standing army in Goa, is a heavy drain on Portugal's financial resources, although the Goan people are regrettably the worst sufferers in the process.

Fresh measures to tighten the economic cordon sanitaire are in the offing but it is too much to hope that such economic pressure, even if Pakistan and Ceylon are prevailed upon to co-operate with India and other Asian countries like Japan fall in line, will bring about a speedy solution of the Goa problem. Only a complete economic collapse would be adequate to bring the obstinate Portuguese to their senses and even if a fool-proof blockade were imposed, it must take a considerable period of time to be effective to that extent. It has inevitably to be a long-drawn-out process demanding continued patience and forbearance from the Indian people and a capacity for sacrifice and suffering on the part of Goans.

There is also no promise of a resistance movement in Goa providing quick relief. No one who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Goa can expect a mass movement there to drive out the Portuguese in the near future. Not that there is no nationalist movement inside Goa. No matter what the Portuguese propagandist may proclaim Goan patriots have, in spite of the tremendous odds in their path, shown commendable courage and initiative, but in the face of the savage, inhuman repression let loose by the Portuguese they are compelled to function in disjointed groups indulging in nothing more than stray acts of sabotage and sporadic outbursts of fruitless agitation.

The inequality of the struggle is further enhanced by the comparative lack of political consciousness among the large mass of people. Discontent against Portuguese rule undoubtedly exists but centuries of foreign domination have virtually benumbed the Goan's sense of national pride and having become accustomed to be ruled by others he fights shy of the prospects of assuming the responsibility of managing his own affairs. And the existence of a police State in Goa, with no civil liberties and no freedom of expression, makes the task of breaking this paralysing lethargy extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible.

No amount of repression, however, can keep the people always in the dark and there are signs of a growing political awakening among the people of Goa, but in the prevailing conditions, it will be a fairly long time before this awakening spreads deep and wide enough to crown with success any positive effort to overthrow Portuguese rule.

There are also the Goan emigrants to be taken into account. Free as they are from the limitations which their compatriots in Goa are

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subject to, they have been in the very nature of circumstances in the vanguard of the struggle for Goa's freedom, but if they have failed to make to the cause of Goa's freedom a contribution commensurate with the opportunities and scope available to them, it must be mainly attributed to needless divisions and factions in the ranks of political workers. It is a crisis of leadership, and solution to this problem does not seem to be within sight. It is of course no exaggeration to say, the sooner the Goan people are able to find leadership which will be capable of cutting across petty rivalries and inspiring the confidence and co-operation of the masses the shorter will be the process of Goa's liberation.

In the ultimate analysis therefore the responsibility of shortening the birth-pangs of Goa's freedom devolves on Goans themselves. Certainly other possibilities may develop in course of time and even the factors we have examined may operate more favourably in a different set of conditions. The problem of Goa is also a part of the larger struggle against colonialism, and events elsewhere, whether in Cyprus, or Morocco, or East Africa or West Irian, are bound to influence the trend of developments in Goa.

In any case the cause of freedom is bound to triumph in the end but the point that must be borne in mind is that since police action is ruled out under any circumstances and *satyagraha* by Indians is also taboo it is improper to expect a quick solution of the Goa problem.

That, of course, is not meant to be a criticism of the Government of India's Goa policy. The correctness of that policy is unquestionable for the approach to the Goa problem must fit into the frame-work of India's foreign policy. To ask for direct action in Goa is to demand a betrayal of the principles which India is doing so much to foster among the nations of the world. The cause of world peace and harmony and the prestige which India enjoys in the international councils cannot be sacrificed at the altar of Goa's freedom.

Not that India is not and should not be interested in the struggle for Goa's freedom. Far from it, India cannot rest until Goa is liberated. for it involves not merely a question of liquidating the last vestige of colonialism from India's soil but also of reclaiming a section of the Indian people who because of a queer twist of fate find themselves under the heel of a ruthless alien dictatorship. All possible means so far as they are consistent with the ideals which India has chosen to serve must and will be taken to achieve the object but it is at the same time necessary to view the various aspects of the problem in the proper perspective so that no false hopes, which only lead to a sense of frustration and disappointment, may be entertained.

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RURAL UNIVERSITIES

PROF. P. K. SEN, M.SC. (Cal.), Ph. D. (Lond.), D.I.C.,
Khaira Professor of Agriculture, Calcutta University

INDIA was at one time prosperous. Through her village order she distributed leadership all over the country making the best use of her lands and men. The villages were her schools of living. No knowledge material and moral contributing towards life was unknown to them and every individual had the opportunity and guidance to attain fulfilment through devoted work creating wealth for common good. The country, it is said, then flowed in milk and honey. She attained a height of glory in her ennobling art, literature and architecture. And people from far and wide came on pilgrimage for her message of peace. The basic principles of her village civilization were self-help, respect for others' rights and service before self.

Times changed. The leadership that circulated like life-blood through the entire body of the nation drifted away from the villages leaving lands and men behind to fall into disorder, disuse and poverty. Foreign domination played no small part in bringing about this change. Progress in science and humanities henceforth remained confind to a few cities and

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towns here and there, primairly subserving the interest of the foreign rulers who did not recognise the oneness of life with the people of the land. Their distress grew from bad to worse.

Thanks to the genius of India that it did not fail to realise however that village reconstruction was the keynote of her resurrection. Her leadership came back to its own once again and mobilised the forces of life in the villages throughout the country to win freedom from foreign rule in order to achieve freedom from poverty and distress. No opposition could stand before the one will of the people. Political freedom won, India has set herself to reconstruct her village order keeping pace with the march of life in the 'one world' of today.

Free India's constitution, her friendly relation with the nations of the world, her development plans, community projects and village governments provide the frame-work on which to build her new life. And in order to make knowledge of science and technology, arts and literature, ethics and politics available to every citizen, to make every one of them mentally and physically well-equipped for making the best use of lands and his own imagination and enterprise for the good of all, a new orientation in her system of education has been conceived. Every boy and girl, by the time they are fourteen, will receive Basic Education, learning some useful craft, the principles of general science, hygiene, and community relations and some amount of history and literature.

The next stage of education for a period of three years will have two aims in view, firstly, to give more intensive training in a craft or a vocation together with some further general education and secondly, to prepare for University education.

A University conducts higher education in the different branches of knowledge of science, technology and humanities for training teachers and specialist workers, and carries our research to extend the bounds of knowledge. It thus represents the highest institution that guides the life of a people not only for the present but also for the future. It is in this context that rural Universities assume their significance in the scheme of India's rural reconstruction. It will be for the Universities of India to lead her life today and in the days to come with the wisdom of her glorious past.

A rural University has no other meaning but that it is an institution of life as a whole and not of a group of knowledge or of a section of people. It has to deal with every branch of knowledge useful to make the best use of lands by men to achieve a happy life, and make itself a living example of progress inspiring imagination and enterprise of man eternally seeking truth, harmony and beauty.

The old Universities that came into being under conditions of foreign rule will now have the same objective as the new institutions in the reconstruction of India. They cannot remain in isolation although according to the conditions of time and place they may have their special features and functions and the country may have also Universities for special branches of studies such as technology, engineering, etc., partaining to special requirements of her reconstruction programme.

A typical Rural University will deal with life directly based on agriculture. Its stress will be on the cultivation of sciences, and technologies partaining to the best use of land and life under agrarian conditions. It has to deal with all branches of humanities and sciences and make special studies of (i) agriculture—in all its branches; (ii) rural industries; (iii) rural engineering—irrigation, electricity, sanitation, village planning, house building, etc., (iv) social adminstration; and (v) teachers' training. And in order that all students may get the opportunity of higher education and create confidence of self-help in them there should be scope for earning while learning in agricultural farms or industrial workshops.

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THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

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By CHUNI LAL RAY

II

The work of the 4-man High Power Committee now sitting in judgment on West Bengal's and Bihar's contesting objections to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission will be very much simplified, if they will condescend to support the New Bengal Association's request (page 50 of the New Bengal Association's memorandum No. IV, dated 7th December, 1948, being a Rejoinder to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly) to Dr. Rajendra Prasad (in his individual capacity, as he was in 1939 and in 1947, and not as President of the Indian Union, whom it will possibly be impertinent to address in a matter like this) to make clear what was intended by the two expressions 'Bihar proper' and 'areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken' which he used for his classification of different groups of Bengalees in Bihar, in the note submitted to the Bardoli Conference in January 1939, and also what were "the vast tracts in Bihar where Hindi was not widely spoken" mentioned in his speech in the Bihar Sahitya Sammelan in December 1947. It is understood that, in the returns which the Tata Iron and Steel Works are required to submit periodically to the Labour Department of the Government of Bihar, the expression 'Bihar proper' is used in a sense which excludes the whole of Chota Nagpur Division and also the Santal Parganas district. Was the connotation the same, or was it different, of the expression 'Bihar proper' as used in the note to the Bardoli Conference? And did "areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken" include any portions, and if so, which portions, of Pargana Dhalbhum, (specially mentioned in the Sahitya Sammelan speech) of the entire district of Manbhum, or of the eastern fringe of the Santal Parganas (also specifically mentioned in the speech), with a base about 20 miles wide at the southern end near Chittaranjan and Mihijam, but slowly tapering to only about 5 miles width near Sakrigali? I believe that Dr. Prasad's response to the request will dispense with the necessity of any further enquiry; but as I cannot count on the High Power Committee taking any notice of the request in the New Bengal Association's Memorandum, I find it necessary to proceed with my statement of facts that I have been able to collect and of arguments that may be based on the same.

As stated in the November number, Sri Ranchhor Prasad I.A.S. who had been Census Superintendent for Bihar in 1951, expressed his inability to supply figures of linguistic distribution separately for Jamshedpur City and for the rest of Dhalbhum subdivision and for other regions of Singhbum district, as "the Census office had been closed, and no staff was available to compile the figures." But a pamphlet, *Singhbhum, Seraikella and Kharsawan through the Ages*, written by the Saraikella Tikayat Nrupendra Narayan Singh Deo, speaks of such figures having been supplied to the Government of Orissa, the figures being:

(*See Table on the top of next page*)

Strangely enough, the aggregate of total population (the last line) figures in columns 4, 5 and 6 only (which are supposed to take no account of population in towns other than Jamshedpur shown as? in column 7), 613,504+199,922+667,390 reaches the district total 1,480,816, leaving one wondering about the total population figures of the smaller towns and also doubtful about the accuracy of the other figures. The figures have, however, to be taken as they are; and they show that, in Dhalbhum, Bengali retains its position as "the largest language group", as the States Reorganisation Commission have observed in para 667 of the Report, in spite of the very large increase in the Hindi figure, by 75,484 which can be accounted for by heavy immigration from Hindi-speaking areas numbering 65,392 and of the still larger increase in the Oriya figure, by 83,852 which cannot be explained by the migrations from Orissa, only 31,083.

The surmise in the November number that the recommendation for retention of Saraikela in Bihar was chiefly, if not solely, for the purpose of providing without any justification whatever, a corridor for access of Hindi-speaking Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur to Jamshedpur and Bengali-speaking Dhalbhum, has proved correct. Para 625 of the Commission's Report (not available to the public in Calcutta till the 19th October) contains the observation that

> "In view of the recommendation for transfer of part of the Manbhum district to West Bengal, the transfer of the Saraikela subdivision, or of any portion thereof, to the State of Orissa will convert the Dhalbhum subdivision in the east into an enclave which will not be physically contiguous to the rest of Bihar."

The Commission evidently started with the predetermination that Jamshedpur must be kept for Bihar whether there was justification for this or not, and that everything else must be subordinated to that consideration.

Why, in spite of Bengali being the largest language group in Dhalbhum and, in spite of Dhalbhum having contiguity with West Bengal, but not with Bihar and in spite of the previous history of Dhalbhum's uninterrupted contact with Bengal right up to 1910* (prior to the

*In addition to evidence on this point cited in the November number, the following also may be mentioned: (1) the words "In the district of Midnapore; Dhalbhum, including Chatsila" occurring in the Regulation that constituted the South-Western Frontier Agency, XIII of 1833, and (2) in the Map of Acquisitions of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces that formed the frontispiece to the first edition (1862) of Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements, Sunnuds, etc., the south-western boundary of the Medinipur district of 1750 extending right up to the side of the old Porahat Raj acquired by the British in 1818 (which later broke up into Porahat, Kharsawan and Saraikela), and covering, therefore, the pargana of Dhalbhum.

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Language	Jamshedpur City	Rest of Dhalbhum	Total Dhalbhum	Saraikela Rural	Chaibasa Rural	Towns other than Jamshedpur	Total
Ho	3,064	9,124	12 188	43,691	353 293	4 531	413 703
Oriya	18,710	109 782	128,492	49,309	104 849	15 049	297 699
Bengali	54,762	131,070	185 832	43,857	30 270	8 826	268 785
Hindi	91,782	33 426	125 208	23,633	34 554	29 274	212 669
Santali	2,012	101 774	103 786	30,624	14 300	1 974	150 684
Mundari	2,002	100	2 102	...	60,393	1 749	64 244
Bhumij	...	...	...	...	914	8	922
Oraon	1,624	...	1 624	...	9,048	2 083	12 752
Mahli				5	2,435	72	2 512
TOTAL, including other groups	218,162	395,342	613,504	199,922	667 390	?	1480 616

creation of a separate Judgeship for Manbhum-Singbhum-Sambalpur), and in spite also of contribution by Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur having been very much more substantial than contribution by Bharees who turned up only from about the year 1920, the recommendation is for Dhalbhum's retention in Bihar and not for its transfer to West Bengal, the States Reorganisation Commission do not care to mention directly. Nor have the Commission clearly stated that they accept Bihar's contention (para 642 of the Report) that

> "The transfer of this rich mineral-bearing and industrialised area to West Bengal is bound to dislocate the economy of residuary Bihar, and it will upset the balance between agriculture and industry."

One can only draw inference from the observation in para 659 that

> "Dhanbad, like Jamshedpur may soon attract a mixed population from all over India as it is further developed; West Bengal's claim to this area is, *therefore*, untenable." *(italics mine)*.

The only possible inference appears to be that, in the opinion of the Commission, every place in the north-eastern region of India (if not, in the whole of India) which has the potentiality for development to an extent that would attract a mixed population from all over India, must be reserved for Bihar whether there is contiguity or not, and must not be claimed by Bengal, even if there is contiguity, and even if the development be on the initiative of people of West Bengal. And the Commission, so solicitous about Bihar's economic needs, are presumably of opinion that West Bengal's economic difficulties, consequent on the influx of refugees from East Pakistan, a mere 35 lakhs in number should solve themselves. The Commission's Report has very little to say about this problem of displaced persons, except that they are not to be sent to the Purnea corridor, where "the density of population is such that there is little scope for any resettlement of displaced persons." Strangely enough, the scheme for rehabilitation outlined by Bihar in the Eastern States Rehabilitation Ministers' Conference on the 27th October, assigned the first places to Shahabad and Champaran districts which have densities 610 and 705 respectively per sq. mile more than 50 to 70 per cent. in excess of that in the Purnea corridor, which is only about 405 per square mile; and a subsequent report says that "the districts of Purnea and Champaran will be visited by high officials of the Central Rehabilitation Ministry shortly to conduct a preliminary survey." Other points stressed in the same Conference were that Bihar was trying to make some 25 to 30 thousand acres available for refugees, Assam 33 thousand acres, Tripura several thousand acres possibly quite as much as Assam or Bihar, but that Uttar Pradesh has offered to take charge of only 500 families (possible requirement of land, about 2,000 acres). It will be no wonder if several more of the 12 other States contemplated by the Commission follow Uttar Pradesh's lead, and restrict their offers to less than one thousand families each, the aggregate of the 12 reaching not even 10 thousand families consisting of about 60 thousand persons. Even the much more generous offers from Assam, Bihar and Tripura will not suffice for more than 2 lakh persons; and the net effect of all-India's profound sympathy for displaced persons will possibly cover somewhat less than 3 lakh persons or only one-twelfth of the number that has come over to West Bengal. At the most, the relief for West Bengal would not exceed 5 lakh persons, only one-seventh of the 35 lakhs that West Bengal is now faced with. West Bengal would still have on her shoulders the burden of over 30 lakhs of displaced persons. This is a point to which the S. R. Commission, talking big of the "preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India," have chosen to direct only the blind eye. And another point that has been equally ignored is that rehabilitation of displaced persons, which is the responsibility of the entire Indian Union, not of West Bengal alone, is being practically left on West Bengal's shoulders alone.

How can West Bengal, forced by circumstances to shoulder responsibility 10 to 15 times more than its due, carry on, if even areas like Dhalbhum and East Dhanbad, immediately adjoining Bengal, and with Bengali as the biggest language group, are kept back on the ground that they are rich in minerals or that they are industrialised? Has West Bengal (or, for the matter of that, any other State which may be saddled with the problem of at least 25 to 30 lakh refugees, involving increase in density of population by 50 to 80 per square mile) no need for industrialised areas or areas rich in minerals? Is it not fair that the right to include Jamshed-

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pur, the City of all-India importance, should carry with it the burden of shouldering the major portion of the all-India responsibility of rehabilitating the 35 lakh refugees now huddled up in West Bengal? If Bihar, getting Jamshedpur, is simultaneously saddled with the responsibility of taking over at least 25 lakhs of the East Pakistan refugees and of declaring Bengali as the regional language for the areas where these 25 lakhs are settled, there may be some excuse for asking West Bengal to stop grumbling, even though Jamshedpur has contiguity with Bengal and not with Bihar. But asking West Bengal to have the headache resulting from the burden of at least 30 lakh refugees, and giving Bihar the monopoly of drinking from the wells of Jamshedpur City would be the grossest injustice.

It has already been pointed out (in the November number) that the contribution of Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur has been far more substantial than the contribution of Biharees; and it is worth mentioning that out of 37 976 men in Tatas' labour force in January 1955, as many as 13 046 were Bengalees forming 34.35 per cent, the largest single group. Of about 30 thousand students in the Jamshedpur and Jugsalai schools run by the Tatas, as many as 12,718 have Bengali as their medium of instruction; the numbers of those with medium Hindi and Urdu are shown as 12,626 and 3 601 respectively, but it is explained in the Tisco Education Officer's report for 1955 that "in the Hindi medium group, are included not only children whose mother-tongue is Hindi, but also children whose mother-tongue is neither Hindi nor any one of the three other languages Bengali, Urdu or Oriya" which means that Telugus, Tamils, Malayalis, Mahrattas, Kanarese, Gujratis, Punjabis and even West Pakistanis go to swell the number for which Bihar alone gets the credit.

The assertion in para. 641 of the Report that "in these bi-lingual areas Hindi is either the predominant language or at least is a very important language" is absolutely without foundation. In respect of Dhalbhum there is the S. R. Commission's own statement, in para. 667, that Bengali is the largest language group; and in respect of the corridor which is in the extreme east of the Purnea district, para. 648 says that Siripuria or Kisanganjia, the language spoken there, has close affinities with Bengali. The admission in para. 667 is no doubt qualified by the clause that Bengali is by no means predominant: but, will any one out of Bedlam seriously contend that, in Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, Hindi, with its percentage of less than 9, is predominant (or is even a very important language), if Bengali, with percentage 33 for mother-tongue and a further 15 to 18 for subsidiary language spoken by tribals, total over 50 per cent, is not predominant? Even for Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, the figure is 31 per cent. for mother-tongue Bengali, substantially in excess of 21 per cent each for Oriya and Hindi, and about 17 per cent Santali; and of the Santals, at least one-half speak Bengali as a subsidiary language.

It is true that Jamshedpur City has a large Hindi-speaking population, close upon 92 thousand out of the total of 218 thousand; but very considerable portions of these are from outside Bihar. The Census tables show as many as 18 thousand to have been born in Madhya Pradesh, 12½ thousand in Uttar Pradesh, nearly 3 thousand in Rajasthan; and many more born in Jamshedpur must have been in families from these distant regions who had temporarily made their residence in Jamshedpur. Why should Bihar alone get the benefit of nearly 92 thousand Hindi-speaking people, having no better contiguity with Jamshedpur than Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh has? Of Bihar's less than 61 thousand, 32 thousand were born outside Singbhum district (not taking account of close upon 10 thousand from Manbhum district who presumably have Bengali or Santali as their mother-tongue), which means that the local Hindi-speaking population is within 30 thousand in number, which is far behind the number of Bengalees in Jamshedpur. And much larger percentages of immigrant Bengalees settle down permanently in Jamshedpur than immigrants from Hindi-speaking regions.

The S. R. Commission have, no doubt, given reasons why they disapprove the homeland idea and give equal preference to permanent residents and to immigrants who have come only as temporary wage-earners (para. 158 of the Report); but while they take account of aggregate population (floating as well as permanently resident) when arguing against West Bengal's demand (*e.g.*, in reference to 65 per cent Hindi-speakers in Dhanbad in para. 650), they had no scruples whatever about invoking the homeland idea for ignoring the Tamil immigrants to Travancore-Cochin (para. 295). Nor can they plead *status quo* justification for recommending retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar, after having recommended the cutting off of big areas from Madras and from Madhya Pradesh, and the dismemberment of Hyderabad, on grounds no whit stronger than can be urged for Jamshedpur's transfer to West Bengal.

Of immigrants to Singbhum, almost every one destined for Jamshedpur, the largest number for any single district in all India come from Manbhum, the number being 9,771 in 1951. It may safely be assumed that every one of these came from the Purulia subdivision; for Dhanbad gets, instead of sending out, migrants. The 9,771 who had already arrived by 1951, and the few thousand more that may have increased the number during the next four years that have intervened, will, presumably be the last batch of people from Purulia who would have the opportunity of earning their livelihood in Jamshedpur; for Bihar, having acquired the reputation of being one of the strongest Congress-minded States, appears to have earned the right to disregard flagrantly the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 17th January, 1939 about non-interference with appointments by private employers—and Bihar draws

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distinction not only between Biharees and non-Biharees, but also between men of 'Bihar proper' and Chota Nagpur men for which two groups Tatas have to submit separate figures in their periodical statements to Bihar's Labour Ministry. The transfer, in such circumstances, of Purulia subdivision to West Bengal, while Jamshedpur is retained by Bihar, will be of the nature of a left-handed compliment which may be described as a halting left-handed gift; surrender of the best opportunity of earning livelihood within easy distance from home is being demanded as the price for escape from constant advice gratis (and possibly pressure as well) that the language which they speak at home, although difficult to distinguish from the western form of Rarhi Bengali as spoken in Manbhum (as noted in page 40 of the Census Superintendent's Report) is in reality a dialect of Bihari (without any certificate of similarity with any other Bihari dialects known). This is most inequitable; and justice demands that Jamshedpur should share the same fate as the Purulia subdivision.* Purulia subdivision, shorn of thana Chas, and separated from Jamshedpur, would indeed be, economically, a liability for West Bengal, not an asset.

Yet another, and a very much stronger, ground why Jamshedpur and Purulia should go hand in hand is the fact, evidently not known to the S. R. Commission, that Jamshedpur's main supply of water is from a reservoir at a distance of a few miles, within thana Barabhum of Purulia subdivision. Jamshedpur in Bihar, and its water-supply in West Benagal, would be an anomaly very much worse than two of the D.V.C. dams (Maithon and Panchet Hill) having one end each in Bihar and the other end in West Bengal—an arrangement as defective as that which caused the fall of Singapore in 1942' thirteen fateful years ago.

Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur should also, of course, receive the same treatment as Purulia subdivision, and this should be the case also with Kandra thana of Saraikela, specially mentioned in the November number, where also Bengali is the biggest language group, much in excess of Hindi or Oriya or Santali. And West Bengal opposes most strenuously the mischievous move that has been made from a certain quarter that Saraikela would give up this thana to Bihar to serve as a corridor to Jamshedpur, as price for the rest of Saraikela's transfer to Orissa, by amicable arrangement with Bihar.

The rest of Saraikela has, as strong a case of transfer to Orissa as Dhalbhum (with or without Jamshedpur) has for transfer to Bengal. The S. R. Commission has, no doubt spoken of some reasons for Saraikela's retention in Bihar other than that of providing a corridor into Dhalbhum, but these will not stand much scrutiny. One of the points is Saraikela's intimate connection with Porahat; but, should Porahat ieself remain in Bihar, unless the Census Superintendent can produce reliable figures showing more Hindi-speakers than Oriya-speakers in this area? Till now, the Census Superintendent has chosen to keep the information confidential. And, on the only figures that have seen the light of day which are for the entire Chaibasa subdivision, the Oriya figure, 104,779, is more than 3 times the Hindi number which is only 31,223. It is true that Oriya is far outnumbered by Ho, with 353,293 speakers; but that also is no valid reason why Chaibasa should be kept tagged to Bihar. One has only to look at the insignificant Ho figure for entire Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur, excluding Singbhum; it is only 4,520. Contrast this with the numbers of Hos in Mayurbhanj (117,483), in Keonjhar (38,512), in Sundargarh, chiefly in the Bonai subdivision (13,334), in Dhenkanal (3,406), even in Cuttack (5,873) and in Balasore (2,395); and it will be perfectly clear that the Hos' homeland is certainly not anywhere in the Chota Nagpur plateau 2,000 feet above sea-level—it is in the country sloping down from height less than 1,000 feet to the comparatively elevated portions of Cuttack and Balasore, only a few hundred feet above sea-level. With what justification can any part of this area be kept separated from Orissa?

Another reason mentioned is that the erstwhile States of Saraikela and Kharsawan have been parts of Singbhum district since May, 1948. But a veil is cleverly drawn to shut out the facts that, in accordance with the ex-Rulers' wishes expressed in their Instruments of Accession, Saraikela and Kharsawan had, in the first instance, been merged with Orissa, with effect from 1st January, 1948 and that it was only after several months later, when a serious riot (said to have been engineered by interested parties) brought into prominence the point of Saraikela's want of contiguity with the rest of Orissa (into which Mayurbhanj had not merged till then), that the decision was taken for transfer of Saraikela and Kharsawan from Orissa to Bihar, with effect from 18th May, 1948. The situation has changed completely since then; Mayurbhanj is now an integral portion of Orissa. Saraikela's contiguity with Orissa has been fully established and Chaibasa subdivision touching as it does, Mayurbhanj to the south-east and Keonjhar to the south west, has also contiguity with Orissa. With Ho and Oriya as the principal languages spoken, how can Saraikela (excluding the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana) and Kharsawan and Chaibasa be kept out of Orissa, and with the imposition of Hindi as the only language of the Court, although Hindi is not the mother-tongue of even 6 per cent of the population in Chaibasa, of even 12 per cent in Saraikela-Kharsawan (only about 8 per cent for the whole area)?

* The transfer of both to West Bengal will not be any obstacle to Biharees with necessary qualifications getting employment in Jamshedpur, for West Bengal, in spite of not being very strongly Congress-minded, never interferes with appointments by private employers of labour, although on two occasions in recent years, it committed the high crimes of issuing about one hundred taxi-driving licenses to Bengalees, after the first one thousand had been monopolised by Punjabees, Hindusthanees and Biharees, and of restricting appointments to the newly-established State Transport Service to Bengali-speaking refugees from East Pakistan.

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THE HINDU COLLEGE

The Second Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In the previous article[1] I have dealt with the first phase of the Hindu College and brought the story down to 1826. Since the commencement of this session the College entered into a new career. The changes and improvements introduced by the Official Visitor Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson had already a perceptible effect on the progress of the students. These well-paved the way for the institution turning it into a full-fledged 'Academy,' or college in its modern connotation. At the public examination and prize-distribution ceremony of early 1826, the Indian and European gentlemen present were much impressed with the progress of the students in different subjects of their studies, especially with their acquirements in English language. Some new lines of approach were indicated on this occasion by the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for the improvement of the College. This ceremony, therefore, deserves a detailed notice.

This year's prize-distribution ceremony of the College was held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 14th January. J. B. Harington, one of the original promoters of the Hindu College and now President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, presided over the meeting. He opened the proceedings by reading extracts from the Visitor's report of the previous annual examination which gave 'a favourable view of the progress of the students during the past year in the course of the English language, Arithmetic, and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and bore testimony to the diligence and attentiveness of the pupils and preceptors.' He then intimated the disposition of the government to give the institution every reasonable encouragement. The munificent donations of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and others, the President declared, 'would be appropriated for the endowment of scholarships to the Institution under the control of the Committee in order to enable such scholars as have not the means of protracting their studies to maturity, to remain for a longer period in the college.'

The prizes were awarded to meritorious students. These included some who became famous in after-life as teacher, administrator, literary man and journalist. The recepients were: Atul Chandra Ganguly, Kashiprasad Ghose, Harischandra Das, Krishnadhan Mitra, Debnarain Mukherjee, Krishna Hari Nandi, Rasik Lal Sen, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Abinash Chandra Ganguly and Haris Chandra Mitra. As an example of their ability in English composition, the President referred to the essay "On the Advantages of Education" before the meeting. Some students also gave proofs of their profiency in English by reciting portions from standard English works. Henceforward we find recitations forming an important feature of the ceremony.

In his concluding address the President expressed his satisfaction and that of the General Committee with the state of the College. He urged upon the Indian gentlemen present as well as the students of the college the importance of the pursuits in which this institution was engaged. He advised particularly the latter 'to persevere in a course they had so well begun, and to qualify themselves by perfecting the elementary knowledge they had acquired to become useful members of the public and respectable members of Society.' The President further observed that the importance of education appeared to be duly appreciated by themselves in the essays they had written on the subject, and it remained for them to exhibit a practical illustration of the justice of the principles they had advocated.[2]

Another important event was the transfer of the venue of the College to the new buildings, along with the Government Sanskrit College, at Pataldanga, College Square, on 1st May 1826. The rooms were commodious. There was a common tiffin room for the boys. On the date of the transfer Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a young man of barely eighteen, was appointed teacher. A brilliant student of Drummond's Dhurrumtolla Academy, Derozio had already made his mark as a poet and literateur of considerable merit. Previous to his appointment in the Hindu College, he served as an assistant editor of the famous *India Gazette*. At this time there were eight teachers on the College staff. The system of instructing boys by those of the upper classes, called 'monitors', was abolished. The staff must have been augmented during the latter half of the year, because we find as many as fourteen teachers on the establishment by January following.

Something should be said of the finances of the Hindu College. The Managing Committee had invested *Sa.* Rs. 61,030 with Messrs. Joseph Barretto & Sons on an interest of 8 per cent for five years, the date of expiring being 13th April, 1825. But the House fell early this year, and the whole amount remained blocked for about two years. The Committee entered into correspondence with the surviving partners of the House, but to no effect. The College had a regular income from the fees, Rs. 5 each, from the pay scholars, which covered only a portion of the expenditure. The Committee had no other alternative but to depend more and more on the Government

1. *The Modern Review* for September, 1955.

2. Summarised from a detailed account which appeared in *The Government Gazette* (Supplement), 19th January, 1826.

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Education Fund. The Government control and supervision also increased consequently.

II

With the augmented staff and the increased number of students the College had launched an unenviable career. In 1826, boys progressed in their studies so much so that the Visitor, always very critical, was constrained to report favourably of their acquirements. He now suggested the compilation of a compendium of the best English authors, suitable for the senior students of the College. Appointment of efficient teachers was mainly responsible for effecting such progress in their studies in so short a time. Here I give from the *Proceedings* the Establishment for the month of January 1827. In should be noted that of the fourteen teachers, two were for Sanskrit and Bengali and two for Persian. Ten European and Anglo-Indian teachers began to inculcate ideas and thoughts of the West through their English teaching, which were hitherto quite foreign to the soil. The Establishment was as follows:

J. J. D'Anselme	Head	Teacher	350	*Sa.* Rs.
Geo. Mollis	2nd	"	200	"
R. Halifux	3rd	"	150	"
H. L. V. Derozio	4th	"	100	"
F. Johnson	5th	"	150	"
P. D'Rozario	6th	"	70	"
J. Ferme	7th	"	50	"
F. D'Rozario	8th	"	32	"
M. Lawrence	9th	"	24	"
F. Decasta	10th	"	24	"
Jogomuhun Pundit	....	"	24	"
Parbutty Nayalonkar	....	"	20	"
Mowlovy Roohelmy	....	"	40	"
Rayazuddin Moonshy	....	"	20	"
Secretary	....	"	50	"
Sitaram Sircar	....	"	10	"
		Total	1310	"

From the Establishment we find the Secretary drawing *Sa.* Rs. 50 a month. Lakshminarayan Mukherjee, Secretary to the College, was drawing this amount as a monthly allowance since his appointment in 1823 after the death of his father Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee. The amount invested with the Barrettos could not be realised in full; only Rs. 21,000 was recovered after a great deal of trouble. The Managing Committee approached Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. in April 1827 to act as Agents and Treasurers of the Hindu College. One addition was made to the instructing staff in the person of W. Woolastan. On a demand from the students to learn drawing, Woolastan was appointed drawing teacher on 7th March 1827 on a monthly salary of Rs. 100.

We have already referred to the rapid progress made by the students under new arrangements. The College was divided into senior and junior departments, consisting of thirteen classes. The prize-distribution ceremony was held in the new College buildings at Pataldanga, this time also presided over by the Hon'ble Harington. In a letter to Sir Edward Hyde East dated 9th February 1827, Raja Radhakant Deb, an enthusiastic and active member of the H. C. Managing Committee, gave a detailed account of the prize-distribution ceremony of this year. The prizes consisted of books, and cases of mathematical instruments and were distributed to the meritorious students by J. H. Harington, President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Radhakant, continued:

> "On the presentation of the prizes to the four senior classes, the scholars afforded specimens of their proficiency in the English language, and their knowledge of Grammar and Geography. The two first classes also were examined, as to their proficiency in different branches of natural and experimental philosophy and the elements of Chemistry. The first class likewise gave proofs of their familiarity with the use of the terrestrial and celestial Globes, and such of them as had engaged in the study of Persian, during the last years, exhibited their progress in that language. The distribution closed with English recitations chiefly from Julius Caesar, and a whole scene from this play, the first of the fifth Act, was represented by five of the scholars, three from the first and two from the second class."

The President then addressed the elders of the pupils, as he did on the previous occasion, expressing the satisfaction of himself and the Committee with the results of the examination. From the endowment created by the donation of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and other benevolent Indians, scholarships were awarded for the first time this year 'to those boys of the first class, whose circumstances would not admit of their prosecuting their studies, to that degree of perfection, which perseverance alone was necessary to ensure.' These scholarships were usually ten in number, and to the amount of *Sa.* Rs. 16 each.

There are few records, henceforth, of the meetings of the H. C. Managing Committee. Members were not elected. We find a few new names now and then on the Committee, as signatories to the certificates given to students on the completion of their studies. In late 1827, there were the following members signing the certificate of Radhika Mohan Set: W. W. Wilson, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhakant Deb, Russomoy Dutt, David Hare and Shibchandra Das.

III

Just a decade had passed since the establishment of the Hindu College, Dr. Wilson, the Official Visitor and Vice-President of the H. C. Managing Committee, made a critical estimate of the acquirements of the students of the college, especially of those of the upper classes in different subjects in his report dated January 1828. He, however, with just pride,

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"contrasts the state of the College in 1828, with what it was in 1824 when he first became officially connected with it. In 1824, the College contained 107 pupils, of whom only 25 were pay scholars. The pupils on the foundation were now the same as then, 'but the pay scholars were twelve times as numerous.' He added that the difference in point of acquirements was still more remarkable. The first class was then reading *Tegg's Book of Knowledge* and *Enfield's Speaker*; Arithmetic was scarcely taught at all, and the Rule of Three was the utmost limit of proficiency. He considered the fifth class now, to be fully equal to the first of that time. The acquirements of the classes above the fifth, were in general much superior to those of the first class of the earlier period, 'whilst', he added, 'those of the present first class, admit of no comparison with anything yet effected by the College, and far exceed the expectations which I then expressed or entertained'."[3]

The General Committee of Public Instruction also expressed satisfaction at the progress of the students and observed that much of the progress which had been attained was due to the 'enlightened superintendence' of Dr. Wilson.

In the buildnig up of the college to this stature, Dr. Wilson had a large share. Besides general supervision he personally guided the students in the matter of their English composition in prose and verse and lessons in English literature. The famous literary figure and journalist Kasiprasad Ghose has left an account of Wilson's services in this regard as follows:

"At the latter end of 1827, Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Visitor of that institution, desired the students of the first class to try their hands at poetry, and I was the only boy who produced any verse . . . . About this time also, on the approach of the examination, Dr. Wilson desired me to write a review of some books, and accordingly, in December following, I submitted to him my *'Critical Remarks on the first four chapters of Mr. Mill's History of India'*, portions of which were published in the *Government Gazette* of the 14th February, 1829, and afterwards reproduced in the *Asiatic Journal*."[4]

By the end of 1827 some changes were effected in the General Committee of Public Instruction. John Herbert Harington, President of the Committee, retired, and left the country for good. Harington had been an ardent supporter of the Hindu College since its foundation, and it was through his instrumentality that the institution received considerable monetary aid from the Government Education Fund. A true friend of Indian education, he carried his Committee with him, who in a body began to take unusual interest in the welfare of the College. William Butterworth Bayley, seniormost member of the Government, succeeded Harington to the presidentship of the General Committee. He remained in the post only for two years, but kept aloft the tradition so painstakingly fostered by his predecessor.

Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson

The annual prize-distribution ceremony of the College came off as before, this time at the Government House, on 12th January 1828, W. B. Bayley presiding. We have already been able to form an idea of the rapid and unexpected progress the boys of the College had made during the session 1827. Specimens of the best compositions of the upper five classes were arranged serially for public exhibition. Prizes were distributed by the President himself to the deserving students. Some of the students recited selected poems and pieces from the English classics to the satisfaction of the audience. This at once showed their proficiency in the English language.

The prize-distribution ceremonies of the College were duly noticed in the newspapers of the Metropolis and the neighbouring places. They took particular note of the boys' progress in English language and literature. Besides the Hindu College, there was the Anglo-Hindu school of Raja Rammohun Ray

3. *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, from 1835 to 1851.* Part II. By J. Kerr, M.A., p. 27, 1853.
4. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions*, p. 508. 1848.

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where also English was assiduously taught. Four hundred boys were studying English in the Hindu College alone. Counted together with the boys of other institutions, this number would be no less than a thousand in Calcutta. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore (26th January 1828) went so far as to say that the Government should now abjure Persian in favour of English in the law-courts. The paper also suggested that the Indian inhabitants of Calcutta should apply to the Government for this salutary change, because Persian was neither understood by the people, nor its study was favoured by them any longer.

Senior students of the College began to interest themselves in extra-academic affairs. Some were engaged in translating standard English works in Bengali, while others like Kashiprasad Ghose started writing for papers. Clubs and associations were also formed by 1828.

The Calcutta School Society's scholars in the College, who proved most meritorious and progressive, took prominent part in these activities. The Society naturally took pride in referring to these activities of theirs in the *Fifth Report* (1828) as we find in the following :

> "Many of the young gentlemen appear very properly to appreciate the value of knowledge, and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible, they have formed societies amongst their friends at some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition on literary subjects, and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengalee. They are at present employed in translating the *Elements of General History*, the *Wonders of the World* and the *Grammar of History*."

The famous Academic Association, of which I shall have to say later on, was instituted perhaps in early 1828 by the senior students of the College with their fourth teacher H. L. V. Derozio as president. Derozio had already endeared himself to the boys of the College by his amiable nature and excellent mode of teaching. To this Association the *India Gazette* referred in December 1830. The *John Bull* of 11th December 1830 quoted the *Gazette in extenso*. I make the following relevant extracts from it here:

> "Not quite three years have past since an association was formed of the principal students of the Hindoo College, which met there once a fortnight for literary discussions. Notwithstanding the ability displayed by some members, and the propriety with which the proceedings were conducted, the institution was nipped in the bud, chiefly by the interference of the managers of the seminary, . . ."

IV

We have now reached the thirteenth year of the College. In early 1829, Dr. Wilson reported as usual to the General Committee about the College. Therein he noted the continued improvement of the upper classes. 'During the previous year Russel's *Modern Europe* had been introduced as a class-book; the study of Geometry had been commenced, and the senior pupils had gone as far as the third Book of Euclid; and in Algebra, they had advanced to Quadratic Equations.'

But these remarks refer to the English department only. With regard to the vernacular—Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian—department, progress was not at all satisfactory. The cause of this was partly due to the unusual emphasis on the study of English; but, according to Dr. Wilson, the defective mode pursued in teaching these subjects was mainly responsible for this state of things. He observed with reference to the Bengali and Persian classes thus:

> "It cannot be otherwise, so long as we have no other instructors than Moulvies and Pundits. The process of tuition is so tedious, that it demands the whole of the student's time, and the pupils of the Anglo-Indian College have little or no time to spare. Until, therefore, we can teach these languages through the medium of English, little good can be expected from their forming a part of the college course."[5]

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, later, referred to this difficulty he had had to face in studying Sanskrit while a student of the College; Dr. Wilson was inclined to the view that 'the study of Bengali is only to be profitably prosecuted through study of Sanskrit.'

The annual prize-distribution ceremony came off on 18th February 1829 at the Government House, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, presiding. Lord Bentinck himself distributed the prizes to the students of the first class. Everybody was satisfied with the progress of the students in the English language and literature. Recitations from Shakespeare's dramas and other standard books of verse by the students elicited praise from the Europeans and Indians alike. Among those who took part in the recitations we find the following: Ramtanu Lahiri, Digambar Mitra, Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Ramgopal Ghose, Sibchandra Deb, Radhanath Sikdar, Harchandra Ghose and Rasikkrishna Mallik.[6]

In a letter to the Government dated 18th May 1829, the General Committee of Public Instruction gave a detailed account of the state of the Hindu College in its various aspects (paragraphs 18-24).[7] In the opening paragraph (18) the Committe wrote:

> "The general character and condition of this Institution have been submitted to the notice of the members of Government in public dihtribution

5. *Review of Public Instruction*, etc., Part II, p. 28.

6. *Samachar Darpan*, 21 February, 1829. Cf. *Sombadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Part I, 3rd Ed., p. 34.

7. Quoted in the *MSS. Proceedings* of the H. C. Managing Committee.

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of prizes held at the Government House on the 18th February last when questions in History and Science were promptly answered by the students of the first class, the production of the composition of the first five classes and the recitations from English authors by pupils of various classes from the first to tenth class evinced the great proficiency made by the pupils in the language and literature of Great Britain. Further testimony is furnished by the Report of the Visitor and other documents herewith submitted."

The number of scholars, as stated in the above letter stood at 436 of whom 100 were taught gratuitously, the rest 336 paid for their tuition. These were distributed 'among 17 classes beginning with the letters of the alphabet and gradually and systematically advancing to the best authors in the English language in Prose and Verse, the first class being engaged in the perusal of Tytler's *Elements of General History*, Russel's *Modern Europe*, *Milton and Shakespeare*, being exercised in English composition both in Prose and Verse and being concurrently instructed in Algebra and Mathematics, Natutral and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry. In all of which they have made very respectable progress.' Students' progress in the study of Mathematical science was also marked. It had practically commenced, the letter says, 'with the past year and it is satisfactory therefore to find that so much progress has been made under Tytler's tuition.' We have already had an idea of the views and suggestions of Dr. Wilson regarding the study of oriental languages in the Hindu College. Let us now hear the oyservations of the General Committee on the subject:

"The study of Persian, Bengali and Sanscrit in the Anglo-Indian College is obstructed by the almost exclusive demand upon the time of the students made by the English language and literature and by the very tedious and imperfect method of teaching according to the native system. The study of Bengalee never popular with those who speak it is now in the estimation of the Visitor to be beneficially prosecuted only upon a basis of Sanscrit, the acquisition of which in the Anglo-Indian College he considers hopeless unless it could be taught through the medium of the English language and in elementary works compiled for the purpose. For this object he proposes to endeavour to superintend the compilation of a short Grammar and Vocabulary in Sanscrit and English, and agreeably to European forms by which the acquirement of an elementary knowledge of Sanscrit may be much facilitated. These works will no doubt be of great utility, and looking to the poverty of the dialect of Bengal and its utter dependence for terms of Science and Philosophy upon the Sanscrit language we conceive them indispensable to the adaptation of Bengali to purposes of translation from English writings of an abstruse and speculative character."

The General Committee suggested that every facility should be given to Dr. Wilson to prepare the proposed compilation. The committee had written to the Government, recommending the preparation of a systematic series of English Books, proposed by Dr. Wilson, 'to be printed for the purposes of education in the country.' The plan was generally sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council in the letter dated 2nd February 1828. The Committee had since adopted measures in concert with the School-Book Society for carrying out the plan. They now submitted an estimate of the cost amounting to Rs. 49 378 12as., half of which would be borne by

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

the School-Book Society in exchange for half the number of books. The Committee also asked for the sanction of two small amounts for the purchase of class and scientific books for the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges. The outlay incurred on account of prizes to the boys of the Hindu College amounted to *Sa.* Rs. 1500, in 1829 and the Committee requested the sanction of the Government to this amount. In reply to this letter (26th June 1829) the Government agreed to afford every facility for the compilations proposed by Dr. Wilson and referred to in the letter of the Committee, and sanctioned the amounts ungrudgingly.

V

The year 1830 was both glorious and troublesome for the Hindu College. Progress of the students in English language and literature was remarkable, and the *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore wrote to the effect that within ten years hundreds of young men

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had acquired sufficient knowledge in English lore and some of them had gone so far as to practise their hands in English verse. Along with English language and literature the students also became acquainted with the Western ideas of progress. These had an immense influence on their minds. Their habit and mode of life were regulated by them unawares as it were. But the leaders of the Hindu Society, who were also the controlling authority of the College, could not foresee these possibilities, and they were taken aback at the conduct of the students receiving new education at the College. Hence serious troubles soon arose.

But before dwelling on these points let us turn towards the internal affairs of the Hindu College. As regards finance the College was now in a better position. The fee-income from the students was largely increased. The Government also made contributory grants every year, and non-recurring grants at times, as we have seen already. In 1827, the Government aid was afforded to the extent of Rs. 900 per month. The amount rose to Rs. 1250 per month in 1830.

The annual prize-distribution ceremony took place on 17th February 1830 at the Government House. This year's ceremony had some specialities. Many women headed by Lady William Bentinck graced the occasion. Amongst others present was Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta (later High Court). Choice specimens of drawing by students were exhibited in the meeting for the first time along with the best compositions of the boys of the upper classes. W. B. Bayley, President of the General Committee, distributed the prizes to the most meritorious students. Recitations from Shakespear gave utmost satisfaction to those present.

Between March and May several students left the College with certificates of proficiency in their studies. Amongst them we find in the *Proceedings* mention of the following. Certificates were signed on the 13th March 1830 :

1st Class—Krishnamohun Banrujya, studied 5 years and a half.
do —Nubocoomar Chukroburty, studied 3 years.
do —Rasikkrishna Mallik, studied 9 years.
2nd Class—Hurimohun Sen, studied 4 years.

In this connection one may be naturally curious to know something about the fate of the scholarships. We have found that these were awarded to the meritorious and deserving students in 1827. No mention is found to be made in subsequent occasions. But we can very well surmise that these were awarded annually from personal references by some of the students later, such as Radhanath Sikdar. It should be said in passing that these scholarships were continued till 1841-42, when new arrangements were made by the Government.

Students of the Hindu College gave proofs of unexpected proficiency in English language and literature. Newspapers of the time did not fail to notice this event in their columns. The *Parthenon*, of which I will speak presently and the correspondence, which occasionally appeared in the *India Gazette*, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and the *Literary* Gazette, showed the capacity of these youths to write idiomatic and elegant English prose. One of them, Kasiprasad Ghose, published his book, *Shair and Other Poems*, which was favourably noticed in the papers, and welcome as the first attempt of an Indian in English metrical composition. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore, in its issue of 27th February 1830 felicitated the Bengali youths on their acquirements, which the previous generation could not attain for a long time :

> "But within the last ten years, the language has been cultivated with such wonderful success that it could be easy at the present moment to point out between one and two hundred young native gentlemen in Calcutta to whom English is as familiar as their mother tongue. Some among them have given so intense an application to their English studies, as to produce works, which the great body of our countrymen would scarcely venture to attempt."

VI

The Hindu College students started some extra-academic activities by 1830. I have already referred to the Academic Association. Though this Association was 'nipped in the bud', acording to the *India Gazette*, we may safely say on the authority of Pearychand Mitra, himself a prominent collegian and an active member of the Association, that it continued in some form or other, and never died out. But since early 1830, the Association's activities became more pronounced. Derozio was its President all along and Uma Charan Bose its Secretary. The erudite poet-teacher, Derozio attracted the students of the upper classes by his lovable nature and sympathetic and friendly treatment. They were no less enamoured with his highly efficient mode of teaching. Derozio's teaching roused in their minds a unique yarning for knowledge. According to the *India Gazette* :

> ". . . not content with a concientious discharge of his duties as a teacher of the College, he devotes his care and talents during a considerable part of his time out of school, to the improvement not only of those immediately placed under his tuition, but of all such native young men as come within his reach. He is connected with one society as president (*i.e.*, the Academic Associaion), but with most of the others as members. In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."[8]

8. Quoted by *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

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Under the guidance of such a devoted teacher and friend of the students, the Academic Association soon made its influence felt. Subjects discussed in its meetings were many and varied. They were broached and discussed with freedom which could not have been approached in the class-room. Free-will, fore-ordination, faith, the soundness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of the deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugall Stewart and Brown on the other; the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of the priesthood were the subjects, which stirred to their very depths the young, fearless, hopeful hearts of the leading Hindu youths of Calcutta, . . ."[9]

The venue of the Academic Association was first President Derozio's house on the Old Lower Circular Road, and later the Manicktala garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh, a Manager of the Hindu College. David Hare was a regular visitor. Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, Col. Beatson, and Dr. Mill of the Bishop's College attained the meetings occasionally. In the debates of the Association, such prominent students of the Hindu College, as Krishnamohun Banerjea, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Radhanath Sickdar, Madhab Chandra Mallik and Gobinda Chandra Bysak, took an active part. Inculcation of progressive Western ideas through Derozio's instruction in and outside the College-rooms, and particularly the institution of the Academic Association were responsible for a movement in the direction of starting unions and clubs for exchange of new thoughts and ideas, and for launching activities for the improvement of our countrymen. The *India Gazette* noticed this fact too:

> "The spirit of union has spread itself, and in the course of a short time a great number of literary societies have been formed in Calcutta, consisting principally of the former and present leading students of the Hindu College, the School Society's English schools, and the seminary generally known by the name of Ram Mohun Roy's school. It has been ascertained upon enquiry that seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by the members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great talents, whose name has been for some time familiar to the public ear as the author of some interesting poems."

This East Indian gentleman was no other than Henry Derozio. At this time he wrote an excellent sonnet on his students, the concluding lines of which are as follows:

> O, how the winds
> Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
> Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
> Of new perceptions shed their influence;
> And how you worship truth's omnipotence!
> What joyance rains upon me, when I see
> Fame the minor of futurity,
> Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
> And then I feel I have not lived in vain."

Derozio's prophecy was more than fulfilled when we take into account the careers of his students both individually and collectively. Inspired by the ideal of service placed before them by Derozio, the students of the College brought out a paper called *Parthenon* in early 1830. Only its first issue was published. The paper contained an article on women's education, another on the necessity of colonisation of India by the British, and some adverse comments on the prevalent Hinduism as well as the unusual expenses at the law-courts. On the publication of the *Parthenon*, the Hindu Managers of the College took alarm, and Dr. Wilson forced the students to stop it. The second issue was in print, but could not be issued to the public. This was the first of a series of actions to counter-act the 'progressivism' of the Hindu College boys.

The Managers of the College issued two circulars in early 1830, one for the teachers and the other for the students. The latter, under the signatures of Chandra Kumar Tagore, H. H. Wilson, David Hare, Rasamoy Dutt, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Ramcomul Sen and Radhakant Deb, runs as follows:

> "The Management of the Anglo-Indian College, having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending Societies at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."[10]

In the other circular the teachers were 'particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notions of propriety such as eating or drinking in the school or class-rooms.' If any deviation was found on the part of a teacher from this injunction, he was threatened with dismissal. The tension ended into a grim conflict.

9. *Henry Derozio*, by Thomas Edwards, p. 32. 1884.

10. *MSS. Proceedings* of the H. C. Managing Committee for 1816-1832.

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METROPOLITAN PEOPLE AND PICTURES

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By ALBERT TENEYCK GARDNER

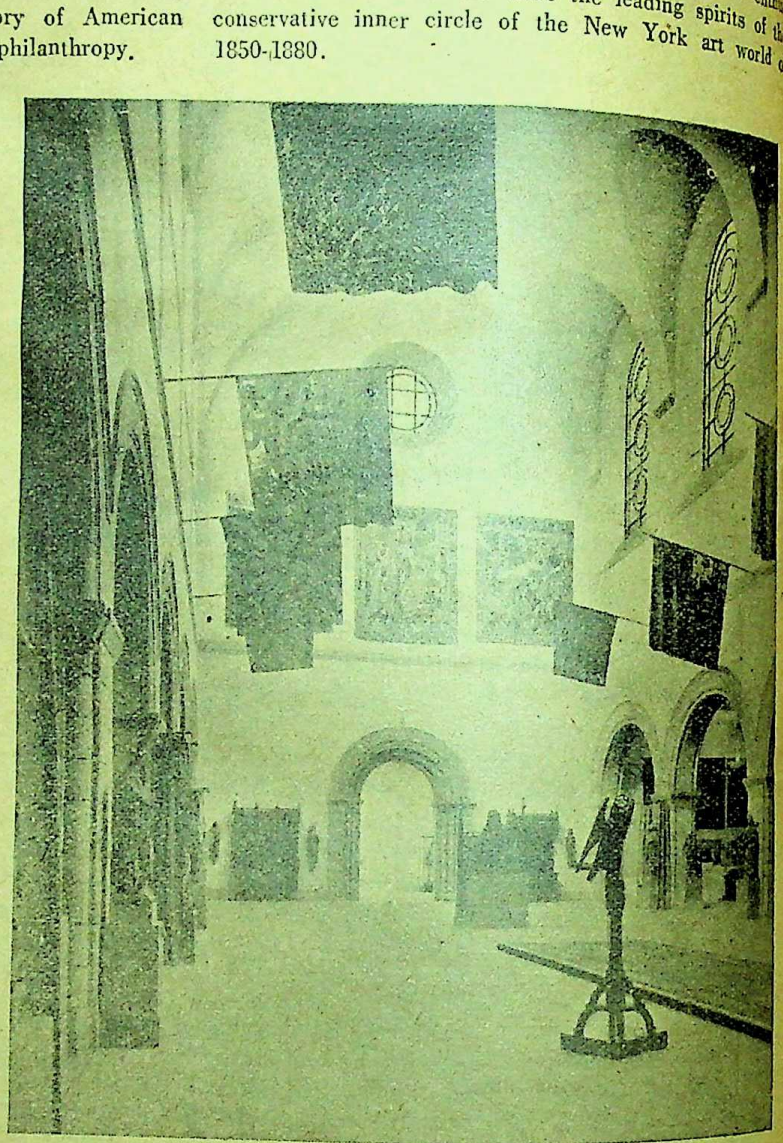
THE Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City has a collection of paintings, which has been growing for over 80 years and which has in that time developed a distinctive character and style. The story of that development is a fascinating part of the unwritten history of American cultural life, of the history of American taste and their relations to American philanthropy.

Economic historians tell us that in the half-century between 1880 and 1930, Americans spent more money spent by any comparable group in on art than had ever before been history. The social historians pursuing this thought, further conclude that in this same period, by gift to museums, the private art collections of the United States have been transformed into a vast national treasure.

Few American collections have held pictures in close seclusion and they are far outweighed by those who have generously given their pictures to the public. It is perhaps safe to venture that a constant record of public gifts, such a flow of art treasure from private to public hands, over such a long period, never before has taken place in any country. The gracious gesture of giving has long since become an American tradition rather than an occasional illustration of the old cliche, "princely gesture."

When the movement for the foundation of museums got fully under way in the United States in the 1870's and 1880's, the Metropolitan was one of the first institutions to be the beneficiary of the tradition. In the late 1880's, through the gift of the Catherine Lorillard Wolfe collection of modern pictures, and Marquand collection of paintings by by the old masters, the development of its galleries really began to take definite form and direction. Marquand, by his gift of 50 old masters, set not only a standard of taste by the high quality of his acquisitions, but he also initiated the manner of giving with thoughtful and open-handed generosity. Because of the great interest aroused by his gift (the news widely publicized), both the quality and manner of his action made an impression that has never been forgotten.

Everyone with an interest in art knew the name of Henry G. Marquand, for he was one of the greatest American patrons of art in his time. Throughout his life he was the friend of many American painters, designers and architects. His natural taste for the arts undoubtedly was stimulated by the interests and enthusiasms of such men who were the leading spirits of the conservative inner circle of the New York art world of 1850-1880.



The Medieval Sculpture Hall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marquand was a New Yorker by birth. Two phases of his early business career had important and interesting influences on the development of his later activities in the art world. As a young man he managed the large real estate holdings of his brother and through this work he became aware of the ugliness and bad planning of American architecture, particularly the business buildings then being erected in New York City. His efforts to improve the appearance and utility of

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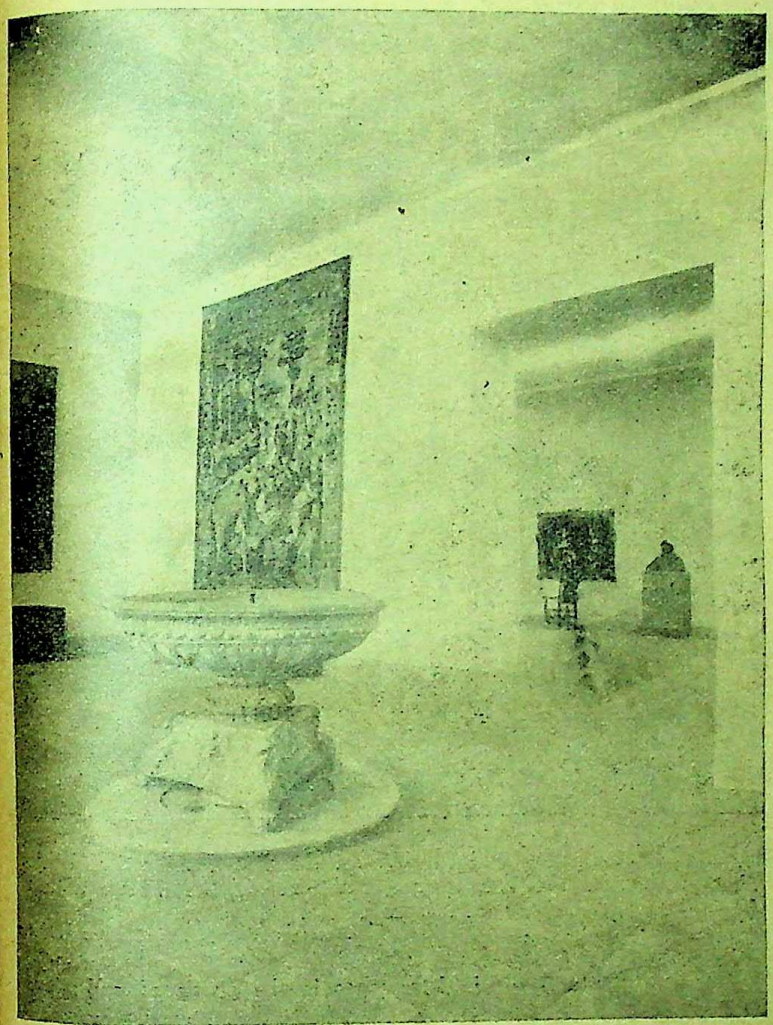
those buildings brought him into contact with Richard Morris Hunt, then one of the most promising and best-trained young architects in the United States. The other phase of his business career which affected his activities as a collector was his experience as a partner in a jewelry firm where an eye for quality is a part of the essential equipment. From these pursuits he progressed into banking and railroads where he was eminently successful. In the 1880's he more or less retired from business to devote his time to building his Madison Avenue mansion, buying works of art and giving serious thought to the development of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



The Pazzi Fountain by Donatello and a sixteenth-century French tapestry, "The Blasphemy of Niobe"
Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marquand's first donation, quite aside from the beauty and historic value of the pictures in it, had one characteristic that makes it unique in the history of American collecting of that time. This is the fact that as soon as the pictures were brought together they were given to the museum. They were never enjoyed in privacy, but were given to the people of New York City and were on display as a loan at the Museum as soon as they arrived from London.

Marquand formed, during his later years, two important collections. These were brought together with two quite separate purposes in mind. One was made for the adornment of his home, the other for the specific purposes of the Metropolitan Museum. His house was in itself a work of art; in building and designing it Marquand employed the best modern artists and decorators to ornament the interior which he then filled with works of art of every description.

The collection of paintings in the Marquand house was for the most part the work of contemporary British and American artists, but there were a few eighteenth-century British portraits and one or two old masters. Among the modern paintings was Alma-Tadema's famous "The Reading from Homer" (now in the Philadelphia Museum) and a handsome view of Windsor Castle by John F. Kensett.

An idea of the extent and value of his collection is revealed by the fact that when it was sold in 1903 the auction lasted through nine days and the cash receipts amounted to over $700 000. Marquand intended that these treasures ultimately should be given to the Museum but severe financial reverses in the last years of his life made that impossible.

The other collection made by Marquand expressly for the Museum was quite different, though in its own way it too reflected his refined and conservative taste. This group of works was based on the serious study of a very conscientious and enthusiastic Museum President. The guiding principles in Marquand's mind mere also based on British precedent: the ideal art museum of the time was the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert) in London. This concept was one of a museum of art history brought together purposely for its practical educational value. This second Marquand collection of old masters metalwork, glass ceramics, was built up over a period of twenty years (1881-1902) especially to enrich the Metropolitan not only as a picture gallery, but also as an educational institution, with the belief that American industry would profit by finding in American museums materials for the inspira-

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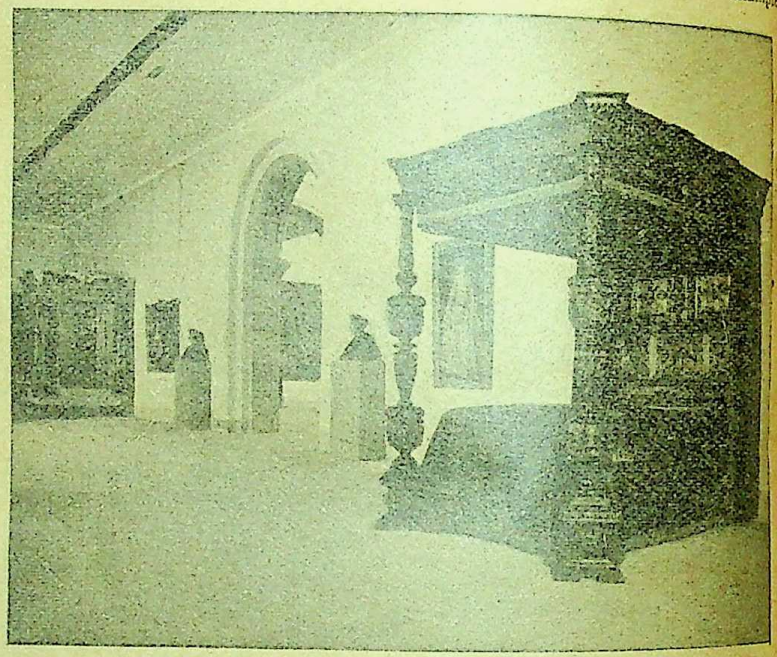
tion of her designers and craftsmen and manufacturers. Marquand selected the old masters to augment and complement the Museum's first group of old masters purchased in 1871 by William T. Blodgett, which were of the Dutch and Flemish schools.

The Marquand "Portrait of the Duke of Lennox" by Van Dyck is the very epitome of ducal elegance, a most impressive picture, and one that from 1889 to the present day has been one of the most popular pictures in the Museum's collection. The Hals portraits, of which there are three, show him in his most vivid and dashing style, while the Vermeer represents this rare master at his best. The Metsu, the two works by Petrus Christus, the Rembrandts, the Cuyp the Ruysdael and other works of the Dutch and Flemish schools gave a new tone and strength to the Museum's paintings. Added to these there were no less than four interesting portraits of the School of Velasquez perhaps among the first works from the studio of this grand Spanish master to come to anyone in he United States. With these was a group of British eighteenth-century portraits and landscapes, a Turner, a Crome and a Gainsborough and three Italian works,

For 30 years, 1871 to 1902, the problems of the Metropolitan occupied increasingly more and more of Marquand's time, energy and thought. It was not unusual for him to advance substantial sums for various prosaic museum expenses, such as the payment of its coal bill, as well as to provide educational exhibits of the library and the general endowment fund. As President, he secured in 1896 an appropriation from the City for the building of the first section of the now well-known Fifth Avenue facade. It might be said that he found the Museum an odd rustic park structure with rather barren halls and walls, and left it in the hands of his successors a monumental structure filled with works of art that gave it a more than national importance. His intense interest in the general welfare of the Museum as an institution for the benefit of the public set a standard of service to the community.

In contrast to the Marquand Collection, perhaps that of Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, received by the Museum in 1887, may stand as a characteristic group representing a sort of then general "standard" of taste for the private art gallery of the 1870's and 1830's. Miss Wolfe was the heiress to a hardware fortune, who had invested much of her inheritance in paintings which today have the appearance of bonbons. However, daringly mingled with these were a few "advanced" Barbizon pictures, a very fine Corot landscape, two Daubignys, several by Diaz and a landscape by Theodore Rousseau. Her gift to the Museum was notably sweetened by being accompanied with a sizable fund for the upkeep and increase of her pictures. Through this thoughtful addition to her gift, the Museum has been able to purchase a number of French canvases by Ingres, Delacroix, David, Cezanne, Renoir, Vuillard and others.

At this time a number of Americans, following Marquand's lead or inspired by the same tendencies which seemed to be in the air, were beginning to purchase paintings by the old masters, but none of them followed Henry Marquand to the extent of collecting expressly for a Museum's immediate benefit. However the thought had been well established by his example



Paintings, sculptures and carvings of the Renaissance and other periods enrich the Renaissance Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

to flower in later years in the giving of collections of works of art to public institutions throughout the United States.

Marquand's gift of old masters probably accelerated a new trend, for in the decade 1880-1890 the Havemeyers bought their first Rembrandts and J. P. Morgan started to buy works of a more memorable sort.

A few months after Marquand's great gift to the Museum in 1889, another New Yorker—Erwin Davis—presented three pictures that struck a new prophetic note. These were the famous Manet, "Boy with the Sword," his "Woman Feeding a Parrot" and the "Joan of Arc" by Bastien Lepage. The Manets were accepted

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calmly as the fine modern pictures which they are by the newspaper critics and everyone else.

The interests of the Havemeyer family in the Metropolitan began in 1933 when H.O. Havemeyer purchased and presented a Gilbert Stuart "Portrait of Washington" when he found that the Museum wanted it but had no funds. In 1891 the Museum received as a loan from them a notable group of 14 modern paintings and old masters. These were apparently lent while the Havemeyer house was being built, a house that was in time to become one of the most incredible private art museums ever brought together—the greater part of which was given to the Metropolitan in 1929.

The Havemeyer Collection, so rich in its Impressionist paintings, placed the Museum immediately in the front rank, making it unrivalled even by the museums of France. Its two superb El Grecos, its Rembrandts, the elegant Bronzino, the many Goyas and two Veroneses gave accents of the greatest distinction to the galleries of old masters. It contained, in addition to more than two hundred paintings, whole galleries full of Oriental art, paintings, screens, lacquer, pottery, metalwork, as well as sculpture, prints and drawings.

During the long period, now happily at an end, while the Museum's galleries were closed for rebuilding, the steady requests for paintings from the museum-going public have been a constant reminder of the great popular interest in paintings as well as the popularity of the Metropolitan's collection. These days the public asks for a quite different sort of pictures, not at all the thing that was in popular demand even a few years ago. Now they want to see the Impressionists, the moderns or the time-tested old masters. They like Goya, El Greco and Picasso.—From *Art News*.

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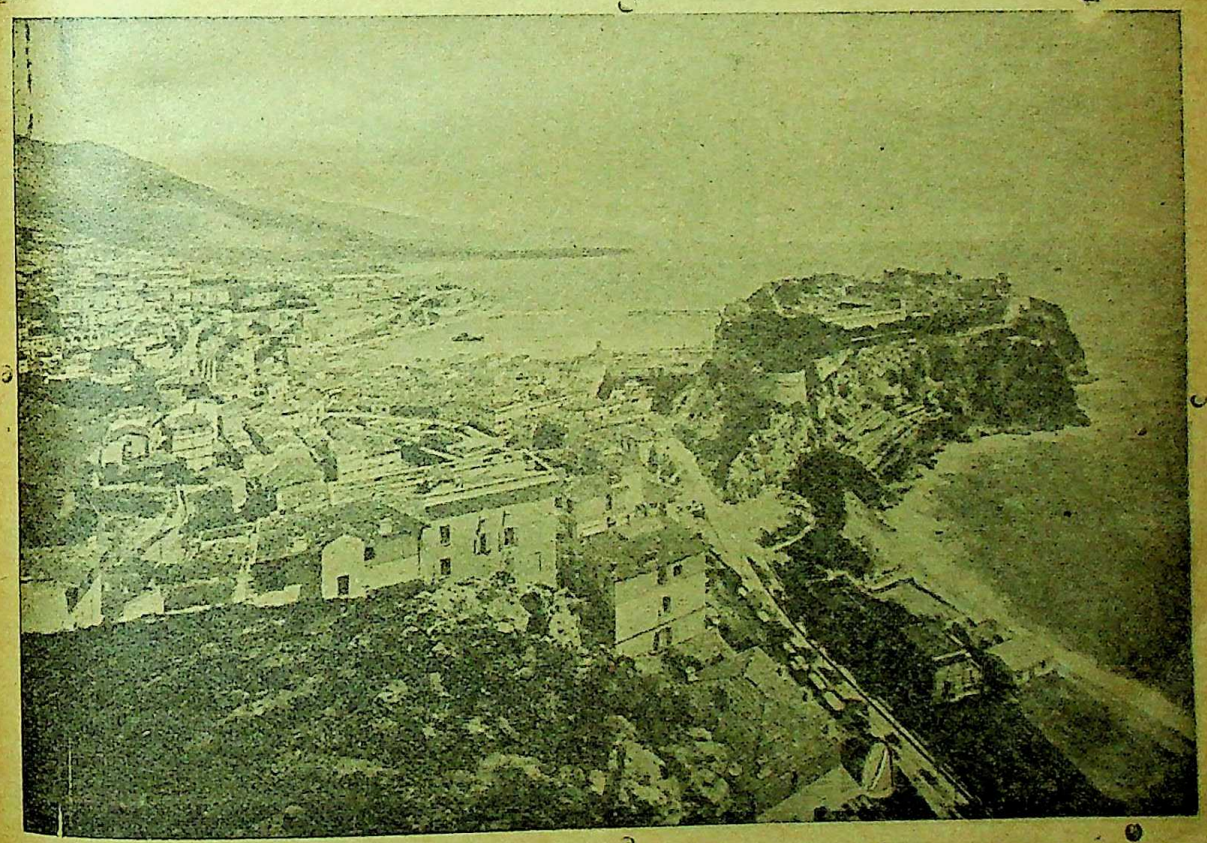
THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

Monte Carlo to Geneva

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

Monte Carlo, a little city of about 10,000 souls with two other cities totalling 8 square miles, forms the independent principality of Monaco, ruled by the Prince of Monaco. But there are no custom-barriers between France and Monaco. Lovely gardens, magnificent villas, Parisian shops, gay little tea-houses are



A general view of Monaco

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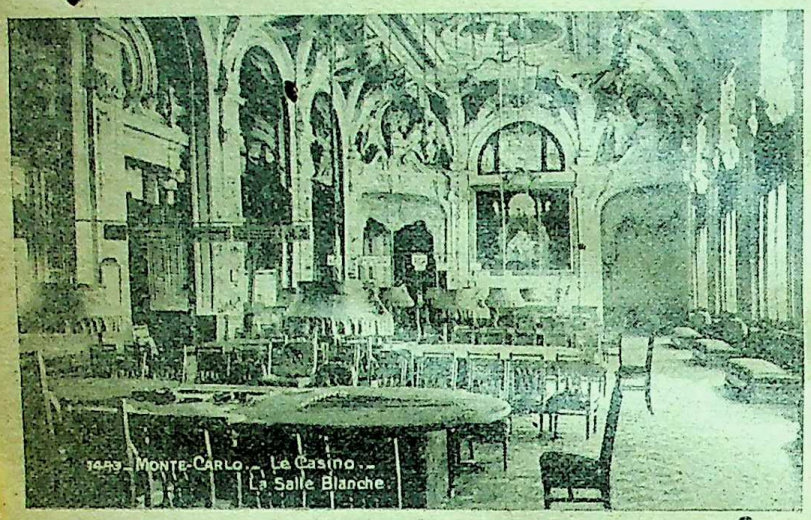
located within a small compass on the very fringe of the promontory at the foot of the Alps. Gambling privileges yield so large a revenue that the people



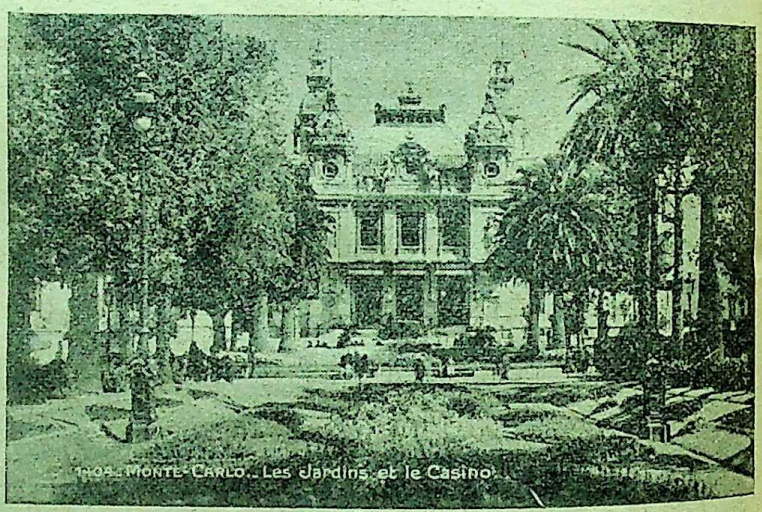
Monte Carlo, Casino

of Monaco pay no taxes but they are not allowed to take part at the gaming tables.

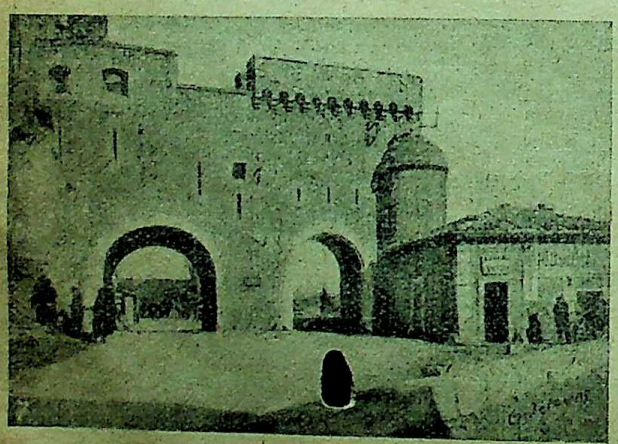
The town of Monaco at the bulge, on a higher level, has the Prince's Palace at the centre and a remarkable museum of Ocean Wonders. It offers a charming view up to Nice on the West and to Menton on the East at the Italian frontier.

Monte Carlo is disproportionately small and yet famous throughout the world as the most attractive gambling centre. Gleaming white walls and tiled roof of the world-famous Casino or gambling hall, a wide terrace and a splendid garden are worthy of admiration. Formerly it used to be the Grand Dukes and Princelings of Europe but now, more of the show business of Hollywood pattern invade and crowd Monte Carlo in summer. It has been called a city of staircases; the Mont Angel Golf Course, the most expensive in the world, built at a fabulous cost from out of the rocks, has to be reached by an endless spiral flight of stairs. The turf, secured from distant centres, was brought to such an excellent condition that a golfing expert, when asked about his opinion, said, "I am no—goat." There is, however, no chance in any of the holes for the ball to bounce about to eternity.

In the famous northward route from Nice, although the road was level and straight for a time, it



Monte Carlo. The garden of Casino



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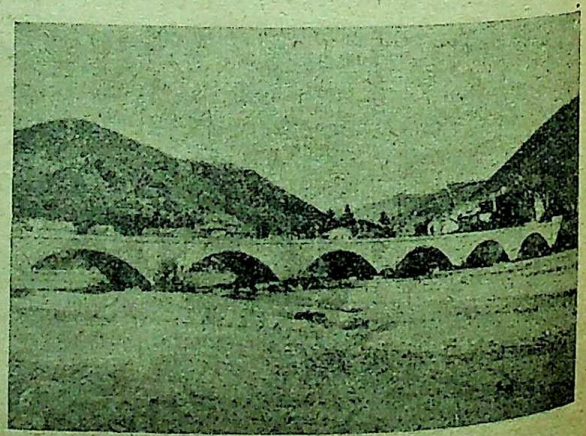

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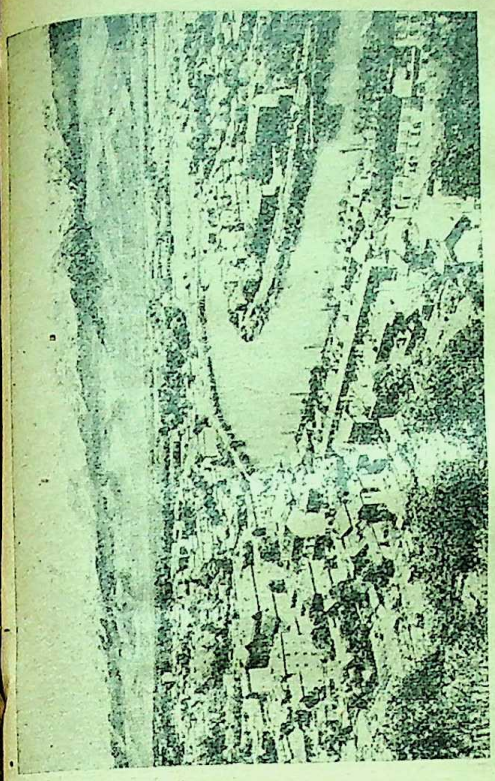
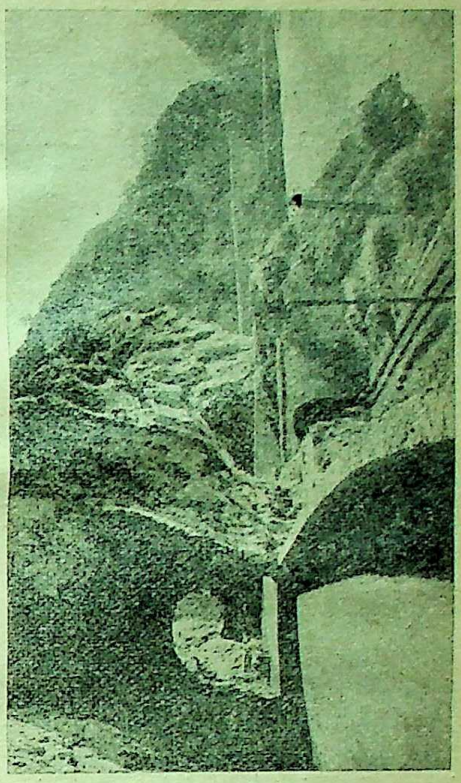
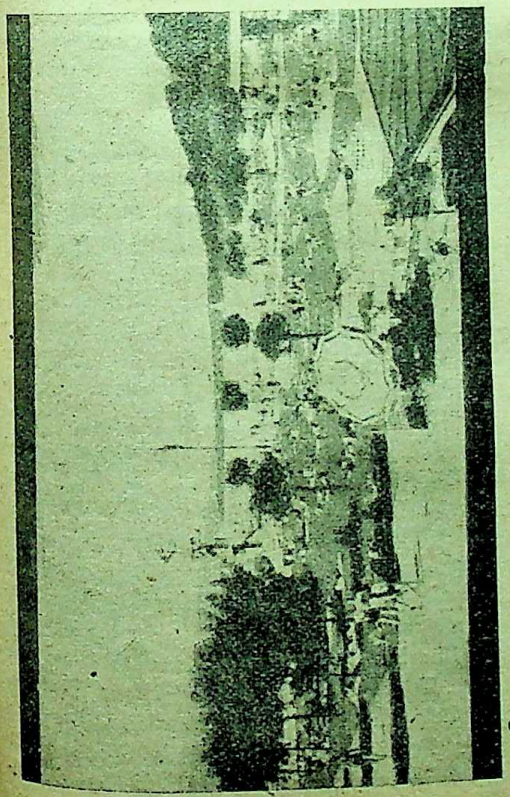


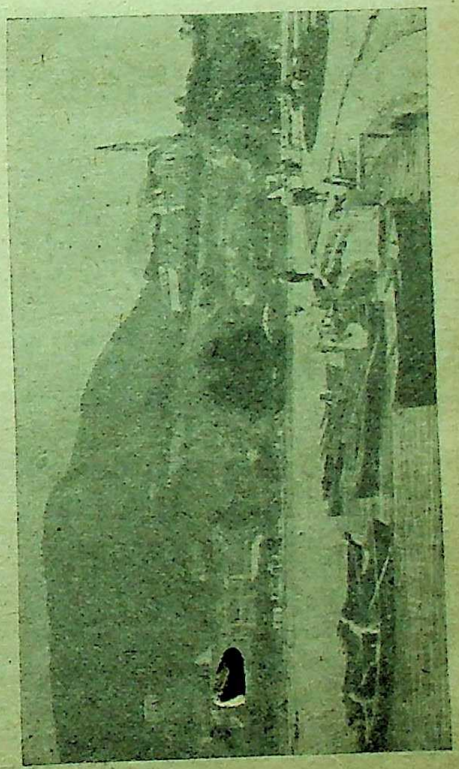
Grenoble



Gorges of the Mescla with tunnels



Geneva



Annecy

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became very sinuous by the gorges of the Mescla with several tunnels. Passing through the cols (passes) of Vergons and Moria we reached Barreme on the Napoleon route, and followed it up to Sisteron passing through Difne. Then our route separated and we got excellent views of the Alps of Dauphiny until we passed the heights in the pass of Croix-Hauto and descended gradually to Grenoble, one of the most beautifully situated towns of France. The Napoleon route passed through Grenoble and here he won over the soldiers who had been sent to capture him and began the triumphal march to Paris, which in 100 days ended in Waterloo. From Grenoble the drive was picturesque with views of distant mountains, through gorges and valleys to the famous spa of Aix La Bains (a fashionable and popular thermal spa and summer resort) and then to Annecy situated on the beautiful lake. Here to our regret, we missed Mr. Macdonald, late Principal of the Bengal Engineering College, who had come to spend his holidays here just a few days ago. Then through pretty gorges and phenomenal panorama of the passes and with magnificent views of both Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc, Geneva, the gateway to Switzerland, was reached.

"Here is your Emperor: if any one would kill him, let him fire." This dramatic appeal won over the garrison at Grenoble and he began his triumphal march to Paris

———:O:———

THE EMERGENCE OF THE BUDDHA-IMAGES

By PANKAJ KUMAR ROY

Once Mahayana Buddhism succeeded in satisfying the growing needs of the common man in understanding the code of ethics and morality easily and clearly, no force could retard its popularity—a popularity achieved by the simple, humane, unorthodox and realistic principle of this creed. Influenced by the "Bhakti" movement to a great extent Mahayanism shattered all its limitations that came by the way and went on progressing with leaps and bounds as the only practical and realistic religion of India of those times. Saivism was there and the "Sakti" cult was trying to gain a subtle position, and above all, Vaisnavism was showing all the signs of maturity. But Mahayana Buddhism overshadowed them all in its rapid propagation. Although the gaining of public approval, support and sympathy was the foremost consideration, there arose the question of how to maintain this popularity for decades to come. Early monastic Buddhism never allowed the Master to be represented in images—He was always translated through symbols. Much stress was laid upon *japa, upasana,* prayer and meditation and that too done in *viharas* and at *stupas* was the usual practice under that system. This presentation of Buddha in symbols might lead to the fact that the exponents of post-Buddha Monastic Buddhism thought Buddha-images might have lessened the gravity of the Master's significance. Bare *japa, upasana* and meditation never bring the devotee in a closer contact with the worshipped—there always remains a barrier of fear and formalities in between the worshipper and the worshipped. The devotee, a common man, practises all these—*japa, upasana, etc.*, mechanically day by day, gradually all these become nothing but a routine. And this state of affairs—religious practices done in a lifeless, formal way—brought the downfall of Hinayanism. A wheel, an empty throne or the Bodhi-Tree was sufficient to portray the Master in symbolic designs.

Mahayana Buddhism, when it came to play its part, realised this vital drawback of its counterpart, the Early Monastic Buddhism. It understood clearly that no symbol could produce devotional sentiment in the hearts of common men. Symbols could command respect and reverence, but neither complete self-surrender nor devotion. Mahayanism rightly noticed that to worship a super-human personality like Buddha only through his symbolic representations was not easy for the layman. And that is why the Hindu gods and goddesses are represented both in iconic and aniconic representations from the days of the Indus Valley Culture. Take for example the case of "Krishna". He is represented both as a "Salagramasila" as well as in anthropomorphic forms. Mahayanists thought the images of the Master would be an example to the devotees reminding them of the stages of Bodhisattva-hood Gautama had to pass to become a Buddha, of the services he did to suffering humanity and his sacrifices to free the souls under bondage. Not only would these images be a reminder of Buddha's activities but they also helped men to follow and emulate them, if possible. But above all, a Buddha-image would help the devotee to think that he could also become a Bodhisattva, then a Buddha and attain 'Nirvana' by constantly rectifying himself—by dimini-

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shing his sins through the 'travail and error' method and through service to all living creatures; in one word, living and leading the life of devotion and sacrifice to all men. Further, a Buddha-image could be worshipped very easily at the devotee's home, requiring no hard and fast rule, and helping him to stop all formalities within the modes of devotion.

These factors played the role of leading forces in the evolution of the Buddha-images. The common worshipper now no longer was required to visit the monasteries, *viharas* and the *stupas* for formal and methodical ovations and prayers. The Master was now before his eyes in all his (Buddha's) character-features. Devotion thus naturally welled up in the sentimental heart of the common man who had for long been under rigorous formalities and this pure devotion led him to the path of complete self-surrender and the forsaking of all wordly bondages.

Two parts of India—Gandhara (the modern Kabul, Peshawar region) and Mathura—were the first to originate Buddha images, almost simultaneously. The chronology of the Gandhara art is still a vexed question and I leave it for the archaeologists to ascertain the correct date. Mr. Benzamine Rowland, Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, Karl Khandelwala, Mr. Corurington, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and many others call this a "Graeco-Roman Art" while Mr. Vogel, Dr. Mrs. DeLlew, Mr. Foucher, Dr. Coomaraswamy and others call it "Graeco-Buddhist Art." Neither of these two views can be justified, supported and solicited faithfully. The theme of the art is Buddhistic no doubt. Then how can scholars call it Graeco-Roman or Graeco-Buddhist? Many of the Buddha-images from Gandhara have close affinities to Hellenistic and late Antique phase of the Roman art. But can we say definitely that Gandhara was the borrower from the West and not *vice-versa*? It may be quite likely that there was cordial relationship between India, Rome and the Hellenistic countries in those days, and sculptors from one country might have visited another and helped to produce some of the images. But that can certainly not brand an art as the imitator of another. That is why the Buddha-images of the early Gandharan phase exhibited some resemblance to Graeco-Roman types, but images of slightly later phases manifest a vast improvement towards indigenous ideas.

> "It may be described from one point of view as representing an eastward extension of Hellenistic civilization, mixed with Indian elements from another point of view, as a westward extension of Indian culture in a western garb."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*

The Mathura Buddha-images show a fully indigenous finish.

Now to the Buddha-images. Mr. B. Rowland calls the Gandharan art "the official art" of the Kusanas and their successors. The Gandhara school is usually credited with the first representations of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form.

"The quality of devotion in the later Buddhist sects demanded a representation of the Master in an accessible human form. The earliest Buddha-images were a compound of icono-graphical and technical formulae . . . ."—Rowland: *Indian Art—Hindu, Buddhist, Jain.*

Typical Buddha-image (Mathura School)

Usually these images are of three types—Seated Buddha, Standing Buddha and Buddha as the Prince Siddhartha. In the first two types, Buddha is shown wearing a monk's garment (with folds of drapery). Adolescent features, wavy hair, elongated earlobes 'urna and ushnisha,' as also the definition of the third eye between the eyebrows are the other important features of Gandhara Buddha-images. All these images, according to Mr. Vogel, are shown in relief and never as statues carved in the round. The right hand as a rule is raised to the height of the shoulder; the open palm

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is turned towards the spectator as expressive of the Master's grant of "Abhaya." In the third type we find a young man in princely garb—turban, jewellery and muslin robe. He is Siddhartha. Another innovation of this art was the continuous representation of the Buddha legend in a series of separate episodes.

"The Gandhara reliefs show no less stylistic variety than the statues of Buddha and Bodhisattva . . . . . Gandhara relief sculpture owes its rather puzzling character to the fact that it is technically an impossible mixture of archaic and developed styles of carving," writes Mr. Benzamine Rowland.

The carving is characteristic of the isolation of the figures against a plain background, although the

Typical Buddha-head
(Gandhara School)

forms themselves are related one to another by their postures and gestures. Such legends as the "Presentation of the Bride to Prince Siddhartha" or the "Nirvana" are only some of the examples of these richly carved relief panels.

Now to the other school of Mathura.

"The great period of Mathura's florescence coincides with the great century of Kusana rule under the reigns of Kanishka and his successors and this is exactly contemporary with the Gandhara school."—*Rowland*.

"The most obvious characteristic of the Kusana school in Mathura is the fact, by no means astonishing, that it represents in the main a direct development of the older Indian art of Bharhut and still older art of Besnagar."—Coomaraswamy.

Mr. J. P. Vogel also shares the same opinion along with Dr. Mrs. Lohuizen DeLlew (authoress of *Scythic Period in Indian History*) and many others. The Mathura images are usually of red sand-stone; the sculpture is in the round, the head is shaven and never covered with curls, the 'usnisa' wherever preserved is spiral, there is no 'urna' and no moustache; the right hand is raised in 'abhaya' mudra, the left is often clenched and rests on the thigh in seated figures, or in standing figures supports the folds of the robe, the elbow being always at some distance from the body.

"The breasts are curiously prominent, though the type is absolutely masculine and the shoulders very broad. The robe leaves the right shoulder bare—the drapery moulds the flesh very closely and is arranged in schematic folds; the seat is always a lion throne, while in the case of standing figures there is often a seated lion beween the feet. The gesture and features express enormous energy . . . . ."—Coomaraswamy.

"The Buddha already conceived of as a transcendent, almost forced a reliance on preconceived ideals of divine beauty and a dependence on certain superhuman proportions and attributes which would properly assume the image's assuming an appropriately iconic aspect of divine perfection."—Benzamine Rowland.

Mr. Vogel, Mr. Foucher and Dr. Mrs. Llew support this view along with many others. According to Mr. Rowland, the eyes of the Mathura Buddhas are fully open, the cheeks round and full, the mouth ample with lips drawn into a slight smile and the face has a warm, friendly expression. Sculpture in relief under the Kusanas at Mathura is in many respects an outgrowth of the styles of the archaic period, although at the same time it is undoubtedly influenced by innovations from Gandhara, notably in the inclusions of Buddha in anthropomorphic form. This is vouched by Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Vogel, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Mr. Foucher and others. Mathura sculptors followed a shorthand manner of presentations by stripping off all details of action and setting from various episodes so that the event is often represented only by the figure of Buddha in characteristic pose and mudra.

The Buddha-images of Amaravati in the far South have resemblances to Mathura except the definition of the drapery by a combination of incised lines and overlapping ridges indicating the course of the folds and seams, which are reminiscent of Gandhara Buddha images. The face of the Amaravati Buddha is oval-shaped.

This process of the evolution of the Buddha-images

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comes to its fullness in the golden days of the early Imperial Guptas and this classical type is the main source of all later forms both in and beyond the Indian boundaries.

"The Gupta type is characterised by its refinement, by a clear dilineation and definition of the features by curly hair, absence of *urna*, greater variety of mudras, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders, clearly revealing the figures."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art.*

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REDRAWING INDIA'S MAP

By Prof. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

The long-awaited recommendatiins of the States Reorganisation Commission are now before the general public. According to these proposals, the new map of India will have 16 federating units, all to be called "States" enjoying equal constitutional status, and these Centrally-administered areas to be known as "territories." All the existing C States are to disappear, all the B States, with the exception of Rajasthan and a truncated Hyderabad, are also to go. Uttar Pradesh continues to be the largest in population with 63.2 million, whereas the new State of Madhya Pradesh will be the largest in area with 1,71,000 square miles. The new Bombay State will be the second biggest State in population and the third largest State in area. The capital city of Delhi will now be a Centrally-administered territory with a Municipal Corporation on the lines of the London County Council. Status quo has been maintained for the present as regards Pondicherry and NEFA owing to the special circumstances under which they have been placed constitutionally. The recommendations of the Commission are unanimous except in regard to U.P. and Himachal Pradesh. Shri Panikkar wants an 'Agra' State to be carved out of portions of the existing U.P., Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat. Shri Fazl Ali is against the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab and PEPSU as now provided, but wants it to be a Centrally-administered territory.

As was indicated by the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation on the eve of the publication of the Report, the recommendations of the Commission will now be considered by the State Legislatures and the public generally will also have "every opportunity for the expression of opinion." Of course, the ultimate decision on these recommendations will be taken by the Parliament. It is not very clear yet whether it would be possible to implement the proposals of the Commission for redrawing the boundaries of new States before the next general elctions early in 1957. Reference has been made in the Report regarding the need for re-delimitation of Constituencies in a number of States. It is, however, generally believed that it should be possible to hold the general elections, more or less, according to present schedule after enacting the necessary legislation in Parliament and redelimiting the Constituencies. All this would, of course, entail very heavy and onerous work for the administration. But it is being realised by all sections of public opinion that the general elections must not be postponed beyond the period of five years, as laid down in the Indian Constitution, except in very grave national emergency

In his broadcast talk, Shri Nehru appealed to the people of India to read the Report "as a whole.' No Report of this nature could possibly satisfy everybody. We have, therefore, to find out "what is good from the point of view of the country as a whole and has the largest measure of agreement and support." The Prime Minister wanted us to approach this question "with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration."

> "This is a hard test for us and our future might well depend upon how we face it and deal with." "I earnestly trust, therefore," said Shri Nehru, "that we shall consider this report in a manner becoming a great people fashioning their future."

The three distinguished members of the Commission have also expressed a similar hope at the end of their Report:

> "Free India is now on the move. What has already been achieved can be viewed with a measure of legitimate pride. The manner in which the very difficult problem of Princely India was solved in the anxious and bewildering circumstances following partition, will by itself be a standing testimony to the political wisdom and strength of the Indian people and their firm determination to eradicate artificial barriers and cramping loyalties. We conclude in the hope that the scheme of reorganisation which we have proposed will be viewed against this background and that men of good-will will co-operate with those charged with the onerous responsibility of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiments with national interests in giving effect to the decisions which might be taken in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding."

The Commission have also done well in recommending a number of measures for safeguarding the rights of linguistic minorities and for forging the ties of national unity. They have recommended, for

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example, that about fifty per cent of new entrants in any cadre of an existing All-India Service should be from outside the State concerned. Further that the training of probationers to the All-India and Central Services should be such that they should have a good introduction to the essentials of Indian geography, history, religions, customs and manners. Even in the case of High Court judges, it has been suggested by the Commission that at least one-third of the number should consist of persons who are recruited from outside the State. These are, indeed, useful suggestions for bringing about a proper atmosphere for national unity and solidarity. It must, however, be remembered that no proposals can achieve the desired objective unless there is real and sincere appreciation of the need for such unity in the minds and hearts of the people. We should also constantly bear in mind that the map of India is being redrawn primarily for the sake of administrative convenience so that the various State Governments may function through the language of the people of those areas. After all, the State will continue to be integral parts of the great Indian Union and it does not matter very much whether a particular Taluka or District is included in this State or that State.

It should also be clearly understood that the recommendations of the high-level Commission should be considered with due respect. It would be very wrong to treat the Report in a light-hearted manner and start fresh controversies or agitations over again. The Commission consisted of three very able men of this country who considered 1,52,250 documents, interviewed more than 9,000 persons and travelled 33 000 miles before coming to the conclusions. If we begin the whole process once again by agitating for our own point of view, there would be no end to this discussion and controversy. It is true that the Prime Minister himself has been "a little surprised" at some of the recommendations. This only shows that the Prime Minister had absolutely no idea about the nature of the proposals of the Commission till a few days ago and that he keeps an open mind in regard to this difficult problem. But this does not mean that we should also begin imitating the Prime Minister by expressing our own 'surprises' and indulging in unending controversies. We should be prepared to accept the recommendations of the Commission in good spirit and think of certain changes only in very exceptional cases.

There are still some people in this country who feel that it was a mistake to have appointed this Commission. In fact, they regard the very idea of linguistic re-distribution of States as basically unsound and dangerous to the cause of India's unity. We do not agree with this view. We are of the definite opinion that the existing States are not rational and scientific; they were carved out by the alien rulers in accordance with the exigencies of the time. It is, therefore, desirable to redraw our map on more rational lines. As Acharya Vinoba recently pointed out, reorganisation of States, if undertaken in the proper spirit, should be able to promote our unity and national strength. But if we do not show proper broad-mindedness and largeness of heart, this process of reorganisation may sow the seeds of national ruin and disaster. This is, therefore, a hard and momentous test for all of us and I earnestly hope that we will come out unscathed. May God give us the necessary strength to be worthy citizens of this great land of Gandhi and Nehru!

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Educational Movement in India"

Sir,

I beg to draw your kind attention to some solecisms and missta emen s which occur in the paragraph on Hindi, on page 444 in the above article by Rajani Kanta Das, Ph. D. and Sonya Ruth Das D. LITT. (Paris), published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1955.

The authors have spelt 'Chanda Bardai' as Chand Bardi, without any phonetic no ations. It is a minor mistake; but it should not have occurred. This would lead all readers of the journal who do not know Hindi, to pronounce the name wrongly.

Then, 'Bartendu Harischandra' has been shortened to B. H. Chandra. In this case Bhartendu has been taken to be a part of the name of the poet-dramatist, whereas it is only his title. When many of those familiar with Hindi and the history of its literature had to pause for a moment before they could make out that B. H. Chandra stands for Bhartendu Harishchandra, how would those unfamiliar with the language and its literature get the name correctly? It appears that the significance of the honorific 'Bhartendu' escaped the notice of the learned authors. Or, does it show their utter ignorance of the subject they are writing about in rather a learned way!

Besides these, there are the following amazing misstatements which are unpardonably present in the paragraph:

The authors' remark that "The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardi (sic), *known for his poems on Prithvi Raj Raso*," indicates that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is the name of the hero, or the central figure on whom the poems (!) by Chanda were written,

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The fact, however, is that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is a voluminous epic running into 2500 pages—divided in 69 chapters; and is not a mere collection of poems. It has for its subject, the deeds of glory and exploits of Prithvi Raj, the Chauhan King (besides some traditional facts of Rajput History).

Another damaging remark which the authors make is about Tulsidas. According to them, Tulsidas "translated the Ramayana into Hindi". It is as preposterous a remark as to say that Milton versified the Bible in the Paradise Lost! It is a well-known fact that since the days of Valmiki, many great poems have been written not only in Hindi but also in many other Indian languages. Kalidas's Raghuvansam, Tulsidas's Ramacharitamnas, Keshavadas's Ramchandrika, and Maithalisharan Gupta's Saaket, to name only a few, are all devoted to the same theme. Though their theme is one yet they are so different in their approach and style that the later ones can never be called a translation of the works written earlier. The same holds good about Tulsidas also. To say that he translated the Ramayana into Hindi is as far from truth as it can be. All that he did, as he himself says in the opening book of his great epic, was to collect some material from many Puranas, and Shastras and also from tradition for composing his immortal work. His treatment and style are entirely his own and he is absolutely original in every way.

I wish these mistakes had been corrected and the facts verified before the article was sent for publication.

This shows how dangerous it is to rely entirely on knowledge gathered through second-hand sources.

Shrirama Shrivastava, M.A., Visharad *Lucknow.*

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POEMS

By IDA SARKAR (nee Stieler)

TO MY HUSBAND

Memories! Memories!
God's wonderful gift divine,
I hold you silent in my soul.
Years have passed by—
A wreath of tears I wind around the time.
In my dreams,
I weave your face immortal to a shrine.
You, my beloved with your sunny eyes,
Your forehead shone with radiant intellect bright.
You, whose kindness made all eyes fill with tears,
Your clear tranquillity of mind
Gave rest and peace to all.
You brought happiness to man in storm and stress.
Full of world-joy, yet so distant from world-lust
Your path moved on. You paved the way,
Inspired all hearts, who searched for truth.
Far like a dream are all the days gone by.
We shared life's happiness and joy.
Just like a spring your words run through my soul.
They carry force and strength through all my veins.
"Have courage, man must fight," how often did I hear this phrase.
Again my own heart tells me in one solitary hour,
The fate of years.
In one moment, I visualise the dreams of my world.
I see milliards of stars high up in the sky,
Which no man can count.
I begin to see light after light.
All this has passed through my life,
While with you.
The stars shine and I do not feel lonely in my loneliness.
You are ever and ever with me, my beloved.
All my gratitude to you come never too late.
You left me your warm heart, your strength stayed with me
And leads me on my way.
You took with you your loving eyes,
Yet the sight of your soul was left to me.
You planted the seeds of knowledge and sacrifice,
In the green garden of this young generation,
From your fertile autumn days.
These seeds will grow for ever and ever
And with them will grow our love and admiration for you.

TO MY BENOY

Fighter for the truth of all things,
Noble fighter thou beloved mine,
From the ruins of all I lost
Sing I to thee, Oh immortal one!
I see the world through those where death has passed.
I see the traces of thy greatest work,
I see thy life which had to suffer hard,
Before it even started full to live.
Out of the clouds of golden illusions
Thou resist and we feel thee ever near.
Thou still givest life from the eternal zones
To the down-trodden, whom thou lovest the best.
Thou weavest ever the robe of sacrifice
For the youth to come,
For the freedom which thou hardly felt.
Where thou art missing, life itself is dead,
Where thou art, there is immortality.

(Poems written by Mrs. Ida Sarkar, his wife, for the sixth death anniversary of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.)

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W. C. BONNERJEE—FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJI

In the nineteenth century a galaxy of stars were born in Bengal. They were all eminent men who held the field in almost all spheres of life in India. Practically Bengal led and the rest of India followed.

Such a great man was born in Bengal on the 29th of December, 1844. He was W. C. Bonnerjee, a name which India can hardly forget.

W. C. Bonnerjee was born in Calcutta in his paternal house at Kidderpore. The house and the lands adjoining were subsequently acquired under the Kidderpore Dock Extension Project. W. C. Bonnerjee's parents originally hailed from Bagnan in the District of Howrah and finally settled in Simulia in Calcutta.

Like almost all great men he was unmindful of his studies in boyhood. He read up to the Entrance standard in the Oriental Seminary in North Calcutta. His father was a noted attorney of his time.

In his early age he had a great fancy for Westernism. He expressed his desire to his parents that he would like to embark on his voyage for England but was severly scolded. So one stormy night in the month of October (Bengali Aswin) in the year 1863 he slipped off from his home and found his way to London. He secured a scolarship from a Bombay millionaire but as he got the money very late he had to struggle very hard in England.

While studying at Lincoln's Inn Bonnerjee picked up the friendship of the late Dadabhai Naoraji. Both of them were nationalists to the very core of their heart. India was his constant thought but he chose the path of moderation in his political activities. He divided his time between India and England where he had his second home and most of his friends were members of the British Parliament. His personality had a charm for everybody and even the British Parliament could not escape his personal influence. He became so very popular in England that he was put up as the first Indian candidate from Waltamstaw for election to the British Parliament but his illness stood in the way of his election. He had to withdraw his candidature.

He presided over the deliberations of the First Indian National Congress in the year 1885 and those who followed his speech could easily understand that his path was constructive. He breathed his last in London in June, 1906 and his death was mourned equally in India and England. From 1885 for several years practically Congress was W. C. Bonnerjee and Bonnerjee was the Congress. His influence with the Congress was great because he wrought for the ultimate freedom of India. He spent his money lavishly for the Congress and exercised his influence to increase its members and workers on behalf of it.

So great was his foresight that even in the year 1892 he pleaded that India is in need of more engineers —a fact which is realised in free India today.

At a well-attended meeting held on July 26, 1906 the hall of Buxton Men's Club, Waltamstaw, Hon. G. K. Gokhale said :

". . . For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Bonnerjee's name had been a household word in India. He had laboured unceasingly for the good of his country, and his name would never be forgotten in that land. In him they had lost a champion of political reform, a great patriot and a wise statesaman (applause) . . . he had come to England on behalf of the Indian National Congress of which Mr. Bonnerjee had been the First President which consisted of 100 delegates elected by the people which met once a year and deliberated on important questions . . . ."

The remains of W. C. Bonnerjee were cremated at Golder's Green. Before the coffin was transferred to the inner chamber the late Dadabhai Naoraji delivered a short funeral address which runs as follows :

"His patriotic fervour and zeal in youth was no less ardent than in later years. One of his earliest attempts to serve his country was the foundation of a London Indian Society now merged in the East Indian Association and on his return to India his career of public usefulness gradually broadened until it reached its appropriate goal in his election as the President of the first Indian National Congress. In that capacity his utterances were as statesmanlike and far-seeing as they were modestly conceived. There was no undue elation but at the same time there was no shrinking from responsibility and none rejoiced more than he at the ample fulfilment of the hope he expressed for the stability and progress of the movement . . . ."

Traditionally India is never behindhand in hero-worship. It is but meet that we Indians should not forget to get a suitable memorial for that great departed soul who first lit up the torch of freedom.

Mourning his death Mr. A. O. Hume said :

". . . . Probably no other gentleman of modern times exercised so great an influence over his countrymen at large—not merely in Bengal but throughout India—as did Mr. Bonnerjee who from the first day that he put his hands to the plough of reform very early in 1885 never grudged his time, his talents or his money, that the cause of India's people might be in any degree aided or promoted by any or all of these . . . . ."

Shocked to hear of his sudden demise in England (Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea said :

". . . . In him India has lost one of her foremost sons, and the legal profession one of its brightest ornaments and the Congress one of its founders and its first President . . . ."

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EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

After the independence of India everybody thought that great changes would come in the field of education for children. It is an admitted fact that a country's progress depends much on the educational advancement of her children. In the British days the then rulers of the country made such a provision of education in the schools and colleges that the students coming out of these institutions could swell the ranks of their clerks who were essentially required for the machinery of administration. In the beginning of the British Rule very few higher posts were offered to Indians as the top posts were enjoyed by their own men and so with the limited knowledge and incomplete education the people of our country who were serving the British in their different organisations were satisfied with the clerical posts. With the passing of time the situation changed and the Indian people became more and more ambitious. They began to agitate for many demands which were up till now not granted to them. One of such demands was to get good education and be fit for higher posts. Gradually some of the Indian boys were able to compete in the higher recruitment examinations along with the British boys and could secure top places in order of merit. They had to be provided with some posts which were originally meant for British boys. When these young men of our country obtained such posts they were discouraged from mixing with their own men and made to feel that they belonged to a superior class. Thus these fortunate men were almost lost to the family, the society and the country to which they belonged.

Ever since that time these men had been able to satisfy their British rulers with loyal service and they did not care to know the real condition of the country or find out the means for effecting improvements in her different spheres, particularly in the sphere of education. They gave their children education in English schools and sent them to England to finish their education there so that they might also hold higher posts like them. Since independence of the country their angle of vision has not appreciably changed. They are still holding the key positions in the administrative machinery of the country and they know that so long as they can give their children a different kind of education, which the ordinary people of the country cannot afford to give to their sons and daughters, their children will continue to get prominent positions in life. The leaders of our country who were once associated with the everyday sufferings of the average man and woman and have got the contagion of this feeling from the higher officers, who are now in close touch with them, are also now having their children educated in expensive schools where the teaching is imparted by teachers who are mostly foreigners. As a result of this both the leaders and the high officers of the country are not aware of the real condition of affairs in the ordinary schools meant for the middle class and the working class boys and girls. These schools are mostly ill-managed, ill-housed and have such teachers who cannot devote their wholehearted energy towards imparting education to the students due to their poor salaries. In this respect we depend too much on Government, but we do not realise that as citizens of this country we have our own duties to discharge. We can supplement the funds of the schools by raising donations and subscriptions and we can also entrust the management of these schools in the hands of well-trusted able men, who are above party politics. So far as getting the right type of teachers we are to make the salaries of teachers a little more attractive so that good men would not hesitate to come to this profession for fear of half-starvation.

It is a pity that in cities like Calcutta where hundreds of new cinema houses have been built with private enterprise, no funds can be raised to build some good houses for the accommodation of schools. So far as good teachers are concerned the writer has an humble suggestion to make. We find that many officers of Government, who were once brilliant students, do not seem to get opportunities of social service after retirement. Throughout their service career they do good to themselves and to their families by earning money and they do not come to any service to the society to which they belong. After their retirement and till their death, so long as they are physically fit, they can easily render voluntary service to a local school within the radius of one mile or so from their residence, just for an hour at least, to impart to the students, who are the future citizens of the country, lessons in subjects according to their choice. It will be better if they do it of their own accord without being forced by the Government by an Act of the Legislature to do so, as in this way they will at least be remembered gratefully by a number of young students for many years after death, when there is likelihood of their being forgotten by the members of their own families.

The film business magnets and the cinema house owners whose one of the main sources of income is from young students, should also consider seriously whether they should voluntarily offer some percentage of their income towards the education of the children of the country, who in future will increase the number of cinema-goers and thus bring more money in their pockets. It will look more generous on their part if they themselves come forward with such a proposal before they are forced by legislation to do so.

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ROLE OF SATYAGRAHA IN FREE INDIA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

We, of India, are rightfully proud of our great motherland. But why do we do so? Is it a vain national feeling working behind this sentiment or some positive basis at its back? Is it our geographical or material wealth which we so much boast about? Surely, there are in the world rivers bigger than the Ganga or the Indus; there are soils more fertile than that of the Indo-Gangetic Valley; there are plateaus far richer in minerals than that of Chota Nagpur; there are ports far better than those of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. Only we have, so to say, the Himalayas that are taller than any other mountains in the world. Then, does all our national pride stem from these snowclad rocks? What is it after all that made our ancients proclaim: *Durlabham Bharate Janamah* (Rare it is to be born in India)?

Opinions will naturally differ on this point. But many will agree that the most important find of our seers of yore was the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. As Gandhiji describes it in his inimitable language:

> "The Rishis, who dicovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence."

A translation of this unique doctrine into practice led them to *Brahma-Vidya* on the one hand and to land-cultivation and animal husbandry on the other. This also accounts for the strange fact that of all countries in the world, only India declared her preference for vegetarian food and that even today there are millions of such Indian homes where meat is tabooed. It is this faith—supported by three pillars of *Brahma-Vidya*, non-injury to others and vegetarianism—which has been the perennial source of our spiritual and cultural heritage and activity and which distingushes India from the rest of the world.

Again, in modern times, India alone discovered the doctrine of *collective non-violence* to which Gandhiji, its first exponent and scientist, gave the unique name of *Satyagraha*. True, we could not place before the world the pattern of an ideal and strong Satyagraha—we were found wanting in so many regards, yet it cannot be gainsaid that India has proved for all time that the principle of non-violence is capable of sound application on a mass scale and that Satyagraha is a potent instrument for countering injustice and throwing off political shackles. The non-violent fight that we gave, weak and poor though it was, clearly demonstrated the efficacy of Satyagraha as a weapon for working out the political revolution.

The question now arises whether there is any scope for Satyagraha in India now when she is free. Most of our political stalwarts, many of them holding positions of power, are reported to have expressed on this point in the negative. They would have us believe that collective non-violence had little to do in any sphere other than political and that only State equipped with its military and legislative powers could bring about desired changes in the socio-economic sphere. That the arch-priest of Satyagraha did not think like this is evident from what he observed as early as in May 1929:

> "This I know that, if India comes to her own demonstrably through non-violent means, India will never want to carry a vast army, an equally grand navy and a grander air force. *If her self-consciousness rises to the height necessary to give her a non-violent victory in her fight for freedom, the world values will have changed and most of the paraphernalia of war would be found to be useless.* Such an India may be a mere day-dream, a childish folly. But such, in my opinion, is undoubtedly the implication of an India becoming free through non-violence." (italics mine).

It needs little reflection to state that in our fight for freedom our self-consciousness did not rise to the required height. Nor could we bring about any change in world values. The sanctions in the political, economic, or social life of the post-British India are almost the same as in that of British India. We honour the same values today as we did eight years ago. To mention a few of them—disgust for manual labour, superiority of intellectual work to manual labour, the higher the income or salary the bigger the man, treatment of land as a marketable commodity, low status of the untouchable in general and of the *Bhangi* in particular, etc. etc. With the basic values remaining unaltered, India's political freedom has been more in the nature of a change of masters than in that of a revolution. And if the old values continue to hold sway, our further degradation and ruin is a certainty.

It may be argued that law will effectively introduce many a change. Would it could. Alas! it cannot. What has been the fate of the law banning child marriages? Untouchability is a crime by law. Yet there are important temples still closed to the untouchable. Law has very definite limitations. If stealing is an evil in popular opinion we can have a law condemning stealing as a crime—and that law would be honoured. But if smoking, though evil, is no evil in popular opinion a law condemning smoking as a crime will be honoured only in its breach. Likewise, since child-marriages and temple-refusal to the Harijans are no crime in popular opinion (rightly or wrongly, that is a different matter), law is helpless to stop them. Law can cover the beaten tracks but not the uncharted seas.

Where then is the way out? What shall succeed if law fails? The single and the surest answer is—*Satyagraha* or Civil Resistance. It has a two-fold objective—wean the Government from going astray and win the people

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to right thought and conduct. It is a rebellion on one hand and right education or Nai Talim of the masses on the other. It is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of evil, perpetrated either by the Government or by the people. Satyagraha is, as Gandhiji called it, *dharma-yuddha*. Once dilating on this point, he once said :

> "Here is the beauty of *Satyagraha*. It comes up to oneself, one has not to go out in search for it. That is a virtue inherent in the principle itself. *A dharma-yuddha* in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and a man of religion is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A *dharma-yuddha* can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the *Satyagrahi* feels quite helpless, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet."

Satyagraha is not like a garment to be put on and off at will. Nor a shoe to be hurled at on any off and on. Nor is it a mere philosophical principle. Its seat is in the heart. It is 'the rule and breath' of life. The spirt of *Satyagraha* requires 'long training in self-denial and appreciation of the hidden forces' within man. What is more : Satyagraha can only follow some real disinterested service, some heart-expression of love.

Judged by these tests, it is obvious that most of the 'Satyagrahas' which we have witnessed during the last eight years were more in name than in fact and that the single campaign that satisfies all Satyagraha conditions is Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Yajna movement which would be referred to later on. Besides, it is also clear that there is far wider and deeper scope for *Satyagraha* in free India than during the British rule. Occupied as all people then were with getting rid of the political yoke, vast spheres of true selfless service had to be left untouched. Politics absorbed exclusive attention. Not so now when people can take to different fields according to their own taste and genius.

But what would be the model of *Satyagraha* in free India ? Will it follow the pattern evolved by Gandhiji in order to face the British power ? Or, will it be of a different cast ? The conditions of India leave little doubt in this regard. India is now free when there is no question of 'snatching' political power from an alien exploiting agency. Only if the worst comes to happen and the party in power miserably fails to honour its pledges to the electorate, the latter can vote it out or refuse to pay taxes and commit civil dis-obedience widely. What is, however, far more imperative is that the existing pattern of administration as also the socio-economic order must change. And that change must come from below. That is, a mere change of masters at the top will not usher in the new order : stagnant values must change and the people should live the new values themselves. The task, therefore, becomes very hard. It is not a question of simply throwing an external adversary out, but of transforming the enemy within. People have to be educated, their energy directed along the rightfully new channels and then the whole order re-cast, not excluding the constitution.

The Bhoodan Yajna movement strictly follows these lines. It stands for entirely new values which may be summed up as follows :

> (i) Land must cease to be a marketable commodity and should be owned not by any individual, not by the State, but by society ;
>
> (ii) Manual labour is on par with intellectual labour, both should bear the same value and status and both together should form an essential part of our daily life.

The walking tours, assiduously conducted by Vinoba and the scores of workers all over the country, are meant to enlighten public opinion, to educate it and instil new values in the village social structure. That the mission requires a lot of self-denial and sacrifice—not less severe than in facing the bayonet or courting imprisonment—goes without saying. It is Satyagraha in the fullest sense of the term. Only its nature differs from that of the British days. While the Satyagraha as expressed through non-co-operation was fast, the Satyagraha as expressed through Bhoodan Yajna is gentle. If need be, the fast pattern can be resorted to. That is our stock-in-trade. But if the present gentle form does not serve the required purpose, what then ? Here is Vinoba's unequivocal reply :

> "If our gentle Satyagraha does not yield the desired fruit, we must infer that there is something wanting in our gentleness itself. And we must, therefore, render it finer, gentler . . . . Gentle gentler, gentlest. If Satyagraha evolves forth in this manner, its vitality and effectiveness would grow on."

What form would Vinoba's gentler Satyagraha take, nobody can say. But it would doubtless be far more powerful in meeting violence, corruption inequalities and the like. It shall be instrumental in humanising the present machinery and structure and in recasting it.

The role of Satyagraha in free India cannot, therefore, be too much emphasized. It offers a limitless scope of service among the masses and for tackling the fundamental problems of humanity. The whole is an uncharted sea. As the first pioneer in the field, Gandhiji has provided us with a rudder and compass in the form of inspiration for incessant activity and ceaseless search within. More navigators will follow and man march on splendid towards his cherished goal of becoming a better and greater *man*. With all humility, one can only pray with Gandhiji :

> "Would that India, which through her Congress has subscribed to the policy of non-violence, will adhere to it and demonstrate to a world groaning under the curse of the sword that the spirit does triumph over the sword in national affairs as it has ever been shown to have triumphed, in individual affairs."

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THE SAGA OF THE POTATO

By K. R. N. SWAMY

From the plunder of Peru came the first potato. But no priest or pirate of the Spanish Conquest ever guessed that the tuber he trod under foot on the upland Peruvian plain would spread to every corner of the temperate zone and would be worth more than all the mines of Peru. No dream of Inca gold, not even the very temple of the Sun itself would buy one year's potato crop today—amounting to over 250 million tons. A decade ago, the world output of potatoes was twice as much as wheat and thrice as much as rice.

We owe the first mention of the potato to Pedro de Cieza de Leon, who in 1538 the year after the Conquest settled at Cartagena, crossed the steaming isthmus of Panama and scrambled up the face of the Andes. There he discovered the mother of all potato chips, which instead of being cooked by heat, was cured by frost and then dried. This Chunu, as it was called and still is, the staple food of those Red Indians, who live above the zone where corn can be grown. Vast quantities of Chunu were stored for the Red Indian Army, for tribute to the Great Inca and against famine. Potato cultivation was greatly developed. Animal manure was brought from the coastal strips, an elaborate irrigation system was maintained, and many different varieties were grown.

For years after the Conquest, a motley mixture of priests, pirates and soldiers travelled homeward across the blood-soaked isthmus. Forty thousand couriers of Inca loot, perished there. On one of those trips, probably between 1580 and 1585, some one carried the first potato to Europe. From Spain it was to Italy, and by 1588 it was in the hands of Charles l'Ecluse, keeper of the botanical garden of Vienna. Neither Sir Walter Raleigh nor Sir Francis Drake brought the potato from Virginia to Ireland, for it did not grow in Virginia in their time. The Raleigh legend is pure myth, but the Romantic Irish have always clung to it fondly. The Germans insist that Drake is their man and today his statue stands in Offenberg. with an inscription reading :

Sir Francis Drake
The Introducer of the Potato in the year of Our Lord 1580

The Raleigh and Drake canards, still widely current were based partly upon the groundnut and partly upon the sweet potato.

The potato like all new foods, was slow to overcome the prejudice of the people, in spite of the most exalted attention. Scientists not only wrote it up, but improved it. Marie Antoinette wore its blossoms in her hair. Scotch divines thundered against it, because it was not mentioned in the Bible and as such was the Forbidden Fruit, they said, that caused Adam's Fall. English apprentices save for once in a week, had it banned from their diet. Frederick the Great planted potatoes in the Instgarten and his grandson threatened to cut off the noses of all who would *not* plant them. There was even a potato war in Germany. The first potato breeder of note, Antoine August Parmentier, mixed a bit of propaganda with his science by giving a potato dinner at Paris to which Lavoisier and Benjamin Franklin were invited. The whole menu consisted of potatoes cooked in various ways.

Through all this fanfare, the potato gradually came into its own, because poor people of northern Europe found that if there was not much else to eat, potatoes would keep body and soul together. And nowhere was poverty so bitter and potato so welcome as in Ireland. The Irish lavished pet names upon the lowly tuber. Priests and altar boys marched up and down their field drenching the crop with holy water. They little dreamed that failure of the crop would oneday decimate their country.

In India the pioneer work in the introduction of this crop was done by the English people. According to Dr. Ainslie, as reported by Duthie, "The potato came to India originally from the Cape of Good Hope." The cultivation on the hills of Dehra Dun was started by Major Young, when Mussoorie was indicated on maps under the name of potato garden. The quality was afterwards improved by Captain Townend and by about 1839 potato cultivation became generally in the plains and on the Hills. The botanist Johnson mentions that "at the horticulture show in Calcutta during 1842, I saw potato exhibited, which would not have shamed potato growers of Lancashire, if mistaken for their produce. These were grown in the immediate vicinity of the City, and in the hills of Chirra Pangie (Cherra Punje ?), though not far off the potatoes are grown finer still. They were an object of cultivation there during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-1785) and alluding to that period one writer says, "Three score years ago, a basket of potatoes, weighing about a dozen pounds was occasionally sent, as the opportunity offered, by Warren Hastings to the Governor of Bombay and was considered an acceptable present.

"On receipt of the basket, the members of the Council were invited for dinner at the Government House 'to partake of the rare vegetable'."

The potato (Latin name Salanum Tuberosum) is called by various Indian names, such as Alu, Bilaiti, Batata, Urulai, Kilangu, Urulagudda and is cultivated more or less in all parts of India. A century ago, it was comparatively unknown in India, but today it is probably the most extensively grown of all vegetables.

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This is due in part to its mild flavour, which lends itself readily to combination with other foods. In the beginning, when potato was introduced the orthodox Brahmins objected to its use, just like their Scotch counterparts, due to its not being mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. But the prejudice against it gradually vanished and now it is used by all classes. In fact, on fast days, the Hindus in some parts consume it in large quantities as it is one of the root crops, which are included in the list of articles to be eaten during a fast.

In India, potatoes are mainly used for table purposes and not put to industrial use, *e.g.*, in the production of starch. The annual net supply a decade ago, amounted to 53 million maunds and constituted less than 1 per cent of world supply. Of this production, 17 per cent was set aside for seed, .2 per cent exported to foreign countries, and the remaining 82.8 per cent was allotted for human consumption. Of this quantity, 10 per cent is estimated to be lost in storage and handling. Thus the actual quantity consumed amounts to 33 million maunds. On the average, the total production per capita was 8.6 pounds for the whole of India. The per capita consumption is highest in Uttar Pradesh (28 lbs per annum) followed by Bihar with 16 pounds per annum.

As regards food value, potato contains nearly 80 per cent water in its uncooked state. Most of the remainder consists of about 2 per cent protein and 18 per cent starch. The potato is one of the cheapest and most common sources of carbohydrate food. The food value of the potato is much less than that of wheat and rice. Potato gives 36 calories per oz. as compared with 102 for wheat and 114 per oz. of parboiled rice.

At persent there is no demand in India for potatoes for industrial purposes or for any other use as cattle feeding, etc. In countries, where potatoes are largely used for industrial purposes, heavy yielding varieties with high starch content are specially grown, usually under contract with a factory. The factory is thus assured of a fairly long working season and an ample supply of cheap raw materials specially suited for the production of farina, alcohol, glucose, dextrin, etc.

Farina is used for laundry purposes and sizing in yarn in the textile industry and in the preparation of puddings, pastry, confectionary, custard powders, pie fillings and ice cream.

Alcohol manufacture is very extensively carried out in Germany. Approximately one ton of potato yields twenty gallons of 95 per cent alcohol. Apart from alcohol manufacture, the process is important on account of its offering a distillate residue, rich in nitrogen, potash, and phosphorus, which forms a good ration for live stock. So far as is known potatoes are not used for this purpose in India.

With low yields per acre and correspondingly high cost of production, there does not appear to be much scope in India at persent for manufacture of farina, alcohol, dextrin, glucose, etc, from potatoes. Rice contains 78 per cent starch from which 90 per cent can be extracted, whereas potato contains a maximum of 25 per cent starch of which only 65 per cent can be extracted. Therefore the price of potato, in order to be used for the above-mentioned purposes should be about one fourth that of low quality broken rice.

In India potatoes are grown in about seven and half lakhs of acres. Climate is an important factor in potato production and growing season varies from 60 to 75 degree fahrenheit.

The main areas of production are concentrated in the North. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam account for more than 80 per cent of the acreage. In Bombay the main area of production of potatoes is in the neighbourhood of Poona. Elsewhere in the South, the production of potatoes is mainly confined to the Nilgiri Hills and to a smaller extent to the plateau of Mysore, mostly around Bangalore.

The average yield is about hunderd maunds per acre, but the record yield of 743 maunds per acre was obtained in 1953, enabling the particular cultivator to earn the title of *Krishi Pandit* for the year. In Germany the average yield of potato per acre is nearly twice that of India.

Generally two crops—one in winter and the other in monsoon—are raised in the plains and sub-montane tracts. The winter crop is by far the most important and represents 95 per cent of the total area in the plains. In the hills situated in the north of the country, only a summer crop is usually raised on account of the severity of the winter. In the Nilgiri Hills in the South, however, where the winter is mild, two or three crops are raised in the same year. In fact, the clearing of forests for potato cultivation has caused lot of soil erosion in Nilgiri Hills and in the words of an eminent Indian, the famous Ootacamund Hill Station may have to be renamed as Potatomund. On the whole about 87 per cent of the total acreage in the hills is planted in summer and 13 per cent in winter.

Potatoes being a perishable commodity, high losses occur during storage and marketing. It is estimated that the value of potatoes rendered unfit for use in this manner exceeds two crores of rupees per annum. The solution apparently lies in improving existing methods of storage and in opening more cold storage depots as has already been done at some centres with commercial success.

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. I: *Literature, Philosophy and Religion. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. xiv + 288. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is the first volume of a work which, as the chief general editor Sri K. M. Munshi says in his interesting Foreword, has been planned to provide for the immediate benefit of the university students in Uttar Pradesh, a cheaply priced publication dealing with different aspects of the Indian inheritance as interpreted by leading modern writers. A second volume dealing with history, culture and social development is promised in the back book-cover.

In the short space at our disposal it is possible to notice only the outstanding papers which have been selected for inclusion in this volume. In the section on literature the most profound contribution is that of Sri Aurobindo on *Valmiki, Vyasa* and *Kalidasa* from which we make no apology for quoting a few extracts. Their poems, we read, are "types of three periods in the development of the human soul," "types also of the three great powers which clash in the imperfect temperament" and at the same time are "pictures of three modes of our Aryan civilization, namely, the predominatingly moral, intellectual and material" (p. 111). Valmiki "gives us the picture of an entirely moralised civilization" with the immense material and intellectual development subordinated to the needs of purity of temperament and ideality of action" (p. 114), Vyasa is "the son of a civilization in which both morality and material development are powerfully intellectualised" (p. 116), Kalidasa lived in "the great age of formalised metaphysics, science, law, art and the sensuous luxury which accompanies the arts" . . . "Kalidasa stands for its representative man and genius, as was Vyasa of the intellectual mood of Indian civilization and Valmiki of its moral side" (pp. 117, 124). Next to the above may be mentioned the brilliant essay of Rabindranath Tagore on *Shakuntala* which is of course well-known to us in its original Bengali version. Justifying the famous eulogy of Goethe the writer says that "the motif of the play is the progress from the earlier union of the First Act, with its earthly, unstable beauty and romance, to the higher union in the heavenly hermitage of eternal bliss described in the Last Act" (p. 133). "This drama," we are further told (p. 135), "stands alone and unrivalled in all literature, because it depicts how restraint can be harmonised with freedom. All its joys and sorrows, unions and partings, proceed from the conflict of these two forces." In the section on philosophy Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (*Indian and Ionian Philosophy*) discusses with remarkable clarity of thought and expression the old problem of the mutual influence of Ancient Greek and Indian philosophy and he concludes (p. 172) in the following noble strain: "Knowledge is above all limitations and boundaries. Whatever be the region of the globe where it first emerged, it is the common heritage of all mankind. All human beings, regardless of country or nation, can lay claim to it with equal right." This is followed by a thoughtful essay in which the writer, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, contends with considerable force that the Vedanta not only anticipates modern science in respect of its conception of Godhead and the universe as well as its methodology but also that the code of conduct and spiritual values founded on its basis fully anticipated the socio-economic problems of modern civilization (pp. 174-75). The writer concludes with his explanation of the principal teaching of the Upanishads relating to man's happiness and the means of achieving the same. Then comes Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's paper on the Bhagavadgita written in his usual brilliant style of exposition. "The Gita," he says, (p. 186) "stands midway between a philosophical system and a poetic inspiration. We do not have here the illimitable suggestiveness of the Upanishads, since it is a deliberately intellectual solution of the problem of life." The Gita, we are further told (p. 193), "attempts to derive a religion from the Upanishad philosophy . . . The Absolute of the Upanishads is revealed as the fulfiment of the reflective and the emotional demands of human nature." The fourth paper, that of Sister Nivedita on *The Web of Life*, traces a wonderfully wide sweep the great development of Indian religious and philosophical thought as represented by the successive landmarks, namely, the Vedas, Buddhism, Sankaracharya, the impact of Islam and Ramakrishna Paramhamsa. The writer concludes (p. 207) by indicating the role of India as "one of the focal or polar points of the human race" and she presages a future Asia as "a single immense organism filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end, firm-rooted in the soil of common origins and common modes." The third and the last section contains two important papers, one on Sankaracharya by Sri C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and the other on Tulsidas by the late Mr. F. S. Growse.

We cannot conclude without expressing our deep regret that no room could be found in this work for any of the great Buddhist masters of literature like Asvaghosha and Aryasura and of philosophy like Santideva and Vasubandhu. In this connection it is well to remember that the *Bodhicharyavatara* of Santideva has been compared with the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMAYUN: *By Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., M.L.C.; formerly Professor of History and Political Science, Allahabad University. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 422 + iv. Price Rs.20.*

This is a singular piece of research. It includes what it should have left out and tends to omit what it should have included. Thus it happens that in a professedly research volume on Humayun, one reads, curiously enough, more about Sher Shah, the organization of the Sur empire and its expansion, the successors of Sher Shah, the career of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Mirza Kamran. On the other hand, it leaves out of treatment a very interesting aspect of Humayun, *viz.*, his skill as a poet; it fails to trace the genesis of his rivalry with his brother Kamran and its interaction on their respective fortunes. Similarly, it ignores entirely the dramatic episode of the Ottoman interference in the waters of the Arabian Sea and their landing on the Western Coast of India, in 1538 A.D. Humayun's interest in astronomy, his love of books and the traits of character which should form a separate chapter are discussed summarily in the concluding chapter and thus assigned a secondary place. The learned professor has omitted from the list of printed works, the name of Dr. S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*, M. S. Commissariat's *History of Gujrat*, Baini Prasad's English translation of *Qanun-i-Humayuni*. N. B. Roy's *The Successors of Sher Shah* and Dr. Sukumar Sen's *Humayun in Persia*. Yet he lustily claims that his work will "furnish much information to the advanced student, who can, with their help, pursue his researches further."

The other interesting feature of the book is that it does not advance our knowledge beyond what was already known. There is no doubt, tiresome narration of detail on Humayun's battles with Bahadur Shah, Sher Shah and Mirza Kamran, but the account is unrelieved by any masterly exposition of policy or strategy and survey of facts. The reader searches in vain for a felicitous remark like that with which Mr. N. B. Roy opens the account of Kamran's career in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Summer, 1955, or a sprightly observation like that made by Mr. Commisssariat, on page 350 of the *History of Gujrat*. Referring to the contributory causes of Bahadur's defeat at Mandasor, 1535, Mr. Commissariat refers to Rumi Khan's ascendancy in the councils of the Sultan and says, "As with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevastapol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders."

Nor would the learned professor state the ground for his views on moot points. Take, for instance, the battle of Chausa. Here S. K. Banerji following on the steps of Dr. Qanungo, showed that Humayun's and Sher's encampment were separated by a small stream, the former lying east and the latter west of the rivulet. Mr. N. B. Roy challenged this view in the *History of Bengal*, published by the Dacca University on the authority of Abul Fazl and Jauhar. Abul Fazl clearly states that the army made a bridge over the river and crossed it and when Sher fell upon the camp from the rear, Humayun rode to the bridge and found it broken. Moreover, if Sher Khan was strong enough to intercept the emperor's march by standing across his path, what need was there for recourse to subterfuges and a most perfidious attack in solemn violation of a treaty? Dr. Qanungo arbitrarily read the word *Mashriq* for *Maghrib* and started this curious misapprehension. Dr. Prasad is content to asseverate the old view without stating the reasons.

Similarly, in his account of the battle of Kanauj, the author shows the disposition of the military commanders in a way different from that of S. K. Banerji. It is no doubt more reasonable, but he would not cite the authorities in support.

Thirdly, the author's bibliography, valuable though it is, is remarkably out of date. He acknowledges the work to have been handed to the publishers in 1944, but since that period there has been considerable research which has not been taken note of. Take for instance, the fragment of the *Tawarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*, published in the *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh and its English translation by Mr. N. B. Roy in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Special mention must be made of Mr. Roy's paper, the *Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Tawarikh-i-Majlis Arai* and their relative value as sources of history, *J.A.S.*, Calcutta, 1955 and the other paper *Some Interesting Anecdotes of Sher Shah from the MS. of Iazkirat-ul-Muluk*, ibid. 1954. Again Dr. Prasad's estimate as to the value of the *Waqiat-i-Mushtaqi* requires amendment. The reviewer was present in a meeting of the Asiatic Society, when Mr. N. B. Roy explained to the members the very great importance of this MS. as a source of Afghan history and pointed out that Sir Henry Elliot's view, re-echoed by Dr. Prasad was misleading. The fact is neither Sir Henry nor the present author had carefully studied the MS.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad was deemed to be a veteran in the field of historical research, but the present performance, judged by any standard, will demolish all his pretensions to that title, for the treatment of the subject, presentation as well as literary style, would hardly rank it above the level of an ordinary post-graduate dessertation.

SAHIB

SEX, SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL: *Edited by A. P. Pillay, Bombay, and Albert Ellis, New York. Published by the International Journal of Sexology, Whiteaway Building, Bombay-1. 1953. Price not stated.*

The book is a collection of 45 papers selected out of those contributed to the journals *Marriage Hygiene* and *The International Journal of Sexology* both edited by Dr. A. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B.B.S. the renowned Indian Sexologist. The list of contributors represents all the States of Europe, as also Australia, South Africa, Mexico, Japan; Siam and other places and includes such internationally famous names as R. L. Dickinson, Rene Guyon, E. Bergler, J. Lowenstein, A. Ellis J. L. Gillin, A. M. Ludovici, A. Craig, C. Allen to mention only a few of them.

The articles deal authoritatively with various aspects of the sex problems from the individual as also from the social points of view. Both the physiological and the psychological aspects of the problems have been treated. More emphasis, however, has been placed on the former than on the latter. The section containing papers on Sex Offences and Sex Offenders' (Sec. III) should be read by all parents as also by the guardians of law, for sex crimes are on the increase and consequently a need has definitely developed to

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devise ways and means of checking them. A revealing study has recently been made of sexual delinquency by Dr. N. Mukharji, Ph.D., on the basis of the materials collected by him from the Anti-rowdy section of the Calcutta Police. 'Sex in Literature' (Sec. IV) is a highly interesting section which would be read with pleasure by literary men and the section on Sex Deviations (Sec. V) will help students revise their views about some specific problems of deviation, *e.g.*, Lesbianism, Masochism.

Many original studies and suggestions are found in the sections discussing 'Sex Disorders and Problems' (Sec. I) and the orgasm problem (Sec. II). The 'Dynamics of Sexual Motivation' by C. L. Lastrucci is instructive and informative. The trends of modern 'Researches on Sex' have been indicated in the last section of the book (Sec. VI).

The volume has a high academic value and deserves to be prescribed as a reference book by all institutions imparting scientific education on sex matters. The reviewer would have liked to see a few more articles included on the question of treatment. A section dealing with the methods of treatment and cure would have added much to the value of the book for the professional social workers. It is essential for them to have a thorough scientifically oriented training in sex matters because these matters are ultimately responsible for many of the prevalent ills of every civilised society.

S. C. MITRA

1. BRAHMA VIDYA VILAS: *Pp. 421. Price Rs. 4-8.*

2. HOW TO CULTIVATE VIRTUES AND ERADICATE VICES: *Pp. 573. Price Rs. 6.*

3. DIVINE STORIES: *Pp. 102. Price Re. 1-8.*

All the three books are written by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The prolific author of these books is a very publicised monk of our times. In the first book he deals with Brahma Vidya, defined by him as the science of sciences that enables man to know the very source of knowledge itself. This abstruse subject is treated here in the form of several delightful plays. About the mode of his treatment Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the Governor-General of India wrote to the author. "It gave me great pleasure to see your book. Gold beaten into all sorts of shapes gives joy. So have you beaten the Upanishads into new and artistic shapes! I am amazed at your energy." Brahma Vidya described in the Upanishads is the most precious heritage of our land and should be broadcasted by modern methods in this age. It is quite fit that *Atma Vidya Vilas* of the distinguished Vedantist Sadasiva Brahmindra with Sanskrit text in Devanagari script followed by simple English rendering is appended.

The second book is divided into four parts and devoted respectively to eradication of virtues, Brahmacharya and practical instructions. As many as 234 short chapters are written on the cultivation of virtues and eradication of vices. It will be very useful to the spiritual aspirants at every step. Repetition of thoughts and looseness of language however have marred the seriousness of the subject.

The third book contains 34 short stories of Nachiketa, Raja Gopichand and others. The stories are culled from the Sanskrit scriptures as well as modern literature and meant for the rising generation.

It is regretted that the get-up, paper and printing of all the three books are far from satisfactory, and even much below the general standard.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FIVE ONE-ACT PLAYS: *By Govind Das. Translated by Prof. Rajendra Verma, M.A. Introduction by Dr. Verrier Elwin, D.Sc. (Oxon). Progressive Publishers, 14-D, Feroz Shah Road, New Delhi. Price Rs. 4-8.*

Seth Govind Das, one of the most devoted disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, spent many years in jail. During those years he wrote as many as eighty-four plays in Hindi. Here are five of them—all One-Act Plays—rendered into English. *Nazrana* presents before us the anachronism of the old landlord system in the modern context. *Endurance* and *Rivalry* deals with the position of women in society. *Id* and *Holi* reveals the foolishness of communalism and *The King and the Beggar-maid* holds before us the ideal of sacrifice through a mythological story. The author is one of the best writers in modern Hindi. The translator has fairly succeeded in retaining the spirit of the original.

D. N. MOOKHERJEA

SANSKRIT

NYAYAKUSUMANJALI, Part I: *Edited by Narendrachandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., (Bagchi Bhattacharya Sankhyatirtha Mimamsatirtha Tattwaratna Sastri), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University. The Asutosh Sanskrit Series, No. IV. University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The *Nyayakusumanjali* is a highly esteemed and very important work of the famous savant Udayanacharya who wrote in the tenth century. It seeks to prove the existence of God through logical discussion in accordance with the Nyaya system of Philosophy. In consideration of the importance of the work and its extreme terseness numerous scholars wrote commentaries on it from time to time. Some of them have been published while a good number still await to be studied and brought to light in critical and scientific editions. New attempts in this direction are always welcome. Hence, scholars will be gratified to have the first instalment of two commentaries published in the decent volume under review. It contains portions of the commentaries of two writers of the 15th and 16th centuries covering the first chapter of the work. The commentary of Sankara is published on the basis of a single manuscript while that of Gunananda on two. The readings of the manuscripts were found to be faulty in some cases and the learned editor has suggested emendations which generally appear to be clearly demanded by the context. It is noticed that occasionally the readings of the text as adopted by one commentary differ from those of the other. There are also cases where the two commentaries agree in accepting readings which differ from those generally current and retained rather unusually in the text portion printed in the volume (p. 46). We hope the second part of the work will soon follow containing the remaining portions of the text and commentaries accompanied, among other things, by an account of the characteristic features of the commentaries published by the learned editor, two in the present volume and one in a previous volume of the same series (No. II).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

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HINDI

HAR DAM AG: *By Krishna Nandan Sinha. Ajanta Press Ltd., Patna. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2-8.*

TUTE HUE DIL: *By Ramapratap Bahadur. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-4.*

PUKHARAJ: *By Harishchandra Kaila. Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 3-4.*

These are all collections of short stories, but each a "portent" and with a pattern of its own. In *Har Dam Ag*, stories have been fitted into the framework of socialist ideology, but with an ease and attitude which do not detract from the emotional and mental intensity of human interest. In some stories, the author has attempted the news-reel and camera-eye technique, which opened up a new avenue of endeavour for our writers of short stories. Shri Sinha is a rebel whose heart is afire with a vision of building up a new society, conditioned though the latter might be by the inevitability of pulling down many a pillar of the present-day social structure. *Tute Hue Dil* is now in the third edition, a proof of its popularity. And why not? For, its dozen stories are a prism which reflects our many-streaked society, particularly the red and the black of the "have's" and the "have-not's," and of the "heart-lit" and the "heartless." The author's pen is like a quickly-recording Kodak. *Pukharaj* is its author's first bow on the stage of short-story writing. And he has to be congratulated on his having acquitted himself so well. His effortlessness and self-unconsciousness are a testimony to his art.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ANTE E PARNI (She Married At Last): *By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. and H. S. Majumdar, B.Com. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 3-8.*

This is a translation of the well-known Marathi scholar and drama-writer, Mawa Warerkar's novel, (Squaring the Accounts) *Tond Milavni*. It depicts the life-story of girls and boys of the Kalavant community of Goa. It is a well-known fact that on account of their beauty, grace, and ready wit, with love of dancing and singing, the girls become mistresses of the wealthy men of Bombay and the boys musicians; some of the women are attached to temples where they dance and sing before the deity. This community, low in morals, as it is, is looking up and fired by a desire to lead decent lives are getting themselves educated; and instances are not found wanting where mistresses have married their Sethias (masters or keepers). Mawa Warerkar's choice of this book's title is significant. The Kalavant community is squaring up its accounts with society by regularising their relations with those who desire to associate with them. Champa, Saryu, Sharda, the heroines of this interesting story, represent each in her own life, the attractive facets of a gem, which the translators have done well in passing on to the Gujarati literature. Their further object, a laudable one, is to bring Marathi and Gujarati literatures as close as possible as they are neighbours, physically, geographically and linguistically.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Report of the States Reorganization Commission

Science and Culture writes editorially :

THE long awaited Commission has after all been placed before the public and has been a subject matter of intense and passionate discussion in all parts of the country.

We give below a dispassionate review of the report on account of its importance to the country's future.

What has struck the foreigner most after Independence is the great political stability of India as shown by the absence of large scale riots conflicts or violences and the peaceful working for ten years of a system of government established by the people. It was held by many *pundits* amongst foreigners that the British bayonet was the only stabilizing force in India and once it was withdrawn, the people and races of India would fly at each other's throats, the Central Government would collapse and the British or some other western power will have to step in to restore law and order in this country. This was one of the stock arguments used by the Conservatives of England and reactionaries of other countries against the Independence of India. The fact that the first ten years after Independence have been tranquil has been a matter of chagrin and disappointment to this class. So diehard papers both in England and America in their disappointment are in the habit of magnifying the exploits of dacoits, or small local dsturbances to major conflicts. But such propaganda deceives nobody.

WHAT IS THIS POLITICAL STABILITY DUE TO ?

There are a variety of causes for this extraordinary political stability. First and foremost is the good sense of the people who have taken to heart the lesson of history that a disunited India can fall an easy victim to external aggression leading to soul-killing foreign domination as happened after 1200 A.D. and again after 1757 A.D. and nobody wants it. The second factor is that the late British rulers have left a system of centralised Government which has been strengthened by a democratic constitution deliberately aiming at the abolition of some powerful barriers to stability, *viz.* untouchability, and religious considerations in politics. It provides for development of the country directed from the centre.

BUT IS THE STABILITY REAL, OR ONLY APPARENT ?

But it should not deceive anybody that fissiparous tendencies have not altogether disappeared and if they are not dealt with firmly they may someday wreck the 'Unity'. Let us see what are these fissiparous tendencies ? What are the major dangers to the State ? Our first query is :

IS INDIA A NATION IN THE SENSE FRANCE OR ITALY IS A NATION ?

It is obvious to everybody that India is not a 'Nation' in the sense France or Italy is. The major requisites for nation-formation are "Commonalty of Race, Language and Culture, Religion, Geographical Contiguity of Parts and Economic Unity". These are fulfilled in France and Italy and they are perfect nations. Whenever a politically united area lacks one or more of these features, it falls short of being a perfect nation. Thus the U.S.A., though politically one nation, has a race problem, Switzerland has a language problem, Spanish South America has a geographical problem, etc., and hence these contries are not nations in the same sense as Franc or Italy is. Soviet is also not a Nation in the sense France or Italy is.

In India, after the separation of Pakistan we have no other barrier to 'Nation-formation' than that of 'Language.' We need not consider 'Culture,' for it is almost the same all over the country in spite of differences in language, and the British period has strengthened the unity of culture. The race problem persists in a fossilized state in that of castes, scheduled castes and Jungle tribes, but this is taken care of by the Constitution. If the Constitution is honestly worked, the problem will disappear in good time. The religious problem is neutralized by the provision in the Constitution that India is to be a 'Secular' State. The separation of Pakistan renders it very probable that the religious problem will disappear althogether. Geographical unity is there and there is a sense of historic unity which is one of the main factors in 'Nation-formation.' The only dividing factor is 'Language' of which 14 are recognised to be fully developed with a number of dialects, and many ill-developed Adibashi languages. How to deal with this factor ?

The 'Language-factor' cannot be ignored, as past history has shown. So India has to be a 'Multi-lingual Nation.' The Constitution has provided for it, but has recommended that Hindi has to be developed as a Central language to replace English, and for the purpose of maintaining unity. The constitution has not ignored the role of the different languages of India as a factor of social progress, but it has not laid down any clause to deal with the fissiparous tendencies due to the existence of so many languages. Is it possible to form a single nation keeping intact the claims of different languages ?

The nearest case is that of Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia mentioned later which had shown that it is possible to form a stable 'Multi-lingual Nation' provided the country adopts socialism as its guiding policy, and ensures to every linguistic group its language and culture against the aggression of other groups. For this, it is necessary to organise administrative units solely on the basis of language. But has that been done in India ?

HISTORY OF PROVINCE FORMATION

To start with the provinces had been left very much as the British left them. But it has been recognised that they ought to be reorganised on rational basis. What are these rational basis ? For a long time, the only basis recognised was 'linguistic' and none else.

The powers that have governed or are governing India have been conscious of the language factor. We take only two pronouncements.

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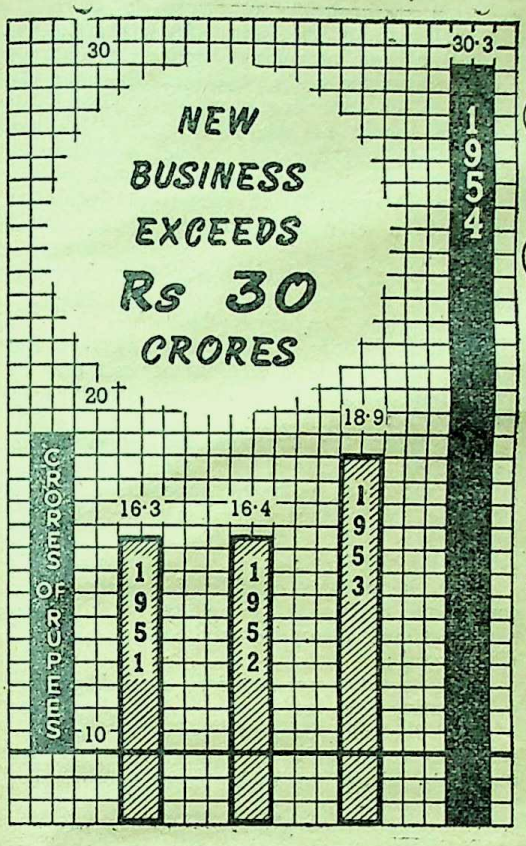

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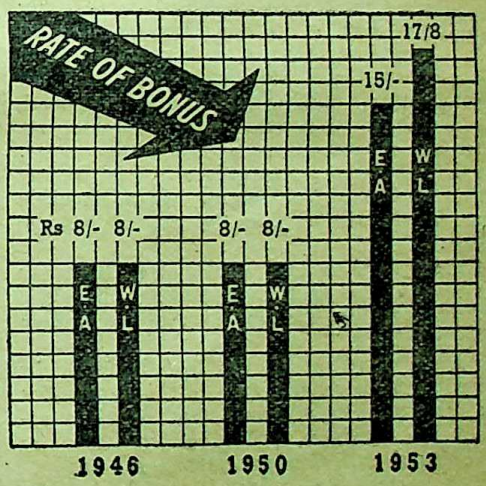

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The experience of the British administrators is expressed in the following words of the Indian Statutory Commission (1915).

"If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province there is no doubt *that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality.* But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior, may all be relevant factors. Most important of all perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territorially."

So the British rulers recognized language as the main factor in province formation provided there is the largest possible measure of general agreement amongst the parties concerned.

The Nationalistic Movement in India largely rose against the partition of Bengal effected in 1907, which sought to split the Bengalee-speaking people on the basis of religion, with Assam thrown into the balance for the advantage of one religiors community. The whole of nationalist India backed up Bengal in its protest against the linguistic vivisection.

At the 1920 session at Nagpur, the Congress "accepted the *linguistic redistribution of provinces as a clear political objective and in the following year the principle was adopted for the puroposes of its own organization.*"

The (Matilal) Nehru Commitee of the All Parties Conference, 1928 gave a powerful support to the linguistic principle in the formation of provinces in the following words:

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily *be a linguistic area.* If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be re-grouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province."

At its Calcutta session held in October, 1937, the Congress reiterated its policy regarding linguistic provinces and recommended the formation of the Andhra and Karnataka provinces.

By a resolution passed at Wardha in July, 1938, the Working Committee gave an assurance to the deputations from Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala that linguistic re-distribution of the provinces would be undertaken as soon as the Congress had the power to do so; and

In its election manifesto of 1945-46, it repeated the view that administrative units should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis.

So the Congress, as long as it was fighting for independence, recognised language to be the sole basis of 'province reorganisation.'

After Assumption of Power

But "*back sliding*" from the linguistic principle started after the Congress came face to face with the problem after 1948. The Dar Commission of the Constituent Assembly appointed to look into the affair started *talking in an altogether different tune* as given by the following resolutions it adopted as the basis for province formation:

(*i*) Geographical contiguity and absence of pockets and corridors;

(*ii*) financial self-sufficiency;

(*iii*) administrative convenience;

(*iv*) capacity for future development; and

(*v*) a large measure of agreement within its borders and amongst the people speaking the same language in regard to its formation, care being taken that the new province should not be forced by a majority upon a substantial minority of people speaking the same language.

The homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience.

The linguistic principle was thus demoted from the first to the last position.

This was endorsed by the JVP Committee (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhabhai Patel, Pattavi Sitaramaya) which went a step further not only *in whittling down,* but mildly denouncing the linguistic principle in these words:

(*a*) When the Congress had given the seal of its approval to the general principle of linguistic provinces it was not faced with the practical application of the principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that rose from this practical application;

(*b*) the primary consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged;

(*c*) *language was not only a binding force but also a separating one; and*

(*d*) the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces could only be applied after careful thought had been given to each separate case and without

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creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardise the political and economic stablity of the country.

These principles were laid down before the Constitution was framed, and passed into law. They have not been submitted to the verdict of the people.

The FKP-Committee

Now comes the FKP (Fazl Ali, Hridaynath Kunzru and Panikkar) Committee, appointed *very reluctantly* by the present government after the protest to death of the Andhra patriot, Pantulu Sitaramulu and *forced formation of the Andhra State,* entirely on the linguistic principle.

One linguistic group at least showed that it did not like the JVP Committee's recommendation, but wanted its own province on the linguistic principle.

The FKP-Committee enumerates the following principles, for its guidance, for no terms of reference proper except some vague directions were given to them :

(*i*) Preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India ;

(*ii*) linguistic and cultural homogeneity ;

(*iii*) financial, economic and administrative considerations ; and

(*iv*) successful working of the national plan.

They have given a chapter to each under the following headings :

Cap. II Unity and security of India.
III Language and Culture.
IV Financial Viability.
V & VI Requirements of National Development Plans, Regional Planning.

A Perusal of these chapters show that the FKP-Committee has allowed itself to be guided *entirely* by the deliberations of the Dar Commission and the JVP-Committee, and have been unable to give due attention to the working of the constitution since 1948, and failed to derive any lesson from it.

Thus in arguing about the unity and security of India, it lays down the principle that linguistic or provincial fanaticism has to be discouraged.

We agree to this principle, but have not recent and ancient history shown that the chances of worsening of "linguistic or provincial fanaticism" are rather enhanced than diminished by keeping *unwilling linguistic* units together, or recommending 'minorities' to continue under 'majorities' who have already shown in the clearest terms of their intention to suppress the language and culture of these minorities ? Again, it is fantastic to suppose for the sake of security, a border State need be large or resourceful than small or less resilient ; for *defence* is entirely a Union Affair, and loyalty of the border people is more to be prized than the unwelcome herding together of relucatant groups in a forced union.

The FKP Committee's arguments about economics and national development show that they have hardly taken the trouble of acquainting themselves with these important topics, for according to the Constitution, these are almost completely Central matters.

The FKP-Committee has failed to realise that if the second Five-Year Plan works properly industrial and economic development will be almost completely managed by the Centre, and the States will have to deal only with policing, health, social services, education and land management as in the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. Communication which includes railways and roads is completely under the Centre, and considering their importance to security and safety, it will be very unwise to entrust the provinces with the administration of national highways such as the grand trunk road, and others which will be built up. Their arguments about financial viability (capacity of States to live, exist, or develop) and national development are therefore completely worthless.

The Multi-lingual State in U.S.S.R.

The FKP-Committee has conceded:

"Only in the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia has an effort been made to organise units on a linguistic basis. Though the units constituting the U.S.S.R. are organised generally on this basis, there are in operation adequate constitutional, extra-constitutional and ideological correctives, which could be applied in case any regional loyalties challenge the loyalty to the party or to the State."

It is rather a pity that the FKP-committee has not tried to show how the complete acceptance of the linguistic principle, which they concede to Soviet Russia, has worked there.

The conditions in India in 1955 are strikingly similar to those of Soviet Russia in 1922. The people everywhere are thinking in 'linguistic terms,' just as the various nations, and national groups were doing in the former Czar's empire after liberation. The different linguistic groups, here in India, prize their own language as dearest to their hearts and resent imposition of any other language from outside just as in the former Czar's empire. The Bolshevik rulers of Soviet Russia yielded to this all too human passion, formed provinces according to the linguistic principle, and even conceded the formation of "linguistic islands" inside the big provinces in order to conciliate the sentiment of its minorities. Freed from anxiety on this score, they could

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devote their whole attention to the fullest economic and industrial development of all regions, and effected a miracle in production. The fact that they survived the Nazi onslaught, and the minorities fought shoulder to shoulder loyally with the majority in these days of trials, shows that security of the State has been strengthened in spite of the "linguistic concession." All this has been possible because the Soviets adopted 'socialism' as its guiding principle.

In India in spite of its solemn pledges the Congress has postponed taking decision on provincial maladjustment, except when forced, and has further complicated the issue by bringing in a number of extraneous considerations, which have produced nothing but confusion in thinking. We hold that after the announcement that the policy of the country is to be guided by the principles of Socialism alone, these extraneous principles laid down by the JVP-Committee and blindly followed by the FKP-Committee have lost their meaning.

We therefore think that linguistic aspirations of the people, and wish of the majority of the people concerned should be the sole guiding factor in province formation.

It was too much to expect that the FKP-Committee, composed as it was of persons outside the major political group, should see this point clearly. But the issues at stake are of such vital importance that the matter requires very careful reconsideration by the highest political leaders.

Shramdan Movement in India

Sheo Shankar Singh writes in *Bharat Sevak*:

The movement of Shramdan is now gaining momentum in our country and it is in the fitness of things that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has taken good part in organising, popularising and practising the same throughout the length and breadth of this country. All over India youth and elders, dwellers of cities and villages are coming forward in an effort to build up a new Bharat.

In order that this movement is maintained and even extended in an under-developed country like that of ours, every citizen must understand and appreciate the basic ideas of this *Shramdan*. The idea of Shramdan is not a new fangled idea borrowed from China or any other country of the world. Our Vedas reveal that "He eats only in sin, who eats alone." The Gita teaches us that one should perform Yajna (bodily labour) and partake of the fruit of that labuor.

Unfortunately enough as a result of foreign influence on our way of life, we all forgot the very wheel of our machine, *i.e.*, *Shramdan* and began to consider bodily labour as an activity of a lower strata of people. The concept that dominated the ideas of the day was in the words of Pandit Nehru, "The great person is one who gets work done through another." Today a fundamental change is visible in this concept and "the great person is he, who does his work himself and does *seva*."

The need of the hour is not individual shramdan in one part or the other of this great country but "Mass Mobilisation" as Nandaji once indicated. Our needs are varied and innumerable, the budgetary resources at our disposal are very meagre. But the greatest of all our resources is the vast man-power. Our country in population is next only to China in this whole world. The only thing that is needed today in India is the re-awakening of vast potential power. We have to arouse a spirit and a will for work and we shall see that our most formidable task is completed within the twinkling of an eye.

Fortunately enough the significance and importance of shramdan has been fully realised by our National Leaders. The Father of the Nation had gone to the length of saying that "Unless one does bodily labour, he can niether lead a celibate life, conquer his palate nor can he be a non-hoarder. He cannot desisit from stealing, because one who lives in society only for himself, also is a thief." The shramdan movement will not only bring material progress but remove the artificial gap which is existing today between a Majoor (labourer) and a *Hajoor* (Master).

Shramdan, according to Bapu, not merely brings economic gain and social justice in its train but also provides mental peace to mankind. He once remarked that if a man was in distress, the key to his happiness is labour. God did not create man to eat, drink and be merry.

This shramdan must be prompted by an inner urge for constructive social service as laid down for us by the Father of the Nation. Let us all offer shramdan with *'Raghupati Ragho Raja Ram'* on our lips and with work tools in our hands. Let us work for the rebuilding of this great Bharat. Let us not be the Nation of critics and spend our greatest of all resources, *i.e.*, human resources in idle gossip.

We have to break and shake the mountain of inertia that has surrounded us all. Let not history say that Indians could not keep pace with the civilised nations of the world due to the lack of finance and lack of organising 36 crores of people.

We have to imbibe the saying of Carlyle: "Not what I have but what I do is my kingdom." We need a change in our values.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Why Russian Freedom is Inevitable

Allen Welsh Dulles, Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency since 1953, was a diplomat after World War I, a top OSS man in World War II, and CIA's Deputy Director after 1950. This analysis of the problems facing Russia's rulers was delivered by him at the commencement exercises of Columbia University :

Scientific and technical education in the Soviet Union today presents a challenge to the free world. But mass education in the Soviet Union may well become a threat to their own Communist system of government.

The Soviets have two educational goals: first, to condition the Soviet people to be proper believers in Marxism-Leninism and to do the bidding of their rulers; second, to turn out the necessory trained technicians to build the military might of the USSR.

In the field of science, the Soviets have made rapid progress and their accomplishments here should not be minimized—least of all by those of us who are directly concerned with our national security. Twenty-five years ago Soviet scientific education was riddled with naive experiments, persecution of scholars and unrealistic programs. Only a small core of older men kept alive an element of real quality on which to build. Reforms in the mid-1930's raised standards considerably, but even so, they were behind our standards when the war came.

Today that is no longer so. The Soviet education system—in the sciences and engineering—now bears close comparisons with ours both in quality of training and in numbers of persons trained to a high level. At the univesity graduate level, we find that the entrance examinations for scientific works, at the top institutions are about as tough as those required by our institutions. Also, we have the evidence obtained from defectors, some of them recent, who were university graduates. Although these men have come over to us because of their defestation of the Soviet system, many of them still pay tribute to the technical quality of their education and appear to look back at least on this part of their lives with some pride.

As regards Soviet scientific manpower as a whole, the quality differs greatly from the field. But generally speaking, their top men appear to be the equal of the top men in the West, though they have fewer of them, level for level. True, their biology has been warped by Soviet ideology, most conspicuously by heresies in the field of genetics, such as the doctrine that acquired characteristics are inherited. Also, their agricultural sciences have been backward, plagued like all of Soviet agriculture by the follies of the collective system.

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(What farmer will go out into the middle of a cold Russian night to see what ails a State-owned cow?).

In the physical sciences, there is little evidence of such political interference. Soviet mathematics and meteorology, for example, appear to be clearly on a par with those of the West, and even ahead in some respects. Military needs dominate their research programs. We who are in intelligence work have learned by now that it is rarely safe to assume that the Soviets do not have the basic skill, both theoretical and technical, to do in these fields what we can do. In fact, at times we have been surprised at their progress, above all in the aviation, electronic and nuclear fields. Certainly, the Russian's mind, as a mechanism of reason, is in no way inferior to that of any other human being.

It is true that, since the war, the Soviets have been helped by German scientists taken to the USSR and by what they learned from espionage and from the material obtained during and after the war. Also, recently the Soviets have developed, and boasted of, a systematic service for translating and abstracting major Western scientific publications. But the Soviets have rarely been slavish copyists, at least where a Western invention or technique was of military importance. They have employed adaptation rather than adoption, as in the case of their improvement of the Nene jet engine. In certain key fields, they have clearly shown a capacity for independent progress.

While total Soviet scientific manpower at the university graduate level is about the same as ours—somewhere over a million each—about half of the Soviet total were trained by the inferior prewar standards. In number of research workers—a good index of average quality—we estimate that the U.S. has a 2-1 margin over the USSR in the physical sciences. We must remember, too, that the U.S. has a substantial number of competent engineers who have not taken university degrees but who have learned their trade through experience. The USSR has no real counterpart for this group, just as it has no substantial counterpart for the vast American reservoir of persons with high-grade mechanical skills.

But, lest we become complacent, it is well to note that the Soviets are now turning out more university graduates in the sciences and engineering than we are—about 120 000 to 170,000 in 1955. In round numbers the Soviets will graduate about 1,200 000 in the sciences in the ten years from 1950 to 1960, while the comparable U.S figure will be about 900,000. Unless we quickly take new measures to increase our own facilities for scientific education, Soviet scientific manpower in key areas may well outnumber ours in the next decade.

These comparisons in the scientific field most emphatically do not mean that Soviet higher education as a whole is as yet comparable to that of the U.S. Over 50 per cent of Soviet graduates are in the sciences, against less than 20 per cent in the U.S. Science in the USSR has had an over-riding priority.

Another important feature of Soviet education is the growth of secondary education at the senior high school level. By 1960 the Soviets will have four to five times as many secondary graduates per year as they had in 1950. These will be divided fairly evenly between men and women. Whereas, a decade ago, only about 20 per cent of Soviet seventh grade students went any further, by 1960 probably over 70 per cent will do so. Their secondary school standards are high and largely explain their ability to train competent scientists and engineers. Whether they can maintain these standards in the face of a very rapid expansion is a question.

So much for the advance in material terms. Let us turn now to the "thought control" aspect.

The Soviets give top priority to preserving the Marxist-Leninist purity of their students. Beginning with kindergarten rhymes on the glories of Lenin they pass to the history of the Communist party, a comparison of the "benevolent" Soviet Constitution with the "corrupt" constitutions of the West that do not confer liberty. Soviet economics teaches why the workers in capitalist countries can never own cars, but must always live in poverty. In the lower grades, civic virtue is taught by citing the example of a Soviet boy Pavlik Morozov who betrayed his family to the secret police and now has statues raised in his honor.

Even though it is hard to distort the physical sciences they can be used to prove the virtues of atheism. In ancient history, it is the Athenians who are corrupt and the Spartans virtuous. In literature courses, selected works of Dickens are read as presenting an authentic picture of the present-day life of the British working man while Howard Fast, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Grapes of Wrath* portray the contemporary U.S. Everything is taught so that the student shall acquire his knowledge in Communist terms and within a Communist framework.

But the Soviets are not content to rely upon the lasting effects of student indoctrination. They have devised in addition a rigid system for continuing their control. To repay the Government for his or her so-called "free" education, Soviet law requires that each student upon graduation must work for three consecutive years as State directs. They may express a preference, but in practice only a small percentage of the students—those with high Government connections or with exceptionally high marks—have their requests granted. The rest must go where they are assigned—their niche in life largely predetermined.

Even at the end of the three-year compulsory assignment, the individual still is under the control of the Communist party, the Young Communist League, the local union, or the factory directors. To object to further assignments is to court an efficiency report so bad that a job will be hard to find. And if a man were to refuse an assignment, he would lose his occupation and be forced to work at the most unskilled and menial tasks wherever he could find them. Thus, the typical Soviet university graduate gains little freedom from his status as an educated man. If he is a scientist or engineer, he will probably be able to avoid the military draft entirely. He may aspire to prestige and to much higher pay than his less educated fellows. But he pays for this by being possibly even more tightly directed than the bulk of Soviet workers.

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Such, then, is the system, stressing high technical educational standards on the one hand, while insisting on Communist philosophy and discipline on the other. Its ultimate human result, the Soviet graduate must be —in the phrase given me by one of the best-educated of our recent defectors— *"a man divided."*

In time, with the growth of education—with more knowledge, more training of the mind, given to more people—this Soviet "man divided" must inevitably come to have more and more doubt about the Communist system as a whole.

In the past, we have sometimes had exaggerated expectations of dissensions within the Soviet and in other totalitarian systems. Our hopes have not perhaps been so much misguided as they have been premature. If we take a longer look we can foresee the possibility of great changes in the Soviet system. Here the educational advances will play a major part.

There is already evidence of this. As I have said, the physical sciences are being freed of party-line restraints. Within the educational structure itself, the pressure to turn out good scientists and good engineers has caused a de-emphasis of the time spent on ideological subjects. The student engineer, while he still has to pass his courses in Marxism-Leninism, can increasingly afford to do a purely formal job on the ideological front if he is a good engineer.

In the last year, there have been interesting signs of this freedom spreading to other areas, notably to the biological and agricultural sciences. Lysenko is no longer gospel—I suspect for the very simple reason that his theories proved fallacious when used as the basis for new agricultural programs. The development of corn and of better wheat strains proved remarkably resistant to the teachings of Marx and Lenin—and, in the end, nature won the day. After all, Karl Marx was not much of a farmer. Now Moscow is looking toward Iowa.

So far, this is only a small straw in the wind. But it is a significant one. If freedom to seek truth can spread from the physical to the biological sciences, we can begin to look for signs of independence even in the hallowed sanctum of economics. Certainly, every year that the "decadent" capitalist system continues to avoid depression and to turn out more and more goods, even the most hardened Soviet economist must wonder about the accuracy of the Communist version of truth in this field.

In cultural pursuits, the evidence is not all one-sided. Literature and even music are still subject to denunciation and criticism for not expressing the proper ideals. But clearly here too, there has been some relaxation in the past two years. Recently, writers once denounced as "brougeois" and "cosmopolitan" are being permitted to work again.

It is understandable that lasting freedom will come more slowly in economics and the humanities than where scientific matters—more open to proof—are involved. Ideology gives way most rapidly where it collides with fact.

This at times has caused the Soviet acute embarrassment. We are all familiar with the deceptions the Soviets practise on their people particularly in the re-writing of history and the adjustment of doctrine to fit their wants. Malenkov is on the downgrade, so the Soviet press removes his name from the key wartime committees on which he actually served, and replaces him with Khruschev. Beria falls; his name must be blacked out wherever it occurs even in a university catalogue and he must posthumously bear the blame for what Stalin and Molotov did to Yugoslavia in 1948.

This often has its laughable side. In the Beria

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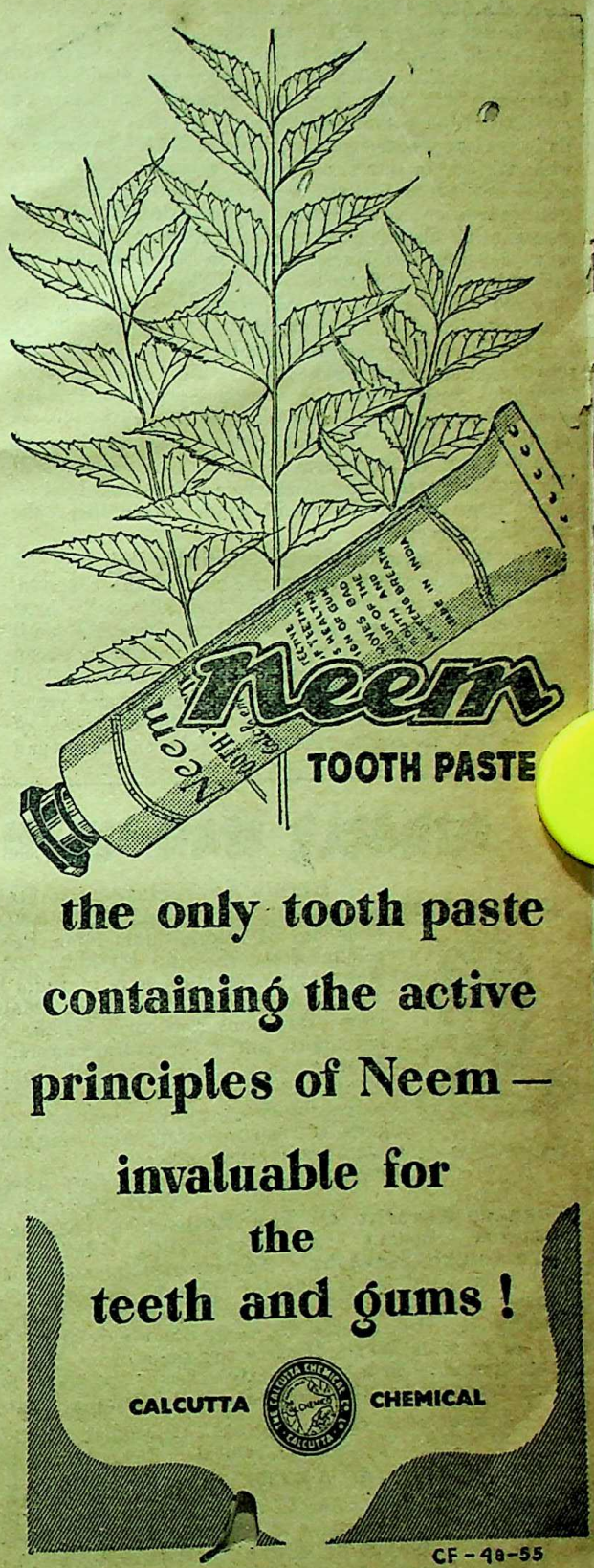

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case, the 1950 edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia was issued with a full four pages describing him as "one of the outstanding leaders" of the USSR and the "faithful disciple of Stalin." After his liquidation a few years later, subscribers to the Encyclopedia received a letter from the publishers suggesting that four designated pages—no mention made of Beria—be removed with scissors or razor blade and replaced by a large added section to the article on the Bering Sea and a new article on a gentleman named Friedrich Wilhelm Bergholz, an obscure Junker at the Court of Tsar Peter I, whose alphabetical resemblance to Beria was his one and only claim to fame.

Perhaps most of the scissor-wielders managed to keep a straight face. Yet this kind of thing, insignificant individually typifies the kind of dilemma the Soviets must face increasingly and almost daily. We know that some thoughtful Soviet citizens are beginning to see through these distortions, and indeed through the whole process of thought-control. Yet that process may continue to have its effect on the masses of the Russian people. Will this equally be so when the average educational level of those masses is at the tenth grade rather than the seventh or lower?

Increased education must inevitably bring in its train increased expectations on the part of the educated. Since higher education in Russia had historically been only for the few, not only in Tsarist times but until very recently in the Soviet era, there remains a strong tradition that a boy who graduates from secondary school will not work with his hands. Over the past two years the Soviet press has repeatedly printed criticisms of students who refused to take factory jobs on the ground that they were beneath them. In all probability, the system is nearly at saturation point in the rate at which it can offer professional or white-collar jobs to secondary-school graduates.

Ultimately, however much the Soviets condition a man's mind, however narrowly they permit it to develop, and however much they seek to direct him after he is trained, they cannot in the end prevent him from exercising that critical sense that they themselves have caused to be created in him when they gave him an education. When Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union in 1942, he had a look at their school system. In a conversation at the Kremlin he remarked: "If you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin, the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of a job." This seemed to amuse the Soviet dictator mightily. Maybe it will prove to be anything but a joke for the Soviet rulers of the future.

For the Soviets face a real dilemma between the two goals of their education system: on the one hand making well-conditioned members of a Communist state, and on the other, turning out trained people capable of taking their places in a technically advanced society. In some degree this dilemma has been present since the Soviets took the crucial decision in the 1930s to go all-out for trained technical manpower. It must become more acute in the future.

The rise in numbers of trained people is only beginning to reach its peak, at a time when the picture for all Soviet citizens is one of somewhat greater hope and expectation, and when change is in the wind in many ways. The broadening of the educational base within, the contacts with the outside world, the uncertainty in

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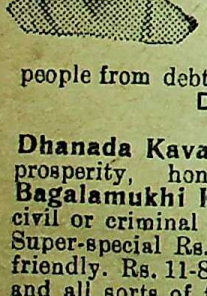

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the high Governmental command and the absence of a dictator—all force the Soviet Union towards compromises.

With these compromises, comes the inevitable admission that the Soviet Marxist-Leninist system is not the only permissible way of life. If coexistence should really become the Moscow line, then Western free systems must be permissible; and if permissible anywhere, why not permissible in the Soviet Union itself? If the Tito form of heresy, denounced a few years ago more ferociously even than capitalism, is now to be forgiven and approved, how can the Soviets deny the European satellites the right to a similar heresy if they so desire?

Can the Soviets give their people a better material education and still keep them from wanting more and from thinking more on lines such as these? I do not think we can easily give the answer in point of time, but one can say with assurance that, in the long run, man's desire for freedom must break any bonds that can be placed around him.

Possibly for a time the Soviets will go forward, using their educational system as a sorting device for human assets. Half-educated men—all fact and no humanity—may still be good fodder for totalitarianism. Possibly the Soviet leaders will encounter problems for which they will seek the solutions by foreign adventure. But there remains the possibility that newly created wants and expectations, stimulated by education and perhaps by more exposure to the West, will in time compel great and almost unpredictable changes in the Soviet system itself.

Once or twice before this present peace and coexistence offensive, the Soviet seemed to start towards adjustment of its system to the facts of life in the outside world; first in the latter years of the war, and possibly again in 1946. These starts were quickly followed by a dropping of the Iron Curtain, by repressions, purges and a return to the rigid Stalinist line. Then the Soviet had a dictator, and it's hard to dictate without one. Today they have a committee in which the Soviet people themselves are not clearly told who is boss. Also today, the Soviets have gone much further than before towards introducing into their system the leaven of education, which makes a return to the Dark Ages far more difficult than in the past.

I would not be bold enough to predict that the Soviet might not attempt to return to the rigidity of a Stalinist regime. I do predict that this would be no easy task. In introducing mass education, the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves. It will be very difficult for them henceforth to close off their own people from access to the realities of the outside world.

A hard choice faces the perplexed probably unharmonious group of men in the Kremlin. They lead a people who surely will come to realize the inevitability of the great precept: "And Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free."—*The New Leader*, June 13, 1955.

America Develops Movies On Tape

HOLLYWOOD (California).—The making of motion pictures without the use of film is being rapidly developed in the United States. Movies on tape may be placed in commercial use some time in 1956, according to officials of Bing Crosby Enterprises, Inc.

The company recently demonstrated the latest refinements in the new method of electronically recording moving images. The sound and pictures of a colour television programme were recorded from a receiver, compressed into a half-inch tape similar to the tape used in sound recording, and then played back on a motion picture screen.

The tape used for this new process is called "video tape," while that used for sound recording is called "audio tape." The principle of the video tape recorder is the same as for the audio tape recorder.

In audio, music or a person's voice is transferred into a succession of electronic impulses that disturb magnetic particles on the tape. When the tape is played back the different arrangements of the particles reproduce the different original sounds.

In video—the process used to make motion pictures—the picture is broken down into successions of electronic impulses that disturb the tape's magnetic particles.

In the most recently developed Crosby video tape, there are five separate "tracks," all within the half-inch width of the tape, to record a complete colour motion picture. There are separate tracks for each of television's three primary video colour—red, blue, and green. In addition, there is a track to carry synchronizing signal information, and a sound track.

Only two years ago, the Crosby tape was an inch wide and required 12 tracks. The reduction in size is indicative of the technical progress that has been made.

For the most recent demonstration of the device, a programme given by Ethel Merman and Harrp James in a colour television show was used. The programme was recorded off the air from a colour television receiver and sent into the tape machine, which is about the same size as a studio turntable.

The tape moves at the rate of 180 inches a second. Fully wound a spool 14 inches in diameter provides about eight minutes of programming.

As its next step, the Crosby Company plans to record colour signals directly at their camera source. This should lead to substantial further improvement and would be more in accord with normal broadcasting-station practice.—*American Reporter*, August 31, 1955.

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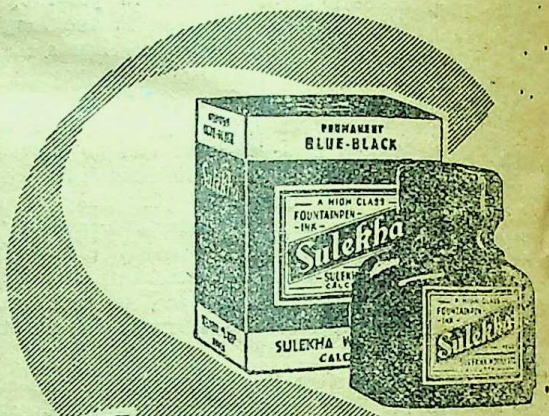

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স্বনামধন্য ৺রামানন্দ চট্টোপাধ্যায় সম্পাদিত

সুবিখ্যাত কৃত্তিবাসী রামায়ণের সর্ব্বোৎকৃষ্ট

অষ্টম সংস্করণ প্রকাশিত হইল

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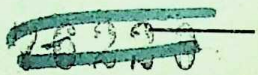

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